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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

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52 & 53 VICTORIÆ, 1889.

VOL. CCCXL.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF AUGUST, 1889,

TO

THE THIRTIETH DAY OF AUGUST, 1889.

Eighth and Last Volume of the Session.

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1889.

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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

IN THE

Fourth Session OF THE *Twenty-Fourth Parliament* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *Great Britain* AND *Ireland*, APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

No. 1.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [AUGUST 29.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 21*st August*, 1889.

QUESTIONS.

H.M.S. *SULTAN.*

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I wish to know whether the hon. Gentleman the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) can confirm the report in this morning's paper that the *Sultan* has been raised?

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, Sheffield, Eccleshall): I believe, Sir, that the report is true.

MOTION.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY SITTING).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the proceedings of the Committee of Supply be not interrupted this day at half-past Five nor Six o'clock, but when that Order has been disposed of Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without putting any Question."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I presume it is perfectly understood that no business is to be taken after half-past 5 except English Votes?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): That is so.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): Will the Scotch Estimates be taken?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, if they are reached.

Question put, and agreed to.

SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES, &c.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of Superannuation Allowances or Gratuities to certain persons under the provisions of any Act of the present Session, to amend the Acts relating to Pensions, Compensation, Allowances, and Gratuities to persons in respect of having held office in the Public Service."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

*MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I have no intention of offering any oppo-

sition to this Resolution which is to form the substance of a Bill, but I wish to point out to the First Lord of the Treasury that the Bill itself was not distributed this morning, and although as far as I can see it is one which we should all desire to see passed, yet it deals with matters of considerable importance, and it is quite impossible for Members who have no official position to form a judgment as to the important proposition contained in it.

*Mr. W. H. SMITH: I recognise the fairness of the observations which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman—that is to say, that the Bill is an absolutely new Bill, presented to the House for the first time, but the hon. Gentleman is aware that the measure simply carries out a portion of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service which have been before the House for a considerable period. The Bill has been introduced in answer to questions which have been put to the Government from both sides of the House. It has been impossible to deal with the recommendations of the Commission completely, because they involve questions of a most important character which would require great consideration at the hands of the House, but we have arrived at the opinion that we might ask the House to go as far as the provisions of this Bill go. If, however, there is any general objection to the measure it will not, of course, be possible to press it in the present Session. It is our desire, as far as possible, to close the door upon some of the evils which have been reported upon by the Commission. I would therefore ask the House to assent to the Bill.

*Mr. BRADLAUGH: I quite feel the force of what the right hon. Gentleman has said, and I shall be extremely reluctant, either now or at any subsequent stage of the measure, to offer any opposition; but, in the hasty glance I have been able to give at the Bill, I find there is one matter, at any rate, which was not before the Royal Commission at all. I do not suggest that the point to which I refer is dealt with improperly, but I certainly understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say on more than one occasion that the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners were of such a serious nature that they would require the gravest consideration on the part of the Government. Although I have no doubt that the Government have arrived at an impartial decision, still it must not be forgotten that if the House of Commons passes this Bill it adopts that decision.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I have been very much comforted by the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury that this is only an instalment, and a partial instalment. In that view I hope the Bill will pass this Session, because it will stop a good many leaks from which the public money is oozing away, and, so far, it is a good measure. But I hope there will be a clear understanding that it is only a partial Bill, and that it will be enlarged or amended hereafter.

Mr. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I wish to draw attention to the fact that, in regard to these superannuation allowances, usually when the Estimates are submitted to the House, we constantly see men who are in the receipt of pensions turning up for public employment, to the exclusion of other men who are very well qualified. For instance, I am acquainted with the case of a man who was discharged from the service in which he was then engaged and voted a pension, and who has now received a new appointment.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the remarks of the hon. Gentleman are not relevant to the Resolution.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

EDUCATION GRANTS [CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That is expedient to authorise annual Parliamentary Grants to be made, as from the 30th day of July, 1886, to schools in the Counties of Caithness and Sutherland, upon the same conditions as are applicable to schools in the Counties of Inverness, Argyll, Ross, and Orkney and Shetland.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £26,271, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for the salaries and expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I was interrupted at 12 o'clock last night, when upon this Vote I was endeavouring to bring before the Committee some matters of detail in reference to the fishing industry of Ireland, especially in connection with my own constituents, and also what I conceive to be a failure of duty upon the part of the Government in regard to their assistance towards the development of that industry. Two years ago an Act was passed enabling two-thirds of any body of fishermen in a particular locality to make representations, or present a petition to the Fishery Commissioners with a view of prohibiting trawling. That Act provided that if the Commissioners did not see fit to comply with the prayer of the petitioners, a Report should be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, who would have power to accede to such prayer over the heads of the Commissioners. It also provided that the Commissioners should forward to the Lord Lieutenant a detailed statement of the reasons of their refusal. Since the passing of that Act there has been over a large portion of the coast line of Ireland a good deal of friction between the line and net fishermen, especially in Lough Swilly, where the fishing has been dwindling down, and the condition of the fisheries much injured in comparison with former times. There are four trawlers engaged there, and the damage done by them is represented to be very serious. It is admitted on all hands that the fishing industry in the lough has materially diminished, and that great injury has been done to the lines and nets employed by the fishermen. This is a grievance of long standing. In 1844 the prohibition the fishermen now ask for was made, and for a period of 25 years trawling was prohibited. During those 25 years the condition of the fishermen was satisfactory; the number of fishermen increased, and their comforts were far greater than they have been since. In 1869 the prohibition was withdrawn, and from that day the fishing industry has been suffering, and the condition of the fishermen has become seriously embarrassed. Under these circumstances, the fishermen presented a petition to the Fishery Commissioners, but the Commissioners refused to entertain it, and forwarded it to the Lord Lieutenant, together with their reasons. The determination arrived at had nothing to do with the merits of the case, but it was pointed out that it was desirable to carry out a series of experiments in different districts round the coast, such as those which have been carried on in Scotland with great advantage. That is quite true, and the Fishery Board of Scotland has performed inestimable services to the Scotch fisheries. If similar experiments, under similar control, were carried on in Ireland, I have no doubt that the result would be the same; but those experiments show that the take of fish has largely increased since trawling was prohibited. What I want to know is, why Ireland should be treated differently from Scotland? It seems hopeless, however, to induce the officials of Dublin Castle to make the least move where the industry of the country is concerned. Year after year the representations made by the Irish fisheries are disregarded. The entire body of line and net fishermen in Lough Swilly are convinced that trawling does interfere with the fishing—that it frightens the fish away, destroys immature fish, and does damage in other respects. I wish, therefore, to know why the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Administration are so inert in affording to Ireland the advantages, facilities, and powers which are possessed by the Fishery Board in Scotland. The amount of money involved is very slight. Nobody complains of the expenditure connected with Scotland, and it is scarcely reasonable that the Irish fishermen should be expected to sit quiet and see the development of the fisheries of their Scotch

neighbours through the assistance of the State, when they find the same advantages refused to themselves. The fishing interests of Ireland are quite as important to the people of that country as those of Scotland are to the Scotch people. I would, therefore, urge upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to do for Ireland something like what has been done for his own country during the period in which he was connected with the Scotch Administration.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): With such knowledge as I have of the temperament and disposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I am afraid that the real uses of the present Debate are of a very limited character. I will illustrate what I mean by a reference to the question of evictions, but I confess that I do not expect much in this particular matter from a Government which utterly disregards both legal and moral obligations in its dealings with the Irish people. Whoever may forget it, I remember that the present Chief Secretary for Ireland is the author of Section 7 of the recent Land Act. It smoothed the preliminaries to eviction—the eviction-made-easy clause. The battering ram was the natural complement to this clause, and of the battering ram the right hon. Gentleman is certainly the patron, probably the patentee, possibly he paid for it. As the right hon. Gentleman has exerted himself to smooth the way to evictions and make the process more rapid, it is only a man of sanguine temperament who can imagine that he would do anything to mitigate the hardship and serverity of the law. I know that it is in his power to do so. The right hon. Gentleman's predecessor, the Member for Bristol (Sir M. H. Beach) used what was described as pressure within the law, and exercised discretion in regard to the times and places of eviction with considerable effect. I do not look to the present Chief Secretary to imitate the example of the right hon. Member for Bristol; on the contrary, I am sorry to say that I look upon him rather to stimulate evictions than to prevent them. I cannot forget that the right hon. Gentleman as a Minister has not been ashamed in his public speeches to describe evictions as "dramatic effects," although every one who knows Ireland is impressed with the sad knowledge that, of all the operations of the law next only to capital punishment, the infliction of evictions upon poor Irish peasants is the most painful and distressing. It comes strangely from the apostle of the battering ram to speak of dramatic effects in connection with evictions. At the same time I feel I am unable to add that the right hon. Gentleman who has applied the science of the battering ram to the social question in Ireland is the first distinguished Minister who has produced an effect contrary to that which he intended. I think the right hon. Gentleman ought to have produced the correspondence between himself and certain clerics in the West of Ireland. These gentlemen, occupying public positions, wrote to him upon certain questions of a public character. He has no right to regard that correspondence as being of a private nature. They wrote to him because he was Chief Secretary, and as Chief Secretary he replied to them. They desire the publication of the correspondence, and I maintain that we have a right to call for it so that we should be able to make the scrutiny we are entitled to make in regard to the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman. It is a common boast that the Chief Secretary has singularly succeeded in his administration of law and order in Ireland. If there is any reality in the boast, why should we be discussing this Vote on the 21st August? If he feels the confidence he professes in his administration, he ought to have brought forward this Vote in a full House and in the vigour of the Session, so that he might have brought confusion into the camp of his adversaries and joy to his friends. He has preferred to defer the Vote until the majority of hon. Members are on the moors, and until the House of Commons is so thinly peopled as to resemble somewhat his Irish Star Chamber. The Debate upon this Vote, which covers matters of the highest Imperial interest and of unexampled public importance, has been left to a discussion between the Chief Secretary himself and the Irish Members. I cannot refrain from making this reflection, that after 89 years' enjoyment of the Act of Union, and the varying vicissitudes of the Irish representation, the present Chief Secretary has brought the relations between

himself, as the chief administrator of the law, and the representatives of Ireland, to a pass unparalleled since that Act of Union was passed. The right hon. Gentleman in his public speeches is in the habit—an acquired habit among Ministers—of casting doubt and throwing discredit upon the veracity of the Irish Members, even when they give testimony upon matters within their own personal knowledge. He is in the habit of imputing to Irish Members the basest of motives for entering public life, and the basest of motives for continuing in it. He does this by habit, although no man can be better aware that if they were actuated by such motives he would have an easier way of dealing with them than resorting to violence and persecution. The right hon. Gentleman is supported by 18 Irish Members, and opposed by 85, and I submit that never since the Act of Union has such a state of affairs arisen as that which now exists. His servants in Ireland, by his instructions and with his encouragement, insult and beat the people in the public streets. They baton them and thrust at them with their rifles, they prosecute them upon the most flimsy of charges; they knock them down and strip them in his prisons even to the shirt, and then send them to famish and starve in the prison cells. The number of Irish Members who have been subjected to this arbitrary and tyrannical treatment is larger than the total number of his own Irish supporters in this House. He boasts that he has made the Irish Members look ridiculous by stripping them to their shirts, but I imagine that if the same treatment were applied to the right hon. Gentleman himself it would try him very severely. Upon a recent occasion on the floor of this House he passed from language of indignation to insulting gestures of violence and menace, and it was only owing to the firmness of the Chair that we were saved from a scene unprecedented since the day when the Speaker was held down in the Chair by Members who disapproved of his action. I trust that the memory of what he so nearly provoked upon that occasion will remain with him so long as he retains office. But whether it does or not I say that the right hon. Gentleman by his conduct to Irish Members both inside the House and out of it has produced a state of things incompatible with the management of our ordinary Parliamentary Constitution, and the state of things existing between the Chief Secretary and the Irish Members is, in my opinion, sufficient ground for supposing that we are near to a great organic change. But I will pass from the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in this House to his administration of the government of Ireland, and I say that he administers that government upon the principle of bad law, arbitrary use of physical force, and the suppression of the truth. The latter is the point upon which I propose now principally to dwell. With regard to maladministration and bad law, I will simply say that our charges were abundantly proved on the Vote for the Resident Magistrates. So also with regard to the arbitrary use of physical force; instances have been given *ad nauseam*. Turning, then, to the question of the suppression of truth, what is our daily experience here? An Irish Member on his responsility brings forward a grave and serious charge of misconduct, of fraud, or of subornation of perjury, but what satisfaction does he get? The Chief Secretary refers for a reply either to the man accused or to one of his official abettors, and the right hon. Gentleman at once accepts the reply he gets. He puts to the defendant the question, "Are you guilty, or not?" and he accepts as conclusive the reply, "Not guilty," without a word of further inquiry. That is very different from an ordinary case of investigating a charge of misconduct. We call for inquiry. We allege that we have facts in our possession which we are ready to prove. But the right hon. Gentleman declares that he is satisfied, and adds that that should be enough for us. Surely it is not the theory of the Government of this country that the Minister of the Crown should satisfy himself as to the conduct of his officials, and that the representatives of the people should be deprived of the means of investigation. Yet this has been the course pursued ever since the right hon. Gentleman held office; but I must lay down before the House and the country the principle that when Irish Members bring forward charges against officials and, when those charges are denied, state that they have proof in their hands and challenge in-

quiry, it is the duty of the Chief Secretary to institute such inquiry. Yet that is a duty which the right hon. Gentleman since his accession to office has never once discharged. He has not only refused inquiry into certain cases of taking life in which coroners' juries have afterward found the accused guilty, but he has not been ashamed in this House as a Minister of the Crown holding such a responsible position to hold up the most ancient Court of the realm—a coroner's jury empanelled by his own police and containing a majority of Protestants—to contempt as conspirators against law and order. If I were to give instances of this refusal of inquiry, the Debate would be continued for a week. I will only give two or three illustrations. Why has inquiry been denied in the case of Colonel Turner, the principal official of the Crown in West Munster, who, instead of being a guardian of law and order, has applied himself to promoting evictions, preventing settlements between landlord and tenant, and levelling the homes of the tenants after they have been evicted? In one case where a settlement was in progress—where 26 families had been restored to their homes, and 500 others were in negotiation with their landlord, Colonel Turner, of his own motion, took on himself to come forward and visit a farm where a tenant had been replaced by another, and from mere wantonness he induced the woman who was in possession of the farm to hold on and refuse to come to any arrangement. Was that the act of a guardian of the peace, or was it not rather the act of an enemy of public order? We have asked for inquiry. We want to know why Colonel Turner went there. Surely he might have waited until he was asked. Everybody desired that the settlement which was pending should be completed, and why did Colonel Turner come forward and take a line of action which can only be accounted for upon the theory that he was anxious that no settlement should be arrived at? I am willing to meet the right hon. Gentleman at any public meeting in Great Britain. [*Ministerial cries of* "Oh!"] Well, no doubt, it would be a very lively meeting, and so far as he is concerned he prefers ticket meetings, but I am willing to meet the right hon. Gentleman at any public meeting, whether at an election or any other time, and to argue whether the Government are justified in refusing an inquiry into the conduct of Colonel Turner, who receives £1,000 a year as guardian of the peace and displays his zeal in producing disorder. I read the other night a letter from Colonel Turner to another official, in the County of Clare, in which he said, "Things will never be right in Clare until the Vicar General of the diocese and his villainous priests are removed." I say that this was an incitement to violence. It was a letter addressed to an official, the substance of which was intended to percolate through all the officials under him; and it advised them that the best way to procure order was to baton the priests. Has a public official, controlling the police and able to use physical force through the agency of the Crown, a right to say that things will not be right in his bailiwick until the Vicar General and his villainous priests are removed? How did the Chief Secretary reply to the charge made against Colonel Turner? He did not deny it. He said he knew nothing about it. He deemed it to be consistent with his duty four days after the charge was made to say that he knew nothing about it. It was his duty to know all about it. Not only did he not attempt to apologise, but he endeavoured to prop up the position of Colonel Turner by saying that some of the priests of West Clare do little honour to their cloth. I say that they do as much honour to their cloth as any body of clergymen with whom he is acquainted; and I maintain that it was shameful for a Minister of the Crown to make such an accusation without attempting to sustain it. Let me tell him what one priest says of him—that he finds it safe to shoot at priests from behind the hedge of the House of Commons, but that if he will repeat the same accusation outside the House, it shall be made the subject of investigation by a legal tribunal. The right hon. Gentleman who ran away from a midwife is not likely to face a priest. In the meantime I shall continue to maintain that until the right hon. Gentleman yields to our demand for inquiry into the conduct of Colonel Turner, that official is not fit to remain in the Public Service. Let me take another instance. Are we to have any inquiry into the occurrence

at Charleville? If a similar circumstance had happened in England, and an English Member had demanded an inquiry it would at once have been granted. It is not denied that the police did fire upon the people, the foolish argument of an attempted rescue is now given up, and the only contention is that the people fired first. Are we to have any inquiry into the Gartmore evictions on the Ponsonby estate? This is the case where a body of police broke into the chapel grounds against the will of the owner, expelled the owner, and remained there against his will. Is there to be any inquiry into the case of the poor girl who, having been evicted from her mother's home, was insulted by an agent of the Government, and by the Magistrates in charge of the police? I asked for inquiry but inquiry was refused. The right hon. Gentleman upon his usual anonymous information declared that no insult had been offered. I have since communicated with the persons concerned, and I have here the sworn affidavits of the girl and her sister in which they say that the girl was requested by the agent to kiss him, that she indignantly claimed the protection of the police, whereupon the man turned to Colonel Caddell and—"There, Colonel, you see she would not give it to me." Upon this Colonel Caddell replied, "She would prefer to kiss a constable. It is evident from the state of her back (referring to some marks of lime on her dress) that she has had a tussle with a policeman against a wall." The right hon. Gentleman not only denied these insults, but made a gross and unmanly imputation against the girl herself, and not only against her, but generally against the peasant girls of Ireland. Now, I repeat the demand for inquiry. If these girls have sworn falsely, they have subjected themselves to penalties for perjury. If they have sworn truly, this special agent of the Crown and the Resident Magistrate ought to be prosecuted, at any rate, for conduct calculated to lead to a breach of the peace. I would submit that if any man, except the police, had been present when this most base and unmanly insult was offered to a helpless girl in her agony, or if it had come to the knowledge of the people before they dispersed, the consequences would have been very serious indeed. And who was the man who committed this gross insult? The right hon. Gentleman says he was a person in the employment of the local agent. He was nothing of the kind; he was a man who can be proved to have attended the Massareene evictions, and he turns out to be no less a person than the Secretary of the Ulster Loyal Anti-Repeal Union, of which Lord Arthur Hill, one of the Whips of the Tory Party, is one of the Executive Council. This is the special agent whom the right hon. Gentleman selects to accompany a cordon of police to an eviction. I am not one of those who desire to see dramatic effects at evictions, and it is because I do not, that I ask the right hon. Gentleman why he should permit a man of this description to go through the police lines while he rigorously shuts out the parish priest, the Member for the Division, and the public Press? I hold the right hon. Gentleman personally responsible for the working of the Coercion Act, because I trace the refusal to legislate on rents in 1886 and on arrears in 1887 to the personal influence of the right hon. Gentleman. That refusal led to the Plan of Campaign and ultimately to the Coercion Act. Two years ago the right hon. Gentleman declared that the National League was a dangerous association in certain counties in Ireland, and when those counties were proclaimed the National League was suppressed. Prosecutions were instituted. Why have those prosecutions ceased? Have the offences ceased? Not at all. The newspapers show that meetings of the suppressed branches take place every week, although every one who takes part in them commits an offence against the law and is punishable by six months' imprisonment. What, then, is to be said of a Minister whose proclamations are so impotent? I charge against the right hon. Gentleman that by his administration and the impotence of his Coercion Act he has brought the law into such contempt that no one cares one halfpenny for it. It is quite clear from the statistics of crime that the existence or non-existence of the National League has had no conceivable bearing upon the causes of crime except that it formerly exercised a more restraining influence, and was a safeguard against secret

crime. The right hon. Gentleman claims that there has been an improvement in the condition of Ireland owing to his administration. Then why does he not do something to show that he really entertains that belief? Why does he continue his proclamations? Why not revert to the ordinary law? I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to issue a Return giving the proclamations which have been issued under the Coercion Act, showing the places in which the Constitutional rights of the people have been diminished, and then the extent to which, owing to the great improvement which has been brought about, the proclamations have been revoked. There has been next to no revocation, and in spite of the protestations of the right hon. Gentleman he can at any moment set up a Star Chamber to try prisoners, changing the venue to any other county, and empannelling jurymen from a class opposed in sympathy and in interest to the prisoners. If such a Return is produced I will undertake to show that the plea of improvement rests on no solid ground. If there is any improvement it ought to appear upon the face of these Votes. There are four Votes connected with the administration of Ireland which ought to show a reduction if any improvement has been effected—the Votes for the administration of Criminal Law, for the Constabulary, for Law Charges, and for the Prisons. Fortunately we can get the information elsewhere. I find that at a very recent date the right hon. Gentleman had no fewer than 111 police hut stations, the cost of which was charged to the occupiers. And at the end of last year he had 160 protection posts, charged upon the occupiers. How does it happen that these police huts and police posts are studded over the counties which he has termed most orderly and peaceful? There are two points in regard to the administration of the law as to which I fix upon the right hon. Gentleman's personal and special responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman made a solemn promise to the House that there should be an appeal in every prosecution instituted under the Crimes Act. He has broken that promise, but that is not all, He followed up his breach of promise by a public speech, in which he incited the Magistrates not to allow appeals, by pointing out the inconvenience of long sentences and the appeals which followed. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to retrace his steps, and to undo the evil he has done, to withdraw his incitement, and make good his original promise in Parliament by directing the Magistrates in the interests of public policy to pass such sentences as will allow appeals to be entered. The Chief Secretary and his distinguished relative the Prime Minister, seize every opportunity of declaring in their public speeches that the public men in Ireland who publish articles and make speeches, in the conscientious discharge of their duty, are worse criminals, baser criminals, and criminals more dangerous than those who murder, rob, or steal.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): Hear, hear.

MR. SEXTON: I am not astonished that the hon. and gallant Gentleman has a partiality for murder.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That remark of the right hon. Gentleman is beyond the bounds of Parliamentary language, and I must ask him to withdraw it.

MR. SEXTON: The phrase was too brief to convey my meaning clearly. What I meant to say was that the hon. and gallant Gentleman by his incitement to certain disorderly classes in Belfast has produced a condition of things which has led to repeated and numerous murders.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I beg to say I have done nothing of the kind.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! Does the right hon. Gentleman withdraw?

MR. SEXTON: Certainly, Sir; but I trust the hon. and gallant Gentleman will remember that he is the one Member of this House whose interruptions I cannot tolerate. When one Member has called another a liar, relations between them become strained, and I must beg the hon. and gallant Gentleman if he has any regard for the order of this House, when I am addressing it not to interrupt. These speeches of the Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister put political offenders on a lower ground than the common felon. The Resident Magistrates in Ireland have never been directed that prisoners under the Crimes

Act should be treated as first-class misdemeanants, though an independent Magistrate of Dublin and the County Court Judge of Sligo have declared that the law is that a prisoner for sedition shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. How has it happened that in the past year the Irish official in London has become a sub-official of the *Times*? I invite the Secretary to explain a cypher telegram which passed between Ireland and London during the time of the cross-examination of my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor), who has come out of prison to-day. He is in his place in the House undaunted by the punishment which has been inflicted on him, and I hope unimpaired in health. While my hon. Friend was under cross-examination before the Special Commission, the cross-examining counsel being the Attorney General acting in his private capacity, a Sub-inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary sent a telegram to the Irish Office. I have the original, which is in cypher. The cypher was unlocked in half-an-hour, in the office of *United Ireland*. It was sent by Sub-Inspector Jones, from Cork, to Mr. Joyce, Magistrate at the Irish Office in London. This is the telegram:—

"It is fully reported in the *Cork Examiner*, 30th September 1886, that John O'Connor called for three cheers for Puff and Barret."

This telegram reports a lie. My hon. Friend pledges his oath in the box that he never called for three cheers for Puff and Barrett. Here we have the Irish Office in London made a sort of bureau for the collection of information in the interests of the *Times*, and for the reception of telegrams making suggestions for cross-examination. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to give such explanation as he can offer. It appears to me that the old friends of the First Lord of the Treasury, the owners and managers of the *Times*, have had the whole machinery of the Government at their disposal for the last year. The Irish Members are perfectly satisfied with the result of the Commission, and they take it in perfect calmness. I wonder how the Government will feel when their turn comes. There were two conspiracies—one has been investigated, but the other remains. The time of the Irish Members is coming when they will turn on the lime-light. I have no doubt we will thus be able to cast a light on some very curious and strange proceedings, and to teach such a lesson to those in power, that no future Government will ever again initiate or abet a conspiracy against the character of hon. Members of this House or the liberties of the Irish people.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Sir, though unwilling to prolong the Debate I must necessarily reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which is, I presume, intended to be an elaborate indictment of the Government. Now, Sir, I have been attacked because of the manner in which I have treated Irish Members inside and outside this House. I do not propose to dilate at length upon the rights and wrongs of the matter, but I am bound to say that if any comparison were instituted between what I have said and what has been said against me, I should be greatly surprised if the balance of wrong were found on my side. [An hon. MEMBER: What about the things you did?] I do not complain; I am indifferent to these attacks; but I must express my surprise at such a complaint coming from the right hon. Gentleman. If hon. Gentlemen opposite are so sensitive on the subject of public criticism it would be well if they made a beginning of reform by amending the language in which they are accustomed to attack their political opponents. The right hon. Gentleman next complained that no inquiries had been held into certain occurrences in Ireland, the accounts of which as given in the House he alleges to be inaccurate. But what form does the right hon. Gentleman desire that such inquiries should take? Does he want another Commission of Judges? There are the ordinary tribunals of the country open to hon. Gentleman and their friends, and if their allegations are well founded those ordinary tribunals will afford them a remedy. The right hon. Gentleman gave three instances of matters which require investigation. The first was as to Colonel Turner and the mother of a tenant on the Vandeleur estate. The facts of that case are as follows:—A man named Jackson took a farm on the Vandeleur estate, but went to America, leaving his mother in pos-

session. A protection post had to be established for this woman, against whom public feeling was excited as being what hon. Gentlemen denounce as a land-grabber. Colonel Turner visited this protection post, and, hearing the woman's complaint that persons were trespassing on her farm, advised her, if there had been a trespass, to apply to the Magistrates.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): Why did Colonel Turner take Captain Walsh along with him?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They were inspecting the protection post, as they were bound to do in the course of their ordinary duty. What is there in that which requires investigation? The right hon. Gentleman referred to a letter, alleged to have been written by Colonel Turner to some subordinate, in which he commented severely on the Rev. Father Dynan and the priests of Clare. Last night—I was not in the House at the time—hon. Gentlemen opposite were engaged in a discussion on the wickedness of tampering with private correspondence; but, strange to say, the main case of the right hon. Gentleman to-day is based on a private letter which has been betrayed, and a private telegram which has been stolen.

MR. SEXTON: The letter was not private, and the telegram was marked "On Her Majesty's Service."

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman is wrong in both fact and inference. The letter was private, and it is an amazing doctrine that a telegram passing between two officials is not private because they were officials. The charge against Colonel Turner is that he held a bad opinion of certain priests in Clare. If he thought so, I do not see why he should not say so, and it hardly lies in the mouth of the hon. Gentleman who has described Colonel Turner as a person who "incited to assassination" to criticise severity of language. Then there is the charge of shooting at the Charleville Station, and the right hon. Gentleman has asked why also no inquiry has been made into that; but I remember that later on the right hon. Gentleman said that if we only admitted the representatives of the Press to these scenes in Ireland there would be ample evidence before us which would prevent disputes across the floor of the House. Well, when I appealed to the evidence furnished by the Nationalist Press in Ireland, I found an account of the transaction at Charleville, which bears out in most important particulars what I have stated in the House on more than one occasion. Therefore, I submit that, even on the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman himself, special inquiry is not needed. Then, Sir, I come to the case of the evictions on the Ponsonby estate, with respect to which the hon. Gentleman alleges that the police illegally occupied the garden of the priest. If the police acted illegally in that matter there is a very simple remedy, and I would give the same advice to the right hon. Gentleman which Colonel Turner gave to the widow, that if there has been trespass the Law Courts are open in which protection, and, if need be, redress may be obtained. Then the right hon. Gentleman referred to another scene which is said to have occurred at these evictions in reference to two girls. I have given the House a version which I believe to be correct of that incident. If it be true that any insult was offered to these girls, and if they bear the character which the right hon. Gentleman has given them, again I say that there ought not to be the slightest difficulty in having the facts investigated before a Court of Law. He went on to say that if the affidavits were true Colonel Caddell ought to be prosecuted. Well, Sir, let him be prosecuted if a prosecution would lie. Let those who are aggrieved take the ordinary course which is open to every one of Her Majesty's subjects. The right hon. Gentleman attacked me for the alleged action of Mr. Crockett, and asserted that I was responsible for the behaviour of that person because, forsooth, he is an officer of some association in Belfast. I have nothing to do with any private association in Belfast, and have sufficient responsibility on my shoulders already without accepting the further responsibility with which the right hon. Gentleman desires to saddle me. Then the right hon. Gentleman said I was directly and personally responsible for the want of legislation in 1886, which produced the Plan of Campaign. The right hon. Gentleman has forgotten his dates. When the Arrears Bill of the hon.

Member for Cork was rejected in 1886, and when the Plan of Campaign was started I was neither Chief Secretary for Ireland nor a member of the Cabinet. I think I am justified, therefore, in saying that the right hon. Gentleman was peculiarly unfortunate in trying to make me specially and personally responsible for what may have followed either from the rejection of the Arrears Bill or the starting of the Plan of Campaign. The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to criticise the action of the Government with regard to the National League, and said that we have not succeeded in suppressing the League or the reports of the meetings which appear day by day in Nationalist journals. I am perfectly indifferent to the publications of the Nationalist Press when they do not lead to intimidation or outrage.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): What do you prosecute for, then?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We only prosecute where, in the opinion of those who advise prosecutions, they do lead to intimidation or outrage. The Committee must not suppose for a moment that because proceedings are published therefore proceedings have taken place. I say nothing about the manufacture of bogus reports of League meetings except that no fact in the world is more certain than that the manufacture of bogus reports is in a far more flourishing condition in certain districts of Ireland than the manufacture of anything else. But when the right hon. Gentleman challenges me across the Floor of the House to say whether diminution of crime has in any case accompanied the suppression of the National League, I say most distinctly that it has. You have only got to consider the condition of Clare and Kerry since the National League was suppressed in those districts to see that the contention of the right hon. Gentleman cannot be sustained. Although I do not say that the suppression of the National League and the diminution of crime always stand together in the relation of cause and effect, I cannot doubt that the suppression of the National League has considerable effect in diminishing the curse of boycotting and intimidation. The right hon. Gentleman says I have done nothing by my acts to show my belief in the improvement of the country. I do not admit that. The area of Ireland which is under the exceptional legislation of the principal clause of the Crimes Act of 1887 has considerably diminished since that Act came into force. The diminution of the area proclaimed under that section is somewhere about 250,000 acres, and I have every hope that it may be found possible to diminish that area still further. But do not let the right hon. Gentleman conclude that the benefits derived from the administration of the law in Ireland are to be measured wholly by the diminution of the area over which the legislation of 1887 has been allowed to extend. Though the diminution of the proclaimed area is undoubtedly one of the tests to which people may appeal in judging of the improved condition of Ireland, it is perhaps the weakest and possibly the most misleading. I do not propose at the present moment to go into the question of the improved condition of Ireland. I have stated my belief before now in this House and out of it that the improvement has been great, but when the right hon. Gentleman accuses me of going about the country making my boasts on this subject the staple of my speeches, I am afraid he has not done me the honour to read my speeches with any care.

MR. SEXTON: I always read them carefully.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have stated what I believe to be the fact, but I have never boasted of it or made it the staple of my argument. I have never attempetd to conceal either from my friends or my foes that the idea that a permanent amelioration in the condition of Ireland, or in the condition of any country which was in the state in which Ireland was between the years 1879 and 1886, could be effected by two years of any form of Administration whatever was wholly chimerical. I have never gone beyond saying that there is a great improvement, and that the permanence of that improvement depends upon firm and consistent administration of the law—either by this Government or by its successors. I come now to the last part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, which dealt with the alleged interference of the Government in the conduct of the case before the Special Commission. I have been perfectly frank with the House throughout as to the position which, in my opinion, officials in Ireland,

in common with other citizens, should take up with regard to that case. My opinion is that every man, be his position what it may, is bound to do all he can to aid that Commission in the duty of eliciting the truth. What bearing on this general principle has the particular accusation made against the Government in respect of the stolen telegram to which the right hon. Gentleman referred? I think the right hon. Gentleman said he had the original.

MR. SEXTON: I believe it is the original, but I certainly did not steal it.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; I make no accusation against the right hon. Gentleman of that kind. I understand he says that telegram referred to the cross-examination then going on by the Attorney General of the Member for Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor). The right hon. Gentleman has been misinformed. The cross-examination on this particular point was not by the Attorney General but by Mr. Atkinson, and it was over the day before the stolen telegram was sent. It is entirely incorrect to say that it was in answer to a telegram sent from the Irish Office. To suppose that it was a telegram referring to the conduct of the *Times* case is to ignore the facts, or alleged facts, which had already been brought out before the Commission. What occurred was this. In the Attorney General's opening speech he brought out these facts, or alleged facts, with regard to the Member for Tipperary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That would be opening up matter not relevant to the Vote. The only material point in connection with this Vote was whether the telegram was addressed to Mr. Joyce or not.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand, Sir, you do not propose to allow further accusations to be brought against the Government in connection with this matter. That being so, I am perfectly prepared to drop it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What about the telegram?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The telegram was addressed, no doubt, to Mr. Joyce, but under the ruling of the Chair I am precluded from going into the case, and I therefore drop the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I understand you, Mr. Courtney, to say that you only prevent the right hon. Gentleman from going into the circumstances of the Attorney General's charge. You do not prevent him from making an explanation about the telegram?

THE CHAIRMAN: The only matter which is pertinent to the Vote and the one circumstance which may perhaps require explanation is the fact of the telegram being addressed to Mr. Joyce, of the Irish Office.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to that, I have to say that the fact that the telegram was addressed to the Irish Office is not due to any action on the part of Mr. Joyce. The reason I proposed to go into the other matter, when you, Sir, interrupted me, was to show that the telegram was not and could not be of any utility whatever to the *Times* case. I do not know whether I ought, in conclusion, to say anything in answer to the observations, last night, of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler.) I need not say that neither I nor any of my Colleagues have reason to complain of the tone of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. On the contrary, if he will allow me to say so, I think his speech was effective from a moderation of statement to which, unhappily, we are little accustomed when we are dealing with these Irish controversies. He made three accusations against me, the character of which he made perfectly clear to the House. The first was that under the present Administration there was great dissatisfaction in Ireland connected with the administration of justice; secondly, that there was hostility to the administration of the law; and, thirdly, that we encouraged disrespect to Parliamentary government. I admit that every effort has been made by one political Party to cast discredit upon the administration of the law in Ireland. I go further, and admit that no doubt there may be a genuine hostility to the action of the Courts of Law among certain classes of the population, but I do not believe that any class in Ireland seriously entertain the opinion that men are sentenced for offences they have not committed. Under the influence of the unhappy teaching which is too prevalent in Ireland a large portion of the population have got to think that cer-

tain offences against the law of the land are not offences against morality. They have got to think, for instance, that scalding a policeman or violently resisting the officers of the law are actions innocent, if not commendable. But I do not agree with the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that anyone in Ireland supposes that innocent men are condemned for offences which they have not really committed. With regard to the second point, that there is hostility to the administration of the law by the police, he must be aware that the police exercise their duties in Ireland under difficulties to which no other police in the world are subjected. He complains of me because I defend the action of the police in this House, and he says that no Home Secretary would be allowed to defend the English police in the manner in which I defend the Irish police. Have the English police ever been treated as the Irish police are treated? I am not conscious of ever having defended n this House any policeman who was open to attack. I grant that policemen are not infallible, that with 14,000 policemen engaged in carrying out the law in Ireland, under circumstances of exceptional provocation, some errors of judgment and some unnecessary violence may undoubtedly be committed; but if he thinks those evils would be best remedied by my abandoning to their bitterest enemies the character of these men, who are unable to defend themselves, he is very greatly mistaken. The right hon. Gentleman says I have encouraged disrespect to Members of this House. I cherish as much as the right hon. Gentleman, or any man, the honour of this House. Personally, my whole life is and has been for many years bound up with this House, my work is largely carried on in this House, my ambition is indissolubly associated with this House, and certainly no one is more jealous of the honour of this House than I. But I cannot agree with the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that the honour of this House is likely to be exalted by allowing Members of this House with impunity to break the law. I do not think that the honour of Members of Parliament can be sustained by regarding them as an exceptional class of citizens, who are to be allowed exceptional privileges in disobeying the laws of the country. With regard to the special treatment of Members of Parliament who have been in prison, I should be out of order in alluding to that matter at the present time, but there will be ample opportunity later. It will be sufficient for me to say that the honour of this House depends, and must depend, on the conduct of individual Members of this House; and if we desire that nothing be done to attack that honour, nothing be done to lower the Parliamentary institutions of this country, or to bring those institutions into contempt in the eyes of the people, I know no better method of attaining those objects than by enforcing the law even against Members of Parliament.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): We can all sympathise with the eloquent passage in the right hon. Gentleman's speech in which he referred to the honour of this House, but there are better things than eloquent words, and they are deeds. The right hon. Gentleman disclaims all responsibility for the Plan of Campaign. Was he not Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1887, and had he not an important influence upon the Government in 1886, although he was not then in his present position? Did he not speak against the Bill dealing with the Arrears question, brought in by the hon. Member for Cork City in 1887? He cannot divest himself of being the most responsible person in this House for the adoption of the Plan of Campaign and for the numerous evictions that have taken place and the disorder which has unfortunately accompanied those evictions. The right hon. Gentleman has twitted the Irish Members with being sensitive to strong language and criticism. We have not complained of strong language, but strong language accompanied by brutal blows from a baton, or by prods from a bayonet, endangering life, is a very different matter. We have repeatedly demanded public inquiries into the brutal murders at Mitchelstown and Youghal, but the only kind of inquiry which was held was one in which the parties accused were themselves to inquire into the question of their guilt. The right hon. Gentleman frequently recommends Irish Members to try an action at law, but he does all in his power to prevent us acting upon his advice. He has refused the request of Members of this House that the Irish

police constables should be numbered, even though the request was backed up by one of his most enthusiastic supporters the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). But, I repeat, he has done all in his power to prevent aggrieved parties bringing actions at law. On the occasion of the brutal attack upon my hon. Friend the Member for North Monaghan by the police, it was impossible to find the official on whom the responsibility rested. We cannot find out if the responsibility for giving the orders lies with the Head Constable. How futile is it to talk of bringing an action when the officer in charge is not known, and, individual policemen not being numbered, there are no means of identifying a man. It may be premature to say there will be no action brought against the police for their conduct at Charleville. Let the Chief Secretary give us facilities, and indicate who is the official responsible for the firing, and we can promise there shall be a prosecution, and the whole facts shall be laid before the public. The right hon. Gentleman shows how much sincerity there is in his suggestion that actions at law should be taken when he refuses us information when we ask for means of identification. I listened last night with considerable interest to the wise and weighty speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and with a great part of that speech I cordially agree. But I must dissent emphatically from the concluding observations of the right hon. Gentleman, in which he referred to the chivalrous defence of Irish administration by the Chief Secretary. I can understand the use of the term as applied to the defence of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the poor against the strong and mighty in the land, as applied to the assistance given to those overborne by the calamities and sufferings of their lot, but chivalry used in connection with the defence of the Irish Administration is debasing the term—it is the very negation of those honourable and noble ideas we associate with chivalry. The Chief Secretary did not reply to that portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in which he spoke of the distrust of the law existing in Ireland—distrust of the law and of its administration. True it is that this distrust was not created by the present Chief Secretary, but it has been intensified by him to a point beyond any it has ever reached since the connection of any Chief Secretary with the Irish people. I say the policy of the Chief Secretary is a policy of defiance of the Irish people, supplemented by a defamation of those whom the people hold most dear; a policy of defiance, in paying not the slightest heed to the most solemn remonstrances of those entitled to speak as representatives of the Irish people—priests, Members of Parliament, and local bodies; and a system of defamation that the right hon. Gentleman himself has initiated. We had a noteworthy instance of this defamation lately in his speech to a Nonconformist body, when he struck the first note of indiscriminate abuse of the priests of Ireland. Is it wise, from his own point of view—if the right hon. Gentleman wishes to win the people to his own peculiar ideas of law and order—to attack, without reason or necessity, in what he himself would call severe language, a body of men who—whatever they may be—are held in peculiar esteem and veneration by the Irish people, and will so remain as long as Irish people live on Irish soil? The right hon. Gentleman commenced this attack in a speech delivered not many months ago; and we had a special instance of the attack a few days ago when he alluded to the priests of County Clare as a body of men who "do no credit to their cloth." He has been challenged to name any particular priest outside this House, but I know he will not take up that challenge. I do not think so unworthily of the right hon. Gentleman's consistency in his dislike and distrust of the Irish people as to believe him capable of a generous thought or sentiment for the friends of the Irish National cause, but I think he exceeds the limit of his own peculiar notions of his duty when he makes this attack upon the representatives of the Church in Ireland, totally unwarranted by anything that has occurred and which has justly aroused the profound resentment of the Irish people. I will not go out of my way to allude to the Irish Representatives. We have used strong language sometimes, we have to do so in regard to acts of administration, but

we do not use it in a personal sense. Not so the right hon. Gentleman, when to a company of office seekers at a banquet in Dublin he made merry with the indignities and sufferings inflicted upon a respected Member of this House. He passed out of the limits of honest political criticism and descended to a depth I find it difficult to characterise in Parliamentary phrase in order to attack my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork. The right hon. Gentleman never hesitates whether in replying to questions in this House or in general Debate whenever it suits his purpose, to describe the Irish people as bad characters or as forming a mob. A few days ago my hon. Friend the Member for Clare asked a question as to a system of police espionage of the most irritating character practised on some of the most respectable citizens of the town, and complained of arrests made without the slightest cause, and the right hon. Gentleman's excuse was that these men "associated with bad characters." Now surely this is not language that should be used of others than those guilty of crime before the law? But these were some of the most respected inhabitants of this particular town in Clare—shopkeepers, farmers, and others, as respectable men as are to be found in this House. The right hon. Gentleman says he will not interfere with the administration of the law, and makes this his defence for his peculiar line of action in connection with the disputes on the Clanricarde estate, and on the Ponsonby estate in County Cork. But it is no secret that his predecessor in office did use "pressure within the law;" and undoubtedly it is within the power of the Executive, before using the forces of the Crown for eviction purposes, to institute inquiry, and to delay proceedings and to secure that those forces shall not be lent in such numbers and under such circumstances that evictions can be carried out with that facility and ease that some landlords desire. But in relation to the Ponsonby tenantry and the Clanricarde tenantry, the right hon. Gentleman departed from that negative attitude of his predecessor and took a course of action that seemed to indicate that he entered upon the business *con amore*, and regarded it more or less in the light of a pastime, and so these unfortunate people, struggling with bad seasons and fallen prices, were cast out upon the world for no crime but poverty. From his speeches and his actions the Chief Secretary seems to enter upon this work *con amore*, and hence it is we have the battering ram and all the facilities to make eviction easy, and the defence in this House founded on the *ex parte* statements of the landlords. This last is no part of his duty. I could perfectly understand an attitude in which a Chief Secretary, while deploring evictions as a necessity, declares himself powerless to interfere with the administration of the law, or to prevent the presence of the forces of the Crown at these unhappy eviction scenes. I can understand that position, brutal and callous though it may seem, as perfectly logical. But the right hon. Gentleman goes beyond that negative attitude—he defends the landlords; he brings forward statistics in relation to the Ponsonby property; he goes outside his province as representative of the Government, and becomes the landlords' champion in particular controversies. There was an instance of this in connection with the Ponsonby estate. I asked him could nothing be done by his influence to delay eviction there in view of the circumstances brought under his notice, in view of the significant letter of Mr. Horace Townshend, the agent to the syndicate which had taken over the estate; but the right hon. Gentleman "could not interfere with the administration of the law." But he goes beyond that, and seeks to explain away the sinister significance of the letter of the agent; he causes his agent to make inquiry, and in connection with this the agent wrote the letter which caused such a revulsion of feeling through Great Britain. It was no part of his duty to come down to the House and contend that the Ponsonby rents were fair, in view of the fact that the agent of the syndicate to which the First Lord of the Treasury subscribed had written a letter, which he did not think would come into our hands, admitting that the rents were unfair and unjust and their enforcement a cruelty. It was no part of the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to come here and defend the action of the landlord and to go into the question of rents to show that they were just, thereby showing sympathy with

the landlord and hostility to the claims of the tenants. It may be consistent with his duty that the hon. Member for Fulham should attend at evictions, so that, as it were, they are carried out under distinguished patronage; but I contend that the Chief Secretary has conducted his duty of administration in a partisan spirit; that he has shown that his whole sympathy is on one side in the struggle at present going on between the unfortunate tenantry and their hereditary task-masters. I think we have had no explanation from the Chief Secretary of those very ugly, those unmanly incidents in connection with the Ponsonby evictions a few months ago, to which my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin referred, at which an innocent girl, at a time of trouble and misery, cast from her father's home, was subjected to insult by low officials, who seem to gloat over the miseries of the Irish peasantry. Surely this was an occasion for inquiry, in order that Crockett might be made amenable to justice; and, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman might have taken notice of the conduct of Colonel Caddell, the recent addition to the Irish Magisterial Bench. I think in this case the right hon. Gentleman suggested, "Why not take action at law?" But it took a month to find out who Crockett was. The right hon. Gentleman says he is not responsible for the conduct of Crockett. But how was it that this man was admitted within the line of police, when to priests, Members of Parliament, and the Press admission was denied? At any rate, if not responsible for the brutalities of Crockett, he is responsible for the conduct of Colonel Caddell on the occasion. How can you expect a poor peasant girl to bring an action against Colonel Caddell? Who is to find the money? There is an item in this Vote of £240 set apart for newspapers, and I presume out of that a certain proportion is paid for Irish newspapers, and a subscription to the *Times;* but does the amount include some of the chief Provincial newspapers? If that is so, how is it that the right hon. Gentleman is always ignorant of circumstances that we bring to his notice from the records of these newspapers? Out of this item of £240 he could supply himself with the information contained in the *Cork Herald*, the *Cork Examiner*, the *Belfast Morning News*, the *Leinster Leader*, and many other papers from which he could obtain the elementary facts which we so often have to bring to his notice. Surely when he sees reports of circumstances, such as the assault on my hon. Friend the Member for North Monaghan, or accounts of distressing scenes at evictions, he might make himself acquainted with the facts, and when we ask a question a few days afterwards he might give us an intelligible if not a satisfactory answer. Before I sit down, let me refer to the right hon. Gentleman's observations on the condition of Ireland. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) has pointed out the significant fact, in connection with the number of police huts over the country, and as evidence of the improved condition the Chief Secretary claims for his administration, that where the National League branch has been suppressed there the police huts are more numerous. In the Kanturk district of East Cork the League is supposed to be suppressed, and the huts are more numerous than they were two years ago. It is our proposition that the suppression of the League is likely to be accompanied by outbreaks of crime and disorder, fomented by secret societies; and I regret to say there are not wanting proofs of the truth of this, and even in those districts where the suppression of the League has been only partially carried out there has been a recrudescence of outrage, evidently the work of secret societies. When the National League was first suppressed I advised my constituents to resist that suppression by every honourable means in their power, and for taking my advice many of them were sent to prison, and I am perfectly willing to take my share of the responsibility and punishment. Upon the Chief Secretary lies the responsibility if, in the face of these warnings, he persists in his policy of suppression, and in closing this safety-valve for popular feeling. From the Kanturk police district, I suppose, more men have been sent to prison for the technical offence of attending meetings of the so-called suppressed branch of the National League than from any other district in Ireland. The League is not suppressed there, though, of course, it does not meet with the same frequency or deliberate with the same

openness as before. But in those districts where the League is suppressed, and where no branch at present exists, there the Police Returns of outrages show an increase; and my own knowledge, gleaned from local newspapers, shows me the increase of the danger month by month, and the right hon. Gentleman will, I fear, have to recall every word he has uttered on this very painful subject. For my part, I hope the suppressed branches of the League will continue to held meetings, for to my mind that is the only means by which crime and outrage can be counteracted. It has more influence in that direction than the whole policy of the Chief Secretary. His whole policy is one of defiance towards the Irish people, and of deception towards the English people; he seeks to hide from the people of Great Britain the real manner in which his administration is carried on in Ireland and the real operation of the Crimes Act. It is part of our business to expose that misrepresentation, and to let the people of Great Britain see the facts as they stand. I can promise the right hon. Gentleman this—that as long as his administration is conducted on its present lines, and in the spirit in which he and his subordinates at present work it, the people of Ireland will offer him a hearty and absolute defiance.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I do not rise to enter into the present phase of this discussion, but to call attention, in connection with this Vote, to the statistics that indicate a gradual but steady increase in the number of lunatics in Ireland. Since 1882 that increase has been constant, and within the last two or three years has reached alarming figures. The increase of 1885 over 1884 was 131; of 1886 over 1885 was 283; and in 1887 there was an increase of 561 over the year before. Now I find that this large increase in the total number of lunatics in Ireland is especially noticeable in certain counties in the North—Londonderry and Tyrone, for instance. In a question which I addressed to the Chief Secretary last March, I raised the subject of the growing consumption of ether, and its effects; and the right hon. Gentleman in his reply stated the Constabulary Authorities reported that in certain parts of Ireland it was constantly used as an intoxicant, and that according to the opinions of resident physicians insanity was, in many instances, induced by indulgence in this habit. I am aware that the investigations made by the constabulary as a result of my inquiry were necessarily of a limited character; but the information which has reached me from people on whom I can place complete reliance shows that the traffic in ether is assuming very large proportions. I think the chief centre of it is the district of Portumna. In the town of Cookstown the ether sales of some traders equal 20 gallons per week, and they estimate a profit of £4 on this article alone. One trader imports 120 gallons a week, and over 900 gallons pass every year through Belfast for sale in Derry and Tyrone. Cookstown, Magherafelt, and Maghera take over four tons per annum carried by rail alone. Now, the ether imported into these districts is not used for trade purposes. A half-glass of it is sufficient for an intoxicant, and for a sum of 6d. a man could get drunk on ether three times a day. According to these figures enough is imported into the district I have named to account for 105,000 cases of drunkenness every year. A large proportion of the traffic is, as a matter of fact, conducted by cart from Belfast, and the drug is distributed in small quantities at the country shops, the keepers of which send it out in their parcels of groceries. This increases the difficulty of ascertaining the full extent of the traffic. I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that the General Synod of the Church of Ireland has repeatedly petitioned Parliament on this question; so also have the Synod of the Diocese of Armagh and the Young Men's Christian Association. I have here a letter from a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood in which the traffic is mainly carried on, and in it he says—

"When I first became a Magistrate, some 20 years ago, ether was only sold for improper purposes in one house in Maghera: it is now sold in four low lodging-houses, and it is a common practice for people when turned out of the public-houses to finish off their night's debauch. For consumption at home ether is also sold in more respectable houses, not only in Maghera, but in the small houses throughout the neighbourhood; and I regret to say that, in order to bring it within the reach of every one, two old women go through the country to barter it for empty bottles at the farm-houses

&c. From the fact that a pennyworth produces drunkenness, the terrible mischief that ensues is plain. For years I have persistently opposed the granting of new licenses, chiefly on the ground that if they were unreasonably multiplied the police would be unable to enforce the laws relating to them. Of late I have greatly moderated this opinion, for I think it would be better far for the country that every house in it should be licensed rather than that the drinking of ether should be substituted for that of whisky. On the latter, at all events, you can only get drunk once in 24 hours: on the former for the same cost you could be drunk and sober two or three times. I have always understood there s great difficulty in legislating on this subject. In my opinion great advantage would ensue if it were enacted that ether could not be sold unless when prescribed by a doctor) in less quantities than 5s. worth at a time"——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I do not see how this is connected with the Vote now under Debate.

MR. MACARTNEY: I desired to point out that the increase of lunacy, especially in the North of Ireland, is attributable to the practice of ether drinking, and I do not know of any other Vote on which I could raise this question. If, however, Sir, you think I am travelling wide of the Vote in bringing this subject forward, I will content myself with stating that I shall be pleased to lay what information I have before the Chief Secretary. This is a question which has attracted the attention of the clergy of all denominations, who are exercising all the influence they have to put down the traffic. In some neighbourhoods the practice has almost reached the proportions of an epidemic, and small shopkeepers are known to have actually given ether to children in order to secure their custom. I do trust that the Chief Secretary will give serious attention to this matter, and will see if it is not possible to introduce some measure on the subject next Session.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall be very much obliged if the hon. Member will supply me with all the information in his possession bearing upon this question. I will certainly make full inquiries on this important matter.

*MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I am willing to admit that in the remarks which the Chief Secretary has just delivered there was an absence of that aggressiveness to which we, on this side of the House, are accustomed when the right hon. Gentleman is replying to our speeches. I do not intend, in what I am about to say, to deal with details which have already formed the subject of this Debate. I will not stop to inquire whether the Constabulary or the people are responsible for the deplorable incidents which are frequently discussed in this House; but the broad fact remains that these collisions take place, and that ill-will towards the authorities and distrust for the administration of the law prevails generally amongst the people; but I propose to refer back to the position in which the right hon. Gentleman found the country when he took office, and I desire to point out the considerable economic and social changes which have since occurred. The right hon. Gentleman found a great agrarian struggle proceeding in Ireland, and he determined, immediately he took office, to throw in his lot absolutely and entirely on the side of the landlords, and he has consistently continued that policy down to the present time. His efforts have always been directed to the support of one class of the community, and the result has been that the differences between the landlords on the one hand, and the tenantry on the other, have not been lessened through his attitude. The right hon. Gentleman has also shown that he is determined to support his subordinates in Ireland, whether they are right or wrong, and the action of his subordinates has always been directed to the support of one particular class—the landlords. The discreditable and disgraceful conflicts which have taken place in Ireland between the police and the people have been due to an unnecessary parade of police force. I always understood that the police should only be brought out in force when it was feared there might be a conflict between two sets of people. Of course, in view of such a probability, it would be only right to have a strong display of police. But, as a matter of fact, the policy pursued in Ireland has been to call out the police when there was no danger whatever of any conflict because the people are all of one way of thinking, and, as a consequence, the public feeling has been exasperated, and the presence of the police has produced a worse condition of affairs than prevailed before. In Dublin, where there is a Superintendent of discretion and judgment, conflicts of

the kind are practically unknown, although there we have political demonstrations of enormous size given in honour of the Chief Secretary's criminals, accompanied by displays of great enthusiasm among the people. Formerly conflicts between the police and the people were common in Dublin, but they no longer occur, because there is now an absence of aggression on the part of the force, and the authorities very wisely only send out a very few policemen to maintain order on these occasions, instead of making an unnecessarily large display of force; and I would commend this as an example to be followed in the country districts, as it would avert the disgraceful scenes of batoning and of bloodshed which we are constantly hearing of. The right hon. Gentleman claims that the improvement in Ireland of late years is owing to the policy of the Government. No one will deny that an improvement has taken place; but I do contest his assertion that it is attributable to his policy. We have had better harvests, and the prices of agricultural produce have risen, and these are the things which account for the improved state of the country. The system of police and Magisterial rule which the right hon. Gentleman has fostered has retarded the improvement. It would have been better for the country if the police had been kept to their proper work—the prevention and detection of crime, and if the course of persecutions —they do not deserve the name of prosecutions—directed against the popular leaders in Ireland had never been entered on. I do not know whether the result of the right hon. Gentleman's policy has been to develop secret societies in Ireland. His suppression of public meetings and of constitutional agitation is well calculated to produce such a result; but if it has not done so it is because, fortunately, the Irish people now realise that the present reign of terror cannot last much longer, thanks to the policy of the right hon. Gemtleman the Member for Mid Lothian and of the Liberal Party. From a political point of view, nothing could better serve our purpose than that the Chief Secretary should continue his present policy. But we are not anxious that this perpetual turmoil shall be kept up, although it would be politically advantageous to us, and I will venture to offer the right hon. Gentleman, in all sincerity, some advice, if any advice coming from this quarter of the House can have any influence with him. Of course any Minister dislikes admitting that his policy has failed; but does not the Chief Secretary consider this an opportune moment for retiring from a policy which cannot be claimed to have succeeded? If he does I can assure him we shall be happy to find him a golden bridge by means of which he can retire from it. He can find an excuse in the improved condition of the country for suspending the system of persecutions and suppression of public meetings which have proved so inefficacious, and I would strongly urge the right hon. Gentleman at the same time, having regard to the small dimensions into which this particular question of the Plan of Campaign has resolved itself, that he should make some effort to bring about a settlement of disputes on these few remaining estates. His influence in this respect would be most potent—it would, in fact, be all powerful—for reasons which are easily conceived; and he could readily bring about a termination of the most acute cases of land disputes, if he so willed. I can speak, to a certain extent, as an impartial witness, of the vaunted success of the Chief Secretary in his government of Ireland, because I have not myself taken much part in the political movements that are going on, and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that never in my recollection did I know anything like the feeling of ill-will and distrust such as now exists in the South and West of Ireland, both against the Executive Authority and the administration of the law. The right hon. Gentleman's policy will not, and cannot, survive a General Election. It cannot even survive the near approach of a General Election, and I warn the right hon. Gentleman that if he continues to pursue the course he is now following he will only find the weapon of coercion has broken in his hands, and he will end his connection with Ireland discredited and a failure, as all of his predecessors who pursued a similar line of policy.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I wish to draw attention to the case of Mr. John Vowell who was charged before

the ordinary Court of Petty Sessions and ordered to find bail.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see how this comes immediately under the Vote for the Chief Secretary. It should be mentioned under the Vote for Prosecutions.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN: Sir, I bow to your ruling, and will bring it forward under that Vote.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I cannot sit here and allow the Vote to be passed without making my protest. I do so from the taxpayers' point of view. I say that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland is not worth one penny of the sum put down to him. If the amount were divided by 200 it would more nearly represent the value of the right hon. Gentleman. If we pay a man a salary, we ought to know what he has done for it. Now, I say that the right hon. Gentleman has brought mischief and misery to Ireland; he has raised ill-will among the people and the constabulary; he has destroyed all hope of an amicable settlement of differences; he has imprisoned priests and people, and has done no good to Mr. Olphert, who is now a poor, miserable man, living alone, and not having the property which he formerly enjoyed. Mr. Olphert has been driven by the Party to which the right hon. Gentleman belongs to the forlorn position which he now occupies. I observe in the Vote an item of £1,400 travelling expenses for the Chief Secretary. I know the right hon. Gentleman does not spend 4d. a day. I would give the right hon. Gentleman something like a fair salary—say, £20 a year and 4d. a day for expenses. Then why is not the £350 for incidental expenses explained? The Chief Secretary ought to be paid on commercial principles; that is to say, he ought to be paid for the actual work he does. He has brought trouble on one of the most peaceable countries on God's earth. The Chief Secretary spends very little of his time in Ireland. I think he ought to travel North, East, South, and West. He need not be afraid. There is not one of our people who would touch his clothes, nor yet his body. They are the finest and the bravest people that ever existed, but they hate to be misruled, and they are being misruled now. We are longing for a General Election, and when it comes we will soon bring down the Chief Secretary's salary to what it was before—that was, to the condition, I suppose, of living on his neighbours. We want peace in Ireland, and not the turmoil and confusion which for weeks together I have seen prevailing without any reason. I have seen Father M'Fadden and Father Stephens taken by the police along a circuitous route, so that they might be exhibited by the police like wild beasts. The police managed by some means or other to gather a crowd, and then the people, without even lifting their hands or their voices, were driven through the streets, and blood flowed like a rain-shower. I have seen policemen actually walk into private houses and baton the people inside. I have known one constable walk into my own establishment to drive me with his baton. I said to him, "Do you know these are my premises? If you do not leave I will shut the door and make you a prisoner." That is the only way of dealing with them. There is no use in appealing to the Magistrate unless you can take them red-handed. The right hon. Gentleman says the police have a difficult task to perform. But they get large salaries, and are the only body in Ireland which can live on what they get. Unless they receive large bribes the police will not enforce English Law in the country. But not a single Irishman is intimidated, and in another three years, if the Government lasts so long, the Chief Secretary will find that his coercion policy has been of no avail. Do you think you will make the people love coercion laws and tyranny and brute force? The Irish people will be loyal to fair and just laws, but the Chief Secretary has travelled outside the law, and if the right hon. Gentleman were tried and found guilty, he would get 20 years' penal servitude for breaking the law. But the right hon. Gentleman has behind him the Castle and the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Thanks to the hon. Member for South Tyrone, Mr. Olphert has got no rents and no goodwill, and Mr. Olphert never will do better as long as he takes advice from a running jackdaw. The Chief Secretary will never be able to get a situation anywhere outside Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman were to try to get a situation at £20 a year in Manchester, nobody would have anything to do with him at

any price. The only thing he is fit for is to be placed side by side with Le Caron and the convicts out of Downpatrick Gaol and the other *Times'* witnesses.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): There were some observations addressed to the Committee by the hon. Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) as to the consumption of ether in some parts of the North of Ireland, and my own constituency was referred to. The hon. Gentleman said that about Omagh the drug was largely consumed——

THE CHAIRMAN: I called the hon. Member for Antrim to order. If the hon. Member wishes to say anything, I hope it will be of a very restricted character.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I only wish to say that the Report of Dr. Nugent this year does not make the slightest allusion to the subject, and although I am in no way opposed to inquiry, I must altogether dissent from the opinion to which the hon. Member invited the Committee to come. Allusion has several times been made to the remarks in which the Chief Secretary, paraphrasing the language used in a letter by Colonel Turner, referred to the County Clare clergy as being no credit to their cloth. I do not think these reverend gentlemen need any defence of their character, and I do not think anything the right hon. Gentleman can say will in the slightest degree lower them in the estimation of the people; indeed, it may possibly be the best means of increasing their esteem. Who are these gentlemen who have been connected with the dispute upon Colonel Vandeleur's property? Dr. Dinan, the parish priest of the district, and three of his curates and a neighbouring parish priest. Dr. Dinan is a venerable and much-respected clergyman between 80 and 90 years of age, a man who a few years ago was selected by the diocese for the episcopacy, and who occupies the very high position of Vicar General. He is one of the most highly respected priests in the whole of Ireland, who is trusted by all, whose character and motives are above suspicion, who is an honour to his cloth, and who deserves the highest credit for the action he took in regard to the dispute on Colonel Vandeleur's property. The tenants were not compelled or cajoled into the adoption of the Plan of Campaign; they adopted it of their free choice, and the upshot has been that, in spite of the action of Colonel Turner, a settlement has been brought about by the instrumentality of these gentlemen who were denounced by the Chief Secretary; and these gentlemen whom the right hon. Gentleman holds to be unworthy of their cloth are the gentlemen with whom Colonel Vandeleur entered into negotiation and conducted a personal treaty for the settlement of the unfortunate dispute on his property. I do not think it is necessary to allude to Colonel Turner at all. Anything he says is altogether beneath notice; he is but the servant of the Chief Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: The action of Colonel Turner should have been, and was, discussed under the Police Vote.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I was only alluding to him, Sir, as the servant of the Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary has further made allusions to certain prosecutions in the town of Ennis. Mr. M'Namara was arrested, brought before a Magistrate, and immediately discharged, and the right hon. Gentleman says this was due to the association of that gentleman with bad characters. Now, those whom the right hon. Gentleman so describes are respected men in the town of Ennis. I know them perfectly well, and I will undertake to say that they are as respectable in their position as the right hon. Gentleman himself in his. There is nothing that can be said against their characters. One of them seems to be Mr. Denis M'Namara, and he has been prosecuted and imprisoned for selling copies of *United Ireland;* but in the contest the Chief Secretary at last owned himself vanquished, and Mr. M'Namara is now allowed to sell the newspaper freely. The position of the Chief Secretary is one in which, no matter what may happen, he will not condemn the action of the police under any circumstances, and the police know that, and are encouraged in their violent conduct. By way of contrast, let me allude to the riot that took place at Cookstown, Tyrone. The police did not on that occasion enter into a conflict with the people; they prevented a violent breach of the peace, and they took the ordinary sensible course of summoning the offenders before a Magistrate, and they were properly convicted. Now

with less excuse in the South of Ireland, the police would have proceeded to break the skulls of the people, and to become themselves the chief rioters in pursuance of a policy to justify coercion. The Chief Secretary seems to think that the forces of the Crown should be an automatic body, moving at the desire of the landlords; but in this respect he appears from the view of his predecessor and of every Chief Secretary since the time of Thomas Drummond. When Drummond was Secretary, he refused the forces of the Crown for the use of the landlords, and on many subsequent occasions they have been refused. It is a well-known fact that 40 or 50 years ago, Sheriffs had to carry out evictions at their own risk and peril. They had to bring their own posse, and it is only by a recent application of the policy of coercion that police are summoned in whatever numbers the landlords requisition, and even military force is brought to their aid. I can understand there are circumstances under which the use of the forces of the Crown might be necessary, but these have not arisen in recent years, and I altogether deny that it is obligatory on the Chief Secretary to sanction in every case where the landlords choose to requisition it the lending of an enormous force to carry out eviction decrees obtained by the landlords. The Chief Secretary is particularly responsible for the scandals on the Olphert estate. Not only did he agree to lend the police and military, but he encouraged the police to practices for the protection of themselves as he says, but really for the destruction of the houses of the people, for the shortening of eviction operations. From the time of the Bodyke evictions downwards, the police have discharged the functions of emergency men and bailiffs.

THE CHAIRMAN: These are matters for discussion under the Police Vote, not under this Vote.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I will allude no further to that, Sir. Allusion has been made to the signs of increasing prosperity in Ireland, and I altogether deny the contention of the Chief Secretary that his administration is responsible for a condition of greater prosperity or that it is justified by facts. Year after year we have references to the cash balances in the banks and the amounts in the savings banks. Increased cash balances do not necessarily indicate a state of prosperity; they may equally indicate a slackness of trade, and as to savings banks it is true there are increases year by year, but what does it all amount to? The deposits amount to £3,000,000, which gives a paltry sum of 12s. 6d. per head of the population. If the people are becoming thrifty in their habits, so much the better; but I may point out that the increase in the number of police is enough to account for the increase in the savings bank deposits. A better index of the condition of things is the state of investments in the public funds, and from this Return we have before us we find that there has been a decrease of investments in Imperial securities annually, and they are now £8,000,000 less than they were in 1871. These are more instructive figures as indicating a decrease in the wealth of the people of Ireland than cash balances and savings bank deposits. I think the contention of the Chief Secretary is untenable, and I believe the more we inquire into the real state of things the more we shall find that the condition of things is steadily growing worse in many respects—I will not say in every respect but in many respects—and I believe at the present time the people of Ireland have less money at command than in any period for the last 30 years, or since foreign importation flooded the markets with cheap corn. I do not believe it is of any use offering advice to the Government; they are determined to stick to their line of policy and their avowed purpose of steady repression, but we shall shortly have the opportunity of carrying our appeal outside this House to the only tribunal competent to decide on a verdict.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The Debate has hitherto been almost entirely confined to hon. Members below the Gangway, and I believe there is a general feeling in the House that the sooner it is over and the Vote passed the better. But it has been said more than once that there are two Irelands, and as yet the Committee have only heard the opinion of one Ireland in this matter. I come from a part of the country where the police are in the proportion of 10 to every 10,000 of the population. Hon. Members below the Gangway come from a

part of Ireland where the proportion of police to population is as 38 or 40 to 10,000. This is a great difference; and I, as a Representative of North-East Ulster—that portion of the country where the police are 10 in 10, 00 of the population, desire to examine the evidence of the witnesses from the other parts of the country. If the Chief Secretary's policy has not produced good results, then this Vote ought not to be passed. I go the length of saying that; but I am going to contend, and I am going to quote Parliamentary Returns to show that the policy of the Chief Secretary is bearing good fruit, and that although the end has not been entirely achieved, yet we have gone a good way towards securing it. For this purpose I take the two most disturbed counties, Kerry and Clare, and what are the facts? In 1887, before the passing of the Land Act and the Crimes Act, for both of which the Chief Secretary was responsible, there were in these counties 261 agrarian offences reported to the police; in 1888 there were 203, and in the first six months of the present year 69. Now, I hold, explain it as you like, these figures show the actual condition in these two counties in regard to agrarian crime, and if you look back to the years previous to 1887 you find the difference greater. Then I take the boycotting Returns. In October, 1887, the number of persons boycotted was — in Clare 506; and in Kerry 477; and on the 1st of July this year there were seven persons in Clare and 13 in Kerry, wholly or partially boycotted. Now if that does not indicate an improved condition of things, I do not know what would be called an improvement. Hon. Members may challenge the figures, but I take them from Parliamentary Returns. I have no other means of finding out the truth, and in the absence of contradiction, I take them as correct. Now if I take the whole country, apart from these two counties, I find the facts showing an equal improvement. In the whole country in 1888 there were 660 agrarian offences, compared with over 2,000 in 1880. As to evictions—which many will take as a crucial test—there were in 1880 over 2,600, some of the evicted being replaced as tenants and others as caretakers. In 1888 only 773 families were turned out of their homes. Apart from the question of agrarian crime, let us take the general state of the country. The Judges have just returned from the Assizes, and we get a glimpse of the state of the country from their Charges. Doubts have been thrown on official statements, but I do not think the Judges get their information entirely from the police.

An hon. MEMBER: They do from the County Inspectors.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Well, if you cannot trust the County Inspectors, the Magistrates, and the Judges, whom are you to trust? Are we to trust the hon. Members below the Gangway? I respectfully decline to do that. The Judges practically say, with the exception of three counties, Ireland is in a state of profound quiet and peace. They admit that three counties are disturbed, but even there the improvement is very marked. Then as to the state of trade. I will not dispute the inference of the last speaker as to cash balances in the banks; but the increase in the deposits in the savings banks happens to be largest in the five counties where the police are fewest in proportion to the population. The hon. Member will have to find some other means of explaining the Returns. The hon. Member is right in his reference to Indian and Government Stock; but I am a little surprised to find hon. Members talking about fundholders in whom they have never professed any interest hitherto; their interest has been in the depositors in savings banks and post office banks. When you take the Railway Returns and the Banking Returns you have a distinct improvement within the past two years. You find there is less agrarian crime, that ordinary crime is at a minimum, and that evictions are fewer, and if these are the signs of a ruined country governed by a despotic Minister I should like to know what are the signs of a prosperous country governed Constitutionally. I would ask hon. Members below the Gangway to face this fact. The five counties in the North of Ireland, where hon. Members have least influence, but which are equally with the rest of Ireland under the Chief Secretary's administration, are profoundly peaceable and fairly prosperous, while the counties which the hon.

Members below the Gangway represent are neither peaceful nor prosperous.

MR. O'HANLON: I want to give the hon. Member an answer. In the North of Ireland——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not a point of order.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I want to know why Belfast and Londonderry at the present moment have employment for every one, while Cork and Limerick and Waterford have not? Surely there must be some answer to that. It is because the people in the North mind their own business. I would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton that there is no hostility to the law or to the administration of the law in the five counties to which I have referred. They are inhabited by the same classes of people as the Southern counties—by farmers, labourers, artizans, mechanics, merchants, shopkeepers—and no doubt the Southern counties would be equally quiet and prosperous if hon. Members would but let them. The trouble arises from the necessity which hon. Members below the Gangway find of keeping the pot boiling for themselves.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN (Dublin, College Green): The speech we have just heard has been heard and answered many times before. It appears that there are five prosperous counties in Ireland represented by gentlemen like himself, whilst all the other counties in the country are unprosperous.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I did not say that. I said hon. Members declared them to be unprosperous.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: He said they were unprosperous, and he contrasted the condition of the prosperous counties with the condition of all the remainder of the country. He challenges us to enter into an explantion of this matter. But I own it would take too long, and probably be out of order, to enter into a full explanation of the comparative prosperity of the northern and southern counties; but even in the peaceable and prosperous northern counties it is not so very long ago that the police were catching it very hot and hard indeed, and were stigmatised as "uniformed assassins" and "cowardly murderers." An hon. Member of the House, and a Representative of one of the northern constituencies, was brought to task in the House for having applied such language to the police, and he refused to apologise or to withdraw. And I hold in my hand a proof of the statement I have just made. I find in the leading organ of the so-called loyal minority in Ireland such language as the following:—

> "The first duty of the Government is to reduce the passionate assassins who potted the women and children."

And a little further on its says—

> "Are the uniformed criminals to escape; are the miscreants who fired on a solitary little boy in a deserted street, who potted a girl looking out of a window, and the mother of a young family as she stood in her own doorway—are these and the men who performed similar acts of murder to go free?"

These things occurred in the loyal part of Ireland—in the great City of Belfast. The writer relates in this article how the Royal Irish Constabulary shot down an innocent and unoffending crowd of people, and how, when the military came on the scene, these "uniformed cowards slunk away." How the Royal Irish Constabulary must have cursed these English and Scottish troops for depriving them of their congenial work! This article I have quoted shows how the loyal minority in Ireland can speak of the Royal Irish Constabulary when it comes to their turn to get a little of the rough usage that has hitherto been given to the South. Let them take care. I believe that the Irish Constabulary would be just as ready to break the heads of Orangemen as of Nationalists. I wish that there might be an end of the trouble between the people and the police; but of this there is little chance so long as the right hon. Gentleman opposite is the master and director of the police. They take their cue from him, knowing that he will sustain and defend them and excuse them in the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman has his bitter and clever tongue to use against Irish Members; but the Irish Constabulary have another weapon. They are not allowed to abuse, traduce, and calumniate these Members, but they have their batons, and with these they translate into action the spirit of the discourse of their master. The whole of this contention about the prosperity of the North of Ireland, as I have just said, has been discussed and answered many and many a time before.

There is, indeed, less distress, less hardship and suffering in Ireland to-day than at a former time. Irish Members are proud to acknowledge the fact, but they deny that the credit of the improvement is due to the present rulers of the country. Badly as they have misruled the country, and cruelly as they have used the leaders of the Irish people, they cannot prevent some share of the general prosperity from coming into the land. England has herself had a revival of trade and commerce, and Ireland has come in for a little share of it. But I deny that credit for it is in any way due to the Chief Secretary. We Irish Members take credit for a considerable part of this increased prosperity; for it has been by our long struggle and sacrifices that we have won for the Irish people some important concessions. We have extorted these concessions from the British Parliament, and thousands and thousands of tenant farmers have now some protection and security for their earnings, where before they had none. We won it for them by many a hard battle on the floor of this House, and by labour and struggle, night and day, in sunshine and storm, on the hills and plains of Ireland. We have won important concessions for the Irish tenant farmers, and these things are operating for their benefit to-day; and to them may largely be traced the improved condition of this class of people. I rise to oppose this Vote for many reasons, but chiefly because in doing so I am protecting the interest of the British taxpayer. The salary of the Chief Secretary is given him to support the British Constitution in Ireland; but the policy pursued by the right hon. Gentleman in that country tends to produce hatred, strife, and ill-will, and to keep the people of Ireland at enmity with the law and the administrators of the law. I wish to corroborate the words spoken by my hon. Colleague the Member for the St. Patrick's Division of Dublin. He, as everyone knows, is a man of moderate opinions and of a quiet unaggressive manner. He takes little part in what is called agitation in Ireland; but he claims to know—and he does know — a great deal about the feelings of the Irish people. He declares that never in his recollection has the strain between the authorities and the people been so severe and bitter as it is at the present time. I believe that to be true, and, moreover, I say it could not be otherwise under the circumstances. There are other things telling in favour of peace, patience, and good temper in Ireland. The Irish Representatives tell the Irish people, and ask and implore of them, to be patient and long-suffering under the inflictions, injustices, and insults which are poured upon them by the right hon. Gentleman and his obedient servants in Ireland. The Irish people know that for whatever hardships and injustice they are suffering at the present time the English people are no longer responsible, and that only the Tory Government and the right hon. Gentleman are to blame. They well know also that the term of the power of that Government to harass and torture the Irish people cannot last for ever, and must soon come to an end. These are some of the reasons why the Irish people are as patient as they are under present circumstances. But the Irish police, as I have said, translate into action the feelings and the spirit displayed towards the Irish people by the Chief Secretary in his speeches in and out of Parliament. They know, and have reason to know, that they can do nothing, no matter how brutal, cruel, unjust and illegal, which he on the floor of this House will not excuse. I stand by the side of one of my Colleagues (Mr. P. O'Brien), who has been most cruelly ill-used, and that for no offence. He was not assailing the police, nevertheless he was batoned and wounded by many savage strokes. He was struck from behind, and I myself have been treated in a similar manner by the police. These things will rankle in the minds of the Irish people, and I firmly believe that if there were not some pacifying influence at work, if there were nothing between the Chief Secretary, his police, and his removable Magistrates, the condition of Ireland would be bad indeed. As I say, there are other influences working in favour of peace, happiness, and good temper, and I trust those influences will continue. I trust that whatever insults may be offered us, and whatever sufferings may be inflicted on us, we shall be able to live through these few additional years of Tory Government. The Irish people have lived through

harder times and have met with sterner men than the Chief Secretary. They are people who can recover from their sufferings. They are a forgiving and a generous people. I do not know what amount of forgiveness they may be inclined to extend to the doings of the present Government and the Chief Secretary; but I believe that in a while they will think very little about them, and give themselves very little concern indeed about them. I daresay the Chief Secretary imagines he is doing wonderful work and making a great name in history, and all that sort of thing; but my idea is that if in Irish history the right hon. Gentleman finds himself mentioned in a foot-note it is about as much notice as he will receive. He defends the Royal Irish Constabulary, and is greatly offended when it is suggested that they have taken to drinking very considerably. But I believe that to be a fact. The invariable accompaniment of their eviction excursions is a barrel, or several barrels, of porter, and now and then a little of something stronger, and they indulge in this refreshment pretty freely. Whether it is an insult to them or not to mention the circumstances, I think it is a charitable view to take of their conduct to say that they are not always responsible for their actions. No doubt there are decent and noble-hearted men amongst the constabulary, but they do not count for much. We do not come into collision with these well-meaning men. They do no harm and inflict no wounds; but we have to deal with men of the force who are the exact converse of these. In conclusion, I will only say that I think the money spent in Ireland for the encouragement and sustainment of this policy of insult and aggression and injustice is money badly spent. Again and again the Chief Secretary has assailed the Irish Representatives and the Irish race, declaring them to be unfit for self-government. He forgets how many leading men Ireland has given to every Department of the Government of this country. He has especially selected for defamation the hon. Member for North-East Cork, but that hon. Member's replies to his attacks he has invariably found himself unable to meet. I hope we are now near the end of all this trouble. I trust the people of England are beginning to see that the policy of coercion in Ireland is an absolute failure. The Chief Secretary knows it is; but he sees that in order to hold any sort of a place in public esteem it is necessary—although he does it without warrant—to take to himself credit for whatever little return to prosperity there may now be in Ireland. That is his only defence to plead for his tyrannical and unjust rule in Ireland. He says that crime has diminished, that boycotting has gone down almost to zero, and that there are fewer campaign estates. The campaign has fulfilled its purpose on many estates. Landlords outside the campaign have come to terms with their tenants, and no sooner has this taken place than boycotting has ceased, and there is at once a diminution in crime and outrage. In conclusion, I would only say that the increased prosperity of the country, such as it is, is due to causes with which the right hon. Gentleman has nothing to do, although he has been trying to cover the failure of his coercion policy by taking credit for the improved condition of things which has no connection either with his action or that of the Irish Executive.

*Mr. P. J. O'BRIEN: I desire, Sir, to review the conduct of the police at the Bandon Railway Station, in the City of Cork, on the occasion of the arrest of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien), on the 30th of June last. Of that occurrence I have a reminder which, I suppose, will stick to me during the remainder of my life. It is not, however, because of the consequences to myself that I desire to testify to what then took place—everyone of the 28 citizens of Cork who were maimed and carried to hospital on that occasion were of as much or more importance than I—but for the purpose of affording the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the opportunity of justifying the statement he made upon the subject in this House at a time when I was in such a condition that I could not even be made aware of what he and others were saying, or, indeed, of anything that was happening in the world outside. I desire to give my account of what I saw up to the point when I was rendered unconscious——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman; but I must point out that a discussion as to what took place on the occasion referred to would be appropriate to the Police Vote, and not to the present Vote. I have no doubt, however, that the Committee will extend its indulgence to the hon. Member, if he will confine himself to a personal statement.

*MR. P. J. O'BRIEN: I should be sorry to trespass against the Rules of the House; but the fact is, that I was in such a condition that I was not able to be here when the Police Vote was taken, and if I had acted on the advice of my medical adviser I should not have been here to-day; but I was anxious to meet the right hon. Gentleman face to face, and ask him to justify the attacks and insinuations he has made against me behind my back. Perhaps, Sir, I shall best be able to carry out your suggestion by stating what it was that really did occur. I was in the City of Cork on the 29th and 30th of June, to address one of the many meetings caused by the suppression of a public meeting in the city. On returning from that meeting to the city I learnt that the hon. Member for North-East Cork would probably arrive at Cork by the 9.30 train. I proceeded to the railway station, accompanied by three lady friends. About half-past 9 o'clock, just outside the station, I noticed a body of police, probably about 50, lounging against a wall, and close to them stood Pasha Plunket and Inspector Concannon engaged in conversation; there were not three other persons on the platform when I and my lady friends arrived. The train was late, and in a few minutes 50 police, headed by Inspector Concannon, marched on to the platform. The officer asked me to move away and I declined to do so. Inspector Concannon said he knew whom he was speaking to and also the ladies who were with me on the platform, and that he did not wish to be uncivil. I replied that I was not complaining of incivility on his part, but that he was interfering with my right to be where I pleased on a public railway platform, and that I would not move until compelled to do so by force. The body of police, seeing that I had refused to move away at the bidding of their officer, began to discuss my identity and passed my name from mouth to mouth. When the train came in I advanced to the carriage from which Mr. W. O'Brien was stepping out to shake hands, and was speaking to him about the conveyance which we had provided to take him to the Royal Victoria Hotel, when Inspector Concannon touched the hon. Member for North-East Cork on the shoulder and told him that he must arrest him on a warrant for misdemeanour. Instantly the police seized me and pulled me away from Mr. W. O'Brien, and I received two baton blows on the back and shoulder. I then went to take the ladies out of danger, and on reaching the gate of the station I saw a policeman strike a man on the back of the head with a clubbed rifle, felling him, and leaving him apparently dead. I lifted the man into a sitting position and called a priest, who, with others, was running out of the station to escape the police charge, to attend to the man. I then walked with the body of police who were conducting the hon. Member for North-East Cork to the police-station. I thought they were twisting my hon. Friend's arms, and I wished to watch what was done. I intended to procure bail for my hon. Friend when we reached the police-station. At no time were there 30 people, apart from the police, at the railway station, there was not a single stone thrown, and only one cheer was raised for Mr. W. O'Brien. There was no cause for any attack by the police. I was proceeding in the direction of the police barrack, and had not gone 50 yards from the Railway Station gates when I received a blow in the back from a rifle, followed by another on the head, which rendered me insensible. When I came to myself another policeman approached and struck me on the temple, knocking me insensible again. I do not know by whom I was taken away to the Royal Victoria Hotel. During the whole time no provocation whatever was given to the police. The Chief Secretary has said, in justification of the treatment which I and many others received, that a crowd had assembled for the purpose of rescuing the hon. Member for North-East Cork. If the citizens of Cork had had that purpose they would have acted very differently in giving effect to it. There were not enough police in the city to hold Mr. William O'Brien if

the citizens of Cork desired to rescue him; and there was not a gaol in Ireland which would have held my hon. Friend if the Irish people had thought proper to take him out. I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to justify the statement he has made. Then the right hon. Gentleman declared that the police had not known who I was. But, as I have already said, Inspector Concannon indicated on the railway platform that he knew me, and the police had in my hearing discussed my identity. I am quite satisfied that the officers knew who I was; I had been accompanied by police from Killarney to Mallow, and thence to Cork, on the Friday previous, and on stepping out of the carriage at Cork, at 2 o'clock in the morning, I had been followed by two detectives on a car to my hotel, and was shadowed everywhere I went, even while visiting the house of my hon. Friend the junior Member for Cork City, on the Saturday. Again, on the Sunday I was in like manner dogged by police to mass, and I saw my shadowers point me out to the police on duty in the streets, and these men were, I believe, among the police who batoned me afterwards. These men had shadowed me wherever I went, even from my hotel to the Bandon Railway Station, half an hour before I was bludgeoned, with the exception of the meeting to which I have referred, on which occasion I had got rid of them, and in these circumstances I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to say that the officers did not know me. Then, I believe, the right hon. Gentleman has stated that I was not seriously injured. I only wish that that had been true. It is a fact that I had paid a visit to the seaside about the middle of my illness, by direction of my doctors, but by venturing too much I had got knocked up again. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is prepared to cause any inquiry to be made into this matter? I understand that the right hon. Gentleman has glibly told the House that anyone who has a complaint to make against officials of the Crown in Ireland has his remedy at law. I have no great love of the law, but I will accept the Chief Secretary's challenge if the right hon. Gentleman will carry out one condition. I was struck from behind four times, twice with clubbed rifles, as I was told, and as my doctors believe, and it is manifestly impossible for me to identify the men who struck me with clubbed rifles from behind. Will the right hon. Gentleman assist me to identify publicly the men? Again, if the officer did not give the order to baton the people, who did? Will the right hon. Gentleman make an investigation into that also? The right hon. Gentleman may say that that is a very unusual thing, but it is not so; for where the right hon. Gentleman has found that the officials do not carry out the "Do not hesitate to shoot" policy, the right hon. Gentlemam has instituted an inquiry and has punished the officials.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now trespassing beyond the limits of a personal statement.

*MR. P. J. O'BRIEN: Then I will not go further with the matter; but I was going to refer to what took place at Gweedore, and I now challenge the right hon. Gentleman to make not a Departmental inquiry, but a thorough public inquiry into the matter of the attack made upon me. If the right hon. Gentleman does that, and thus enable me, as he, and he only, can, to identify my would-be murderers, for my own part I will go into a Court of Law, and if there is any justice to be got in Ireland against the so-called officers of the law, I will give these ruffians the benefit of it, though I know that the whole forces of the Government and the Treasury will be arrayed against me, as they have been in another place where the Government has propped up the slanderers of the Irish Members in the *Times* case. I challenge the right hon. Gentleman and the Government to justify the charge that I or anyone else attempted a rescue on this occasion.

MR. SEXTON: The expressive speech of my hon. Friend has been followed by a moment of still more expressive silence. The Committee has just obtained a vivid glimpse of the methods pursued by the Government in Ireland, and, unless I am very much mistaken, the demeanour of my hon. Friend and the suggestive significance of his remarks have gone home to every man in this House. My hon. Friend who has been batoned by the servants of the Chief Secretary, and, in his absence,

defamed by the right hon. Gentleman himself, has now risen in his place, and having recited the facts by the permission of the Chair, he challenges the Chief Secretary to justify what he has stated. But the right hon. Gentleman finds it more convenient to defame Irish Members beyond their backs than to meet them face to face. After the speech which we have just heard and the silence of the right hon. Gentleman, I wonder what the English people will think of their brave Minister. The main principles of the Government of Ireland seem to be, first, insult and violence directed against the Representatives of the people; secondly, a wanton use of physical force; and, thirdly, a dull and obstinate silence when any claim is made for explanation of an outrage or any appeal for an inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman has evaded the substance of the case brought against him, and has merely directed his reply to some small points; his answer has not been frank, direct, nor sufficient. On the case at large he has been silent. The Irish Members deny the right of the right hon. Gentleman to be silent; he is an official of this House and bound to defend himself. The conduct of the right hon. Gentleman is utterly unworthy of any man in the position of a Constitutional Minister and disgraceful to a Government professing to derive its power from the votes of a free people. I beg to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £4,425, being the amount of the salary of the Chief Secretary.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £4,425, the Salary of the Chief Secretary."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

MR. PARNELL (Cork, City): I think, Sir, we are entitled to an answer from the Chief Secretary to the speech of my hon. Friend, who has been so brutally assaulted by the right hon. Gentleman's police in the city which I myself have the honour to represent. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman appears to me to be a policy of incitement to his instruments in Ireland to exceed the law; to use violence, in the first place, to unfortunate tenants when they are being evicted from their homes—violence by the police, who rush in and baton these unfortunate creatures with the utmost brutality. This violence is defended by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary when the matter is brought forward, and the victims of the violence are told that they have their ordinary remedy in an action at law. The same thing has been said to-day in this case. I maintain that the righthon. Gentleman knows well that there is no such remedy here—that those policemen who have committed these illegal acts did so with the knowledge, in the first place, that they would be cloaked by the right hon. Gentleman; with the knowledge, in the second place, that it is utterly impossible to identify them; and with the knowledge, in the third place, that owing to the state of feeling in Ireland it is always possible to get one red-hot Orangeman on a jury who will refuse to give a verdict against the police in any question of a political complexion. Does the right hon. Gentleman know that it is utterly impossible to identify a policeman? They are in many cases brought from a distance; they have no numbers. If an English policeman misconducts himself, the first thing is to take his number; but there is no number to be taken in the case of the Irish Constabulary, because they wear none; one might as well seek to take the number of a soldier in the ranks. Men are drafted from one station to another with the incitements of the Chief Secretary for Ireland ringing in their ears, and with the knowledge that every act of theirs will be cloaked up and lied down in the House of Commons. It is utterly impossible to identify constables with a view to bring them before the tribunals of the country, in consequence of the absence of the ordinary means of identification. Now, I will put this question to the right hon. Gentleman. Will he consent to number his men, so that the next time an Irish Member is brutally batoned from behind it may be possible to identify his assailant? Will the right hon. Gentleman, who prates about his desire to conduct his administration of Ireland upon the same lines as those on which an administration of the same sort would be conducted in England—will he give to the citizens of Ireland the same opportunities of identifying constables who exceed their duty as are given to the citizens of London? Will he put numbers on the Irish Constabulary in the future, or will he continue

the system of sending these men, who carry deadly arms, from one station to another, so as to preclude all possibility of identifying them in case they exceed their duty? The absence of a number on the constable's uniform renders it impossible for my hon. Friend to identify the man who struck him. To the questions which I have put to the Chief Secretary for Ireland I think we are entitled to have a plain answer.

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In a somewhat thinner House than the present one I made earlier in the day a long speech giving a detailed answer to the attacks which had been made against me and the Irish Government, and I had hoped to be able to spare the Committee the trouble of listening to any more remarks from me on the present occasion. I fear that I cannot satisfy hon. Members opposite either by speech or by silence; but, after the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin and of the hon. Member for Cork, I suppose that I must say a word or two more. The hon. Member for North Monaghan has accused me of having declared in this House, in the hon. Member's absence, that when he was assaulted he was engaged in an attempt to rescue the hon. Member for North-East Cork. He also, in what he was pleased to call a personal statement, described my conduct as unmanly. As he has told us he was unable to read the newspapers I attribute to that inability the fact that he appears to be imperfectly acquainted with the Debates that have occurred upon the points under discussion. What I said was that the mob in Bandon Station surged forward, and that the constable in charge of the police, thinking that a rescue might be effected, gave the order to prepare to charge, and that the police did charge. I have never said, and never thought, that the hon. Member for North Monaghan appeared upon the scene with a desire to carry out an organised rescue; such an idea never crossed my mind. Then, according to the hon. Member, I said that the police did not know who the hon. Member was. That is an error. What I said was that I did not believe that the policeman who actually struck the hon. Member knew who he was. The hon. Member has distinctly told the Committee that the serious wound dealt him was not inflicted in the station, but by a man whom he did not see. For all we know, therefore, the blow might not have been dealt by a policeman.

*Mr. P. J. O'BRIEN: I did not state that what I said was that I walked by the side of a body of police whom I heard using my name, and while so walking I was struck on the head. If my name was known to any one of the police in the ranks it must have been known to those who struck me, at least four in number. I must have been struck by at least four policemen—by two on the platform and by two on the road, not one minute's walk from the platform.

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I understood the hon. Member to intimate that the Inspector of Police on the platform and some of the men knew who he was. I also understood the hon. Member to say that he was on the road when the serious blow was dealt, from which I regret that the hon. Member has since suffered. The hon. Member does not know who struck him, and that being the case the Committee of course cannot tell whether he was struck by a policeman who knew the hon. Member, or whether he was struck by a policeman at all. To the hon. Member for Cork I would point out that even if the policeman who struck the hon. Member—assuming that it was a policeman—had worn a number upon his coat, it would not have assisted identification in this particular case. The hon. Member for North Monaghan has attacked me on another matter, and has imputed unmanly conduct to me because I criticised the hon. Member's behaviour in his absence. But I do not remember criticising the hon. Member's behaviour. I only stated the facts relating to the hon. Member's appearance at the station, as I knew them at the time. I never did attack him. But how was I to avoid dealing with the subject; when it was brought forward as a matter of charge against me on the Police Vote? If the hon. Member did not wish the subject to be mentioned in his absence, he should have requested his friends not to bring the matter forward and not to insist upon an answer being given. There is evidently some inconsistency here. The hon. Member appears to be greatly aggrieved because I stated that I

had reason to hope that the hon. Member's injuries were not of a very serious character. Now, I had already expressed regret for his sufferings, but seeing in the public newspapers that he had been able to make two or three trips to the country, was I wrong to draw that inference and to express that hope? I gathered from the hon. Member's statement that the policemen who struck him at the station were the men who had been shadowing him all day. If that is the case the hon. Member can, without difficulty, bring an action against them in a Court of Law. With respect to the request of the hon. Member for Cork that the police should be numbered, the hon. Member is no doubt aware that that question has been brought before successive Governments. It has always been felt that there are strong administrative reasons against it; it has always been acknowledged that it would not be a convenient practice to put numbers on a police force who, unlike the police force in England, are constantly moving about from town to town and district to district. In those parts of Ireland where the force is stationary, as in Dublin and, I believe, Belfast, the men are numbered.

MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I venture to think that the right hon. Gentleman has failed to appreciate the real point at issue. What he had to deal with was not the question as to what was said in the absence of the hon. Member for Monaghan and whether or not he had acted in a manly way. That is simply a question between himself and the hon. Member. What the House expected him to deal with was this: We are asking that there shall be an inquiry into the truth of the charges made by the hon. Member for North Monaghan on his responsibility as a Member of this House. We ask upon the statement of a Member of this House—and I take it we have not yet derogated from the rule that we believe a Member of this House when he makes a statement here with the full responsibility of his position—for a full inquiry into this matter. The hon. Member has charged the Irish Constabulary with an unprovoked, brutal, and disgraceful assault. We ask for an inquiry into the truth or falsehood of that charge, and we want to know on what ground the right hon. Gentleman refuses it. It is not a question of an action at law. The right hon. Gentleman has complained that I want a different mode of administering justice in cases where Members of Parliament are concerned, as against cases concerning private individuals. I want nothing of the sort. Members of Parliament, if they break the law, ought to be treated precisely as any other subject of Her Majesty would be; but in this case there is no allegation against the hon. Member of having broken the law. Had he done so he would have been summoned by the police to answer for it. It must be taken as admitted that the hon. Member acted legally and within his rights under the Constitution, and that he has done nothing wrong. No charge has been brought against the hon. Member that he was acting illegally or improperly, and the House of Commons has, therefore, a right to demand that there shall be an inquiry. A Constitutional inquiry either by the superior officers of the police or by independent Commissioners, such as were appointed by the right hon. Member for Newcastle in the case of the Belfast riots, would soon bring out the truth. It is not proper for the right hon. Gentleman to say that the hon. Member might bring an action against the policeman. That would be no remedy, because the hon. Member cannot know which man struck him, and cannot bring an action against the whole body of police. If an inquiry were held, and if Inspector Concannon were strictly examined before a Commission, the culprit would soon be discovered. Assuming that the statement of the hon. Member is correct—and in this House we are certainly bound to believe it—that an unprovoked assault has been made on him, the House of Commons is entitled, nay bound, to insist on an impartial inquiry by a competent authority in whom both sides can have confidence. If the right hon. Gentleman refuses that inquiry, all that was said last night of his conduct, with reference to his being determined to uphold the Irish Constabulary whether they are right or wrong, will be fully justified.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understood from the hon. Member for Monaghan that there were two occasions on which he was attacked by the police; one at the station, and the other in the street

on an occasion of which I have just heard for the first time. I now gather that the hon. Member received a serious blow at a subsequent period. [Mr. P. O'Brien: One minute after.] I have no ground for believing, and do not believe, that the hon. Member went to the station with an illegal or criminal intent. The hon. Member was in a crowd of people which was pressing on the police in a manner which led them to anticipate a serious accident. I greatly regretted that any injury should have been done to the hon. Member. Such things, however, cannot always be avoided. The right hon. Member for Wolverhampton has asked me to institute an inquiry like the Belfast inquiry. That is, he asks me to pass an Act of Parliament, and to send three Judges to investigate what was no doubt a regrettable incident, but one of no great magnitude or importance. I will certainly make such inquiry as I can into any new facts which may be brought forward. But the larger inquiry which the right hon. Gentleman appears to suggest, the right hon. Gentleman will himself see is absolutely impracticable.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER: The right hon. Gentleman is wrong. I only mentioned the Belfast inquiry as an illustration of an independent inquiry into a serious matter. There is no parallel between the two cases. But I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman could appoint a Queen's Counsel in Dublin, and a layman in whom both parties could repose confidence. These gentlemen might go down to Bandon and hear evidence, and soon get at the truth. It is a Departmental inquiry which I propose, constituted by the right hon. Gentleman, and responsible to him.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland Division): I do not think we can allow this matter to drop until we get something like a satisfactory answer from the Chief Secretary. We plainly see that what the right hon. Gentleman wants is to shuffle out of inquiry altogether. He gives reasons for objecting to an inquiry which we all know to be bogus and sham reasons. He says if there was to be an inquiry such as that suggested, an Act of Parliament would have to be passed—an Act of Parliament to inquire into a small incident like this in which one individual charges a small body of police with committing a grievous and unprovoked assault upon him. The right hon. Gentleman is trifling with the House when he says so. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton has said, the Chief Secretary has it in his power to select two or three Queen's Counsel in Dublin, or two or three other independent individuals, who in the course of three days could find out all the facts, and who in the course of a week could report either as to the falsehood or the truth of the statements made by my hon. Friend. It is a scandalous thing after the House has been deeply moved by the narrative of my hon. Friend, I think anybody, every impartial man, who heard the hon. Member must own that his narrative bore upon its face the intrinsic marks of truth, fidelity, and accuracy. It is scandalous after such a grave charge has been made that the right hon. Gentleman refuses on one pretext or another to make any form of inquiry. The only conclusion we can draw from the Chief Secretary's refusal is that he approves of such outrages as that committed on my hon. Friend. Does it not fully bear out the charge made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton when he said the right hon. Gentleman was determined to stand by the police whether they were right or wrong? And when you have a large force like the Irish Constabulary armed to the teeth in favour of the Government, is it not likely they will be incited to commit assaults such as that upon the hon. Member for Monaghan, when they find that the chief Irish Official in the House of Commons is ready to stand by them no matter whether they act rightly or wrongly? Let me cite another fact in proof of the contention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton that the Chief Secretary encourages and approves of violence. I have in my hand a list of the promotions and transfers in the Police Force, and I find that a County Inspector has been——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not relevant to this question.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I was speaking of the action of the Chief Secretary in regard to police outrages, and I was about to illustrate my point by giving some examples of the promotion of the

men who have committed some of the most violent outrages, but I will not pursue the subject. I will make an appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury, He having heard the speech of the hon. Member for Monaghan, I ask him, as the head of the Government in this House, whether or not he is going to back up the Chief Secretary in refusing any inquiry whatever of an independent character into the charges brought against the police of Ireland and the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman has refused every form of inquiry [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not.] The right hon. Gentleman contradicts my statement. What form of inquiry has he promised? He has promised that he, the Chief Secretary whom we are charging in this matter, will be the judge and the jury in the case of charges made against himself. We know well what such an inquiry means. From whom will the right hon. Gentleman make his inquiry? On whose evidence will he rely? The very police officials whom my hon. Friend charges with assaulting him, and then we must take the evidence of the police charged, tested by the judgment of the Chief Secretary charged as a conclusive inquiry. In face of that the right hon. Gentleman is merely playing with words when he contradicts my statement that he refuses every form of inquiry. I appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury to intervene in this matter, and not to allow the administration of law in Ireland to be further discredited than it is already, if that is possible, by this refusal in the face of the House of Commons, to inquire into as gross, as brutal, and as unprovoked an assault on one of its Members as ever was detailed.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen): I am not going to speak on the conduct generally of the Chief Secretary for Ireland; I could not trust myself to express the feeling of disgust and indignation which his conduct has produced, not only in my mind, but I believe in the mind of every honest man in the country. But what has been presented to the Committee? Clear evidence of about as cruel as unprovoked and as brutal a crime, coming almost to the verge of murder, by officers employed by the right hon. Gentleman. Here is an opportunity for a Star Chamber. What is the use of a Star Chamber if the right hon. Gentleman cannot find out who are the guilty constables? If he desires to find out the truth he can do so, but we know very well he does not desire to get at the truth.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 83; Noes 112.—(Div. List, No. 337.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

CLASS III.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £50,709, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for Salaries of the Law Officers; and Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, Queen's Proctor, and Director of Public Prosecutions; the Costs of Prosecutions and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by that Department; and various other Legal Expenses, including Parliamentary Agency."

MR. T. M. HEALY: I think it is regrettable that a Vote like this should be proposed immediately after the Vote just taken. This is a Vote which contains the salary of the learned Attorney General for England, an officer whom we all respect and admire very greatly, but under all the circumstances I did anticipate the Vote would not be brought on at this hour (6.10). I thought that non-contentious Votes, or Votes as little contentious as possible would be put forward after half-past five. Naturally we might all have been disposed to go away after half-past 5, as the subsequent proceedings interested us no more. But the moment one important Irish Vote has been disposed of we have proposed another Vote, Irish in everything but name. In view of the Pigott frauds it is impossible we can allow the Attorney General's salary to pass without discussion.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: If there is any objection to proceeding with the Vote I will not hesitate in withdrawing it.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

2. £29,850 (including a Supplementary sum of £18,000), to complete the sum for Criminal Prosecutions and Miscellaneous Legal Expenses.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Last year I brought the fact under the notice of the Attorney General that the clerks to the Crown cannot, under the law, have any direct or indirect interest in prosecutions, whereas clerks to Magistrates, in country places especially, have an indirect pecuniary interest in prosecutions. The hon. and learned Gentleman admitted that blot upon the administration of the law and, if I remember rightly, he promised to inquire into the matter and see what could be done. I desire to ask him what has been the result of his inquiries.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The matter has by no means escaped the attention of the Government. I caused a Bill to be drafted in the early part of the Session, and was in hope it would be passed. But a difficulty has arisen which makes it impossible to deal with the matter in a short measure. Representations were made to me, I think, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, that difficulties would arise in places where there was a small population in making the prohibition absolute. My original intention was to absolutely prohibit the clerk to the Magistrates having any pecuniary interest in cases coming before the Bench, and I will not say I do not think now that that is perhaps the best solution, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton suggested that that would not work well in some small districts. The sole reason why the Bill was not brought forward was that I saw no reasonable probability of passing it this Session.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: The very spots where the difficulties the hon. and learned Gentleman has referred to are the very spots where the most scandals occur.

Vote agreed to.

3. £262,812, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature.

*MR. L. J. JENNINGS (Stockport): It may be in the recollection of the Committee that when this Vote was last submitted, it encountered considerable opposition. The discussion was closed on that occasion by a specific assurance from the First Lord of the Treasury that the Vote should be thoroughly examined before it was brought forward again; and that such changes should be made in it as were found practicable. A comparison of the present Estimate with last year's will prove that this promise has been most fully and most honourably kept. Not only is there an immediate saving of £15,628, but a still greater saving must be effected by the reforms which are indicated on almost every page. The "Secretary of Presentations," with his £400 a year, is to disappear on the occurrence of a vacancy; two out of the three "principal clerks" to the Judges, receiving £600 a year each, are also to go, and the remaining clerk is to receive £400 a year; three junior clerks will be abolished, effecting another saving of £600 a year. One official referee at £1,500 a year is to be sent the same road; the salary of the Official Solicitor to the Supreme Court, now £1,100 a year, will be reduced on a vacancy; the first-class clerks in the Central Office of the Supreme Court will be reduced from 14 to 10, and the second-class clerks from 35 to 28. Similar changes are to be made as opportunity occurs throughout the Vote, and the total saving to the country will not fall short of £30,000 per annum. This is a most satisfactory sequel to the discussion last year, and due credit should be given for it to the Lord Chancellor, who was attacked rather severely in connection with this Vote, though not by me. It is quite evident that as soon as his attention was called to the existence of abuses in this Department, he made a very vigorous and earnest effort to reform them, and he is thoroughly well entitled to the gratitude of the public for his work. But these reforms also afford an ample reply to the charge which is so constantly made against us, that these discussions in Supply never do any good. I maintain that when they are carried on in a proper spirit, they not only serve to check the increase of expenditure, but very often result in a direct saving to the country, although that saving is not always shown at the

time. The reduction cannot be effected on the instant, but it is carried out in subsequent years, and thus the statement that no saving is effected here is a complete fallacy, although it has received the sanction of the respectable authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton. I now call attention briefly to several matters in the Vote which require explanation. First, with regard to the Masters of the Supreme Court, a reduction of four is shown in the Vote, but I have seen notices in the newspapers of the appointment of two others since the Estimates were issued—Mr. George Macdonnell (*Times*, February 12, 1889), and Mr. E. Wilberforce (*Times*, March 11). On what terms were the Masters retired? Some of them did scarcely any duties. They were remarkable only for their skill in hiring themselves out as directors of companies. They made use of an important official position in order that they might acquire posts of emolument outside. There was Mr. Haliburton Campbell, Director of the Law Life Assurance Society, of the Law Fire Assurance Company, Bahia and San Francisco Railway Company, Trust and Agency Company of Australasia, Trust and Loan Company of Canada. The fact of his being a Master of the Supreme Court no doubt enabled him to obtain these appointments, which we must assume he did not fill without some adequate recompense. In calculating his pension, the fact ought to have been taken into consideration that he had by no means given the public the whole of his time, and, therefore, he ought not to have been put on the same level as an official who had endeavoured to make an adequate return for his salary. Lower down on the same page (220) we come to those prize specimens of a system—which I hope is now on its death-bed—the five redundant clerks. I proved last year that they had never been near their offices since 1881. I should now like to know on what terms their retirement has been arranged? Having received an average of £600 a year each since 1881 for doing nothing, are they now to be paid that sum, under the disguise of pensions, for going on doing it all the rest of their lives? If so, how can that be reconciled with the sound principle laid down by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary of the Treasury in an answer given on the 8th of April last:—

"I need only say that, except in special cases such as injury, no retired allowance is granted unless, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the holder of the office has given his whole time to the public service."

It is no encouragement to men who do their duty faithfully to know that others who never do anything receive precisely the same treatment. In the interests of the public service, the good and the bad should not receive the same reward. On page 221 the Registrar's Office of the Chancery Division is dealt with. There are 42 persons in this office, among whom £29,712 is distributed. It will be observed that the senior Registrar gets £2,000 a year, three other Registrars get £1,800, four £1,500, and four £1,200 each—very high salaries all of them. Their lines have fallen in pleasant places, for they have little to do, and it may be doubted whether that little is well done. The office was originally established by Lord Eldon, and its present condition is worthy of that enlightened patriot. There is no doubt that £10,000 a year would be a liberal sum to pay for the work which is done in it. I call attention to the four clerks to the Registrars at £600 each, and five at £400 each (page 221). By an Order of the Treasury made under the Officers (Chancery) Act of 1869, the salary of clerks to Registrars was fixed at £300 per annum. I cannot find that this Order has been rescinded. Consequently the salaries of these nine clerks should amount to £2,700 a year, instead of to £4,400, as now charged. On page 222 we find the allowances for the Principal Probate Registry. The senior Registrar is down for £1,600 a year, a very high salary, and a foot note states that he receives in addition two annual payments of £1,863 9s. 4d. and £8 16s. 9d. by way of compensation for loss of his office as Proctor. I presume he fulfils duties very similar to those he discharged before. One good salary was given to him in exchange for another. Why should not that have been enough? He is asked to leave one office and to take another. He does so, but the whole of the salary of the first office is given in addition to that of the second, so that if he

could get his offices abolished on the same terms every five minutes, he would be the happiest man alive. He now draws £3,472 a year from the nation. Let us compare this amount with the salaries paid to some of the most distinguished men in the Civil Service of the country. Sir Algernon West gets only £2,000 a year, Sir Reginald Welby £2,000, Mr. Knox, the Accountant General of the Army, £1,500. Each of these gentlemen has most heavy and responsible duties to perform. The Registrar of this comparatively obscure office actually gets within a few pounds as much as Sir Reginald Welby and Mr. Knox put together. When his office was abolished, and he was put into a similiar office, that should have been deemed quite sufficient in the way of compensation. I invite the Committee to look at the salaries of these officials. The Registrar gets £1,500 a year, his Assistant £1,200, the Chief Clerk £700, three first-class clerks £600 each, and three second-class clerks nearly £400 each. They talk of the golden age, but there is nothing on record in connection with the golden age equal to this. Even the Admiralty itself, though a most delightful place, has nothing better to offer. I would, however, respectfully suggest that it is high time the occupants of this comfortable little nest were shaken up a little. The Registrar here is one of the luckiest men in the public service. He is down in this Estimate for £1,500 a year, and in the "Finance Accounts" (page 53), his name appears for another £608 12s., as compensation for abolition of office, so that altogether he pockets £2,108 12s. a year, and so far as I am able to understand, he would be abundantly recompensed for all the work he does if he received one quarter the money. I venture to express the hope that in the further changes which the Lord Chancellor proposes to make in this Vote, he will not go upon the old plans of reorganisation which have been so grossly abused in connection with the Law Courts. In May, last year, a gentleman aged 36, in the Central Office of the Supreme Court, received a pension of £185 a year for life, another got £266 13s. 4d. at the age of 46, and another £61 6s. 8d. at the age of 33. Innumerable cases of this kind might easily be cited, but we may perhaps take it for granted that no further additions will be made to the list. I now call the attention of the Committee to a curious and interesting circumstance in connection with this Department. In many, or most, of the offices, the office hours are from 11 to 4, and at this period of the year they dwindle away to a mere nothing. The dwellers in this happy land luxuriate in a long and glorious holiday from August 10th to October 24th, that is to say, throughout the Long Vacation. This is enough to make an unfortunate Member of Parliament turn green with envy. Some of the officials — such as the Masters and others—do absolutely nothing throughout the whole of this period. But even this is not all, for attendance on Saturdays throughout the year is purely nominal, even when the offices are opened at all. At Christmas there are ten days holiday, at Easter three, at Whitsuntide three, on the Queen's Birthday one. We find, therefore, that in August there are 20 days' holiday, in September 30 days, in October 24 days, and during the other seasons 17 days, to which must be added Saturdays for, say, half the year—or, altogether, nearly 16 weeks' holiday in the course of the 12 months. All these things must serve to impress upon the mind the great advantage of establishing any kind of connection with the noble profession of the law. If a man cannot be a barrister, he should become a solicitor; and if he cannot be even a solicitor he should endeavour to capture one of these berths in the Law Courts. From that time forth an affectionate country will make a liberal provision for him, and he will at once come into possession of all those advantages which, in other callings, flow from a long course of industrious and honest work. It is evident, however, that an era of reform has begun even in the Law Courts, and that the days of jobbery there are numbered. It is perfectly clear that the Lord Chancellor at least is determined that no more scandals shall arise in connection with this Vote, and I think the Committee have every reason to be satisfied with the pledges given that no future opportunities for reform shall be lost sight of; and I, for my part, beg to express my sense of the most thorough and conscientious way in

which the First Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Chancellor, and the authorities have carried out the promises they gave to the Committee last year.

MR. GEDGE (Stockport): My hon. Friend and Colleague is usually very correct, but he will excuse me if I point out that he fell into slight error in one particular. The Registrar did not hold office at a salary before his appointment to his present position; he was one of a small body of proctors who had the monopoly of practice in the old Ecclesiastical and Divorce Court; and when the Court was abolished under the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, all the proctors were allowed retiring pensions according to the incomes they made from their practice as proctors. They were not given fresh employment; they retired, and were allowed to practice as solicitors or to do what they pleased. One of them, an exceedingly able man, was selected to be Registrar of the new Court to tide over the difficulties of the change of system, and remarkably well he did his work. It is, therefore, incorrect to speak of the transaction as if he were allowed to keep the salary of an office which was abolished, and to accept another office and salary. There was no salary under the old position, but simply the income from practice as proctor, and an allowance of half this was made when that source of income was abolished.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am sure the Committee will agree with me that the Government have no reason to complain of the tone of the remarks of the hon. Member for Stockport. I should have been glad, under other circumstances than those in which we find ourselves to-day, to have gone at length into this Vote to have shown that the reforms have effected considerable saving in expenditure. I think I may say, speaking generally, that the recommendations of the Committee over which Lord Justice Bowen presided, have all been given effect to. I may take the opportunity of saying how much we are indebted to the labours of Lord Justice Bowen and the Committee. My hon. Friend has asked me about the Masters. He has correctly stated that six have retired, and there have been two appointments to vacancies arising from retirement without abolition terms at a salary of £1,200, and although in three cases small additions of years have been allowed, I thoroughly endorse the remark that easy berths ought not to be paid more highly than those which are laborious and responsible. At the same time the Treasury are governed not only by rules, but by law; and, on the whole, I am distinctly of opinion that in this matter the Government have succeeded in making an exceedingly good bargain for the State. With regard to the redundant clerks, they have all retired, and, therefore, so far as their salaries are concerned, they will not again appear on the Estimates. The result is that four of them have been pensioned on ordinary terms, and one has been given four additional years on abolition terms. With regard to the particular officer alluded to, there were circumstances in his case which certainly entitled him to consideration. A good many years ago he held a position which entitled him to promotion, and at that time the Treasury made a distinct bargain with him that in consideration of his giving up his right to promotion he should continue to fill the office he then filled, and should not be called upon to discharge any other duties than those he was then discharging. It was a bargain which, whether good or bad, was made years ago, and, however desirous we may be to effect reductions, it is equally desirable to keep faith with public servants. I think, under the circumstances, it will be generally admitted that the arrangements with regard to the London clerks are, on the whole, satisfactory, and it is particularly so to see them wiped off the salary list.

SIR R. WEBSTER: I join with my hon. Friend in acknowledging the manner in which the hon. Member for

Stockport has offered his criticisms. As to the Registrars, I do not think their salaries are too high for the duties they have to perform; and in speaking of the scale allowance has not been made for the annual rise. The compensation received by the Probate and Admiralty Court Registrars was paid under an Act of Parliament in respect of the abolition of the monopoly which they had enjoyed as proctors, the compensation being fixed at half the incomes they had made by their practice; and if they had not been made Registrars others would have been appointed at the present salaries. The offices are not entirely closed during the vacation, and a good deal of work is done; but it may be worth while considering whether the vacation could not be somewhat curtailed. I do not think the Registrars have more leisure than others whose duties depend upon the sittings of the Courts.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I recognise the success that has attended the efforts of the hon. Member for Stockport. The reductions made indicate what an amount of jobbery has long been going on, and how the abolition ought to have been made long ago. We are not, however, informed how far the saving has been counterbalanced by additions to the pension list and by compensation for abolition of office. I hope, before the Vote is passed another year, we shall have full information on this point. It appears that six Masters have been retired and two new ones have been appointed. Is it possible that two new appointments were made at the time we were making retirements on abolition terms?

MR. JACKSON: No; that is not so.

SIR R. WEBSTER: Six retired in the ordinary course. Two vacancies had to be filled up.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: But we were told the number of years upon which one Master retired on abolition terms. Surely I am not mistaken?

MR. JACKSON: I said one of them had been so retired.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: One is enough for my argument. It is a most extraordinary thing to retire a Master on abolition terms while you are making two new appointments.

MR. JACKSON: I endeavoured to point out that we did not appoint anyone to fill the place of this particular Master. The two appointments made were to fill vacancies; they were not the result of retirement or abolition terms.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: But I do not see how you can distinguish between the Masters, and it seems to me a mere evasion of the term, and that the country is saddled with unnecessary expense for compensation. As to the Registrars being taken from the Proctors, I believe that is a gross abuse, and I do not think it ought to be continued.

MR. MOLLOY (King's County, Birr): I am afraid we are not just now in a sufficiently judicial frame of mind to do our duty, that is to take up this Vote and examine it item by item. But I admit much has been done in redemption of the promise made by the First Lord of the Treasury last year; and I hope the hon. Member, who is mainly to be thanked for a saving of nearly £15,000 a year, will continue his examination, in the hope that the House may have more time to attend to the subject next year. It is a curious fact that whenever we attack those institutions that are exclusively legal, we find more fraud in their administration than in that of any other Department.

Vote agreed to.

4. £3,990, to complete the sum for the Railway and Canal Commission.

5. £6,880, to complete the sum for the Wreck Commission.

6. £388,401, to complete the sum for the County Courts.

*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I quite agree that the Committee is not in a judicial frame of mind, and I will not go at length into this Vote. But I might suggest to the hon. Member for Stockport that here is a promising field for

him to extend his inquiries. From a Return which has been laid before the House I find that, while the Supreme Courts sat 226 days a year, there are two County Court Judges who sat under 100 days each, 10 who sat under 126 days, 25 who sat 125 and under, 19 who sat under 200, and only one who sat 222 days. But I do not wish to embark upon a discussion. I am sure the matter will receive the attention of the Government, now that we have brought it under their notice. I wish only to ask for an assurance that this waste of judicial power will be carefully considered.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: If the districts are to be re-cast, and additional work is to be thrown on the Judges, there will inevitably, and not unreasonably, be a claim for increased salary on the part of these Judges, who are by no means overpaid. I cannot agree with the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton that the County Court Judges are overpaid, having regard to the amount and the varied character of the work they have to perform.

*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I do not suggest that the County Court Judges are overpaid, or that their salary of £1,500 a year ought to be reduced by one farthing.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): In regard to what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, I would point out that though the Judges in some districts may not sit very many days in the year, still others have even more work than they can get through. This is especially the case in the Metropolitan County Courts, where the work has been very greatly increased, owing to the increasing number of actions which are remitted by the High Court for trial in the County Courts. At least twice as many cases have been remitted during a certain period of the present year to the number remitted in a corresponding period of last year. I am told that the County Courts have tried no less than one-third of the actions that were initiated in the Queen's Bench Division. During the past few weeks complaints have been made of some of the County Court Judges; but while the High Court Judges are too often inclined to speak with little consideration of the County Court Judges, there is a growing tendency among the High Court Judges to send cases to the County Courts for trial. With regard to the increased jurisdiction which was given by the Act of last year to the Registrar, it should be borne in mind that the County Court is the poor man's Court, and that it is rather hard that he should not have the right to have his case, however small, tried by the Judge. At present, although the poor man has quite as much right as the rich man to have his case tried by the Judge, there is a tendency to put him off with the services of a judicial officer who is, presumably, of inferior calibre. With regard to an Amendment which appears on the Paper in my name, I had intended to move the reduction of the Vote for the purpose of calling attention to the increasing number of persons annually committed to prison by the County Court Judges for non-payment of debts. In 1887 the number of persons actually committed was 5,293, and in 1888 the number rose to 6,429—that is to say, during last year there were 20 per cent more poor debtors committed to prison by the County Courts than there were in the previous year. That I regard as a serious fact which calls for the attention, and the serious attention, of Her Majesty's Government. When we remember that the persons who are most anxious to press for payment of debts are, as a rule, money lenders, who have, in the first place, urged the debtors to borrow, it seems to me that imprisonment for debt is an anachronism. I do not propose to move a reduction of the Vote now; but, certainly, if the same cause of complaint exists in a future year I shall bring the matter more formally under the notice of the House.

SIR R. WEBSTER: No doubt in some districts the County Court Judges do not sit very constantly, but it ought to be borne in mind that in the rural districts they have a great deal of travelling from Court to Court, and in the figures quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton that fact has not been allowed for. Still, I admit that some re-arrangement of the districts is desirable. The Lord Chancellor is quite alive to this, and the matter will not be overlooked. I do not think that the County Court Judges are at all overpaid. It is, indeed, likely that in the future, when the districts have been re-arranged, and they are required to sit more frequently, it may be necessary to increase their salaries. The working of the new Act with regard to the jurisdiction given to Registrars is being considered by the Lord Chancellor. With respect to remitted actions, I think these ought not to be allowed to interfere with the ordinary business of the Court, and to that end I believe certain of the County Court Judges set apart special days for such cases. The hon. Member for Bethnal Green has referred to the number of committals; but it ought to be borne in mind that no person is committed until the Judge is satisfied that he has had the means to pay, and has not done so. I can assure hon. Members that the Government are not likely to lose sight of the necessity for making such arrangements as to give the country the best value for its expenditure.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: The subject of the abolition of imprisonment for debt is one of those large questions which cannot be dealt with at this period of the year. I would point this out, however, that it is becoming more and more apparent that imprisonment for debt is abolished in the case of big speculators who fail in business, but is more and more put in force in the case of small debtors. It is a manifest injustice that a big speculator who may be ever so fraudulent, and who may have made over large sums to his wife, should escape punishment for debt, whilst the poor man is imprisoned for it.

Vote agreed to.

7. £2,000, to complete the sum for Land Registry.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): It is satisfactory to know that this office is largely improving from a financial point of view. Whilst the receipts last year were only about £800, that amount this year has been received in one quarter. It seems reasonable to expect that in the near future this office, which has been a charge upon the public for so many years, will be able to pay its own expenses.

MR. MOLLOY: If the hon. Member desires these Votes to pass quickly he had better abandon the policy of congratulating the Government on the worst offices in the Estimates. As I wish to keep an eye on this office, I would ask whether there has not been a dead loss on the Vote during the past 12 months?

MR. JACKSON: I certainly cannot say that there has not been a loss up to the present time; but certain changes have been made, and I think that next year I shall be able to announce that there has been no loss during the 12 months.

MR. MOLLOY: As a matter of fact, up to now there has been a loss?

MR. JACKSON: Oh, yes.

MR. MOLLOY: I am perfectly well aware of the fact myself, but I wished it to go forth to the public on the authority of the Government.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: In regard to this office which is receiving new fees it is to be remembered that you have in connection with it a new clerk and two or three new surveyors. These gentlemen's salaries have to be provided out of the fees, and a very practical question arises on that point. We know that for years this office has been practically a sinecure, that the work brought into it is merely nominal, and that the staff which

existed before these new appointments were made had little or nothing to do. Could not the work now done by this new clerk and surveyors be done by one of the old clerks whose hands are comparatively, speaking empty? What is the justification for these new appointments?

MR. JACKSON: My estimate of the expenditure for the present year is £3,400, and in that is included the salaries of these new officials. From all accounts I have received, the office is not now overmanned, although I am not prepared to say that, in the event of certain vacancies occurring in the future, further reforms may not have to be made.

Vote agreed to.

8. £25,662, for Revising Barristers, England.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury E.): I see that last year we had a Supplementary Estimate of £5,236. Is that now a permanent annual increase?

SIR R. WEBSTER: I do not think so. After the repayments by the Local Authorities in respect of the extra work in connection with the Local Government Bills there will not be any extra charge on this Vote beyond, perhaps, a sum of £100.

Vote agreed to.

9. £12,242, to complete the sum for Police Courts, London and Sheerness.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Is it contemplated to make a substantial alteration in regard to the Metropolitan Police Courts, especially as to that at Hammersmith?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): A year and a-half ago Hammersmith Police Court was converted from a half-day Court into a whole-day Court, and that has been followed by a complete re-construction of the building, in order to make it suitable to the altered conditions. The new arrangements have been greatly to the convenience of the public. The School Board summonses which formerly had to be taken from Hammersmith to Westminster can now be heard at Hammersmith.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Is it not now the West London Court, with a new district?

*MR. STUART WORTLEY: No new district has been created; but the old Hammersmith Court has been re-named the West London Court, on the ground that the Vestry of Hammersmith objected to labelling the Court with the name of their parish, which did not include the Court. There has been a re-arrangement of the duties of the Magistrates, which will make available the services of 22 Magistrates in all the 12 Courts throughout London.

Vote agreed to.

10. £46,586, to complete the sum for Police (England and Wales).

*SIR W. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.): I wish to ask one question of my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary with regard to pensions and retiring allowances. I would ask if he is prepared to make any statement which would lead us to believe that he has a scheme in preparation for the pensions of the Police Force throughout the country? Since the County Councils have been formed, and we have had the Joint Committee of Magistrates and County Councillors, this question has been raised and discussed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject the hon. Baronet is now dealing with has nothing whatever to do with the Vote under consideration.

*SIR W. BARTTELOT: At the same time, this is the only opportunity we shall have of dealing with the question of the pensions and retiring allowances of the police force. I would ask my right hon. friend, the Home Secretary, if he is prepared to bring in a Bill which will guide the Local Authorities in the future with regard to the pensions of the police?

MR. PICKERSGILL: Metropolitan Members, I think, have reason to com-

plain that this Vote, in which they are so vitally interested, has been postponed to this late period of the Session. It is clear we cannot, under the circumstances, discuss the Vote as it ought to be discussed. Very naturally inconvenience and friction arise on this question of the police owing to the Legislature having set up a Municipal body in London, whilst it continues to give the control of the police, not to a municipal body, but to the Home Secretary. If the present administration of the police is to be judged by its results, it would appear to be a most signal failure. Crime is increasing in the Metropolis. During the past year it has increased to an alarming degree. In 1887 the total number of felonies committed in the Metropolitan District was just over 20,000, whereas the number in 1888 rose to 25,590. The question with many of the ratepayers in the Metropolis is whether this increase of crime is not due to the fact that the police are being to a large extent diverted from their proper functions of preventing crime and arresting criminals to other purposes. I wish to ask the Home Secretary whether he has considered the desirability of providing police matrons at every station where women are taken during the night. We are much behind the people of the United States in this matter. In 1884 the State of New York passed a law which requires that in every town of 25,000 inhabitants and upwards, there shall be one or more station houses for the detention and confinement of all women who may be under arrest, and that in every station house to which women are taken those women shall be under the charge of a police matron. In Chicago I find that there are as many as 10 of these matrons, each of whom is in receipt of a salary of £130 a year. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will lose no time in following the example of the United States in this respect.

MR. J. ROWLANDS: Although I shall follow the example of my hon. Friend and refrain from going into this question at length, I think I have a right to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury and to urge upon him the desirability of his affording us an opportunity of discussing this question fully next year. I find, on referring to the Report of the Chief Commissioner of Police for this year, that there is a change in the construction of that Report, and that it does not contain, as in former years, the separate reports of the Superintendents and Chief Constables. Is there any reason for this? The fact is that these reports were always of great interest to hon. Members, who thereby ascertained the impressions of each Superintendent as to the condition of the neighbourhood over which he had control, and the way in which his men performed their duty. I also wish to ask whether there is any serious possibility next year of an increase of the rate of 9d. in the £1, which is allocated to the Metropolitan Police? It has been indicated by the Home Secretary that next year he may have to ask the House for some alteration of the law. I also wish to draw attention to the fact that in the Report of the Chief Commissioner we find a very peculiar bracketing of public events, for we are there told that "the agitation which centred in Trafalgar Square and the murders in Whitechapel necessitated concentration in particular localities." I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he cannot now see his way to come to some armistice with the people of London so that the men engaged at Trafalgar Square may be utilised for the prevention and detection of crime instead of preventing people from holding peaceful meetings on public matters. I should also like to know whether the duty of £2 charged on the owner of a single hackney carriage for police supervision cannot be reduced. It is a much larger sum than is charged in provincial towns.

*MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I hope the right hon. Gentleman who has, upon the whole, met us in a conciliatory spirit will give us all the information he can in regard to the increase of the number of police stations at which women are appointed to look after female prisoners—

a question in which so many hon. Members feel so deep an interest.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I desire to call attention to the danger arising to foot passengers in crossing crowded thoroughfares, owing to the reckless manner in which cabs and other vehicles are driven round the corners of streets. In putting the question to the Home Secretary I may emphasise it by a reference to the case in which the aged Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) was knocked down by a cab under circumstances such as I have alluded to. This, at least, ought to entitle me to the sympathy of the Home Secretary. It is a fortunate thing not only that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was not killed, but that he escaped any serious injury; and was even able to get up and pursue the cabman. I think that some attention might be paid by the Home Secretary to the state of things of which I complain. In every other country in Europe there are most stringent regulations to prevent the drivers of cabs and carriages going quickly round the corners, and, looking at the number of accidents that annually occur in London from the want of proper rules on this subject, I say it is a pressing and a serious matter. One cannot walk across a street without keeping an anxious eye on every passing vehicle, and I trust the Home Secretary will endeavour to establish some sort of regulation that will afford security to the lives of Her Majesty's subjects.

MR. MATTHEWS: The matter referred to by my hon. and gallant Friend behind me has engaged the attention of the Government for a long time, but there is some difficulty in dealing with the subject. With regard to the increase of crime which has been mentioned, it is not at all startling when the increase in the population is taken into account. No doubt London would be better off with more police, and policemen stationed at corners to prevent the danger to foot passengers referred to by the hon. Member are especially needed. The Statute with regard to the police rate limits the charge to 9d., and there is no intention to increase that sum, except perhaps in connection with a general scheme dealing with Police Courts. There are now matrons in all Police Courts, but it has not been found possible to have them at all Police Stations. The Department meets the need, as far as it can, by sending matrons to search female prisoners; but to provide resident matrons is not either financially or physically practicable under the existing system. Referring to the remarks of the hon. Member for Finsbury, I would point out that the present Chief Commissioner has represented with great force that the Reports of Superintendents are only part of the material on which the Chief Commissioner bases his Report; and it is clearly on the Chief Commissioner's own responsibility that a Report ought to be made. The grievance with respect to Hackney Carriage Duties is a matter that rests with the Inland Revenue Department. I am sorry the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy hangs so much about the street corners, but the police have already ample power to check anything like dangerous driving, whether around corners or straight along the street. I have omitted to say with regard to female matrons that in all new stations I have required that arrangements should be made for the accommodation of matrons.

*MR. G. BRUCE (Finsbury, Holborn): I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether he will grant an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the dismissal of eight police constables from the E Division? Full particulars have been forwarded by me to the Home Office.

MR. MATTHEWS: The Papers in the case have been forwarded to the Chief Commissioner for his observations, and they have not yet returned to my hands. When they do, they shall receive my best attention.

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £488,305, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1890, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies."

Whereupon Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

11. £122,088, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

*MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I desire to call attention very briefly to complaints made in certain parts of the country as to the want of variety in industrial training in reformatories. It is stated that the boys are not trained in such a way as is likely to produce any really useful result in their after life. I wish to ask whether a greater variety of training can be introduced? The other question I wish to put is with regard to the industrial schools. A Bill has been before the other House of Parliament which proposes very important changes in the position of the industrial schools. I wish to ask what are the intentions of the Government in regard to this Bill in the coming Session, and whether it is proposed to proceed on the lines already laid down? When it comes down to this House there will be considerable opposition to the proposal to withdraw the industrial schools from their relationship to the School Boards? It is important that the School Boards should retain their position in regard to these schools, so that they may carry out their work with respect to a class of children whose education and training present the greatest difficulties and with whom they have specially to deal. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give some intimation as to the intention of the Government with regard to legislation on this subject.

MR. MATTHEWS: I must point out to the hon. Member that the Home Office has no direct control over the management of reformatory and industrial schools. The only control I can exercise is by the withdrawal of the certificates of the schools. In regard to other questions to which reference has been made I hope it may be possible to introduce some legislation next year, and I am sure the Government will be desirous to consult the opinion of School Boards and other bodies whose advice would have great weight.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Might not the right hon. Gentleman be a little more stringent with regard to granting certificates upon which grants are made to Industrial Schools? I remember visiting a certain school, and found one section of the boys engaged in wood chopping, and another lot in tailoring. The manager of the school, with a most innocent expression on his face, told me it was an extraordinary thing that when once the boys left the school they could never be induced to work as tailors. I asked what hours the boys were worked. He told me several in the morning (I forget the exact number), and then again after dinner for 4½ hours without a break. With such arrangements as these, who could expect the boys to do anything else than take a strong dislike to tailoring? Surely they ought to have some little variety in their day's proceedings. Their work ought not to be made as irksome as possible. I did not say anything to the manager, as he was so stupid, and it was not worth while arguing with him; but I do wish the right hon. Gentleman would instruct his Inspectors to look more closely into these details of industrial training.

MR. MATTHEWS: If the hon. and learned Member will communicate with the Home Office with regard to any particular instance steps will be taken to inquire into the matter. I think his suggestion is a very valuable one.

Vote agreed to.

12. £19,609, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I wish to give notice that it is the intention of the Government to-morrow to move the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule with respect to Supply, not being Irish Estimates, and to the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to two Bills.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the Order of the House, adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at five minutes after Eight o'clock.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 2.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [AUGUST 30.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 22nd August, 1889.

LEASEHOLDERS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 231.)

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 234.)

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) (No. 2) BILL (No. 235.)

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENTS IN BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL (No. 236.)

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª to-morrow.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL (No. 179.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with Amendments.

Commons' Amendments to Lords' Amendments considered.

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Commons' Amendments."

*LORD DENMAN: The Amendments of the House of Commons do not in any way improve this Bill. Persons who have filled their offices for many years and know their duties are now to be subjected, first, to an election, and then to apply to the Treasury for compensation. My experience of what takes place in England upon the occasion of elections makes me anxious to relieve Scotland from the burden which this new election will entail. As an hereditary Councillor of the Crown I would humbly advise Her Majesty to refuse her assent to such a Bill as this.

On Question, resolved in the affirmative.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL (No. 230.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD): By the Prisons Act of 1877, when a prison was discontinued it was provided that it should be offered to the Justices of the Peace, then the County Authority, and that in case of their declining to take it at the price that was fixed by the Act (which was based upon the number of cells then in occupation), it should be put up for sale by the Secretary of State. The Coldbath Fields Prison was discontinued in 1885. It was offered by the Secretary of State to the Justices at a price based on the principle sanctioned by the Act of Parliament, which amounted to about £186,000, and the Justices declined to take it. About that time the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor recommended in their Report that the sites of certain prisons, including the Coldbath Fields Prison, should be offered to the Metropolitan Board of Works at a price under the market price, with a view to artisans' dwellings being erected. Mr. Childers, then Secretary of State, in accordance with that recommendation of the Royal Commission, offered this site to the Metropolitan Board of Works at a price less than the market price, which was to be settled by arbitration; but the Metropolitan Board of Works thought that there was at that time in the locality a sufficient provision of

artisans' dwellings, and they, therefore, declined the offer. The Secretary of State then endeavoured to get a price offered for this site, but the highest offer that could be obtained was £100,000. About that time the Post Office entered into negotiation with the Treasury for the transfer of, at first part, and then the whole, of this site. It was of very great importance to them to get the site, and a very great advantage to the taxpayers, because the Post Office would then be able to move certain Departments which were very expensively housed elsewhere; and it was also a most convenient site because of its proximity to three stations of great lines of railway running from London. Negotiations went on; the Justices of Middlesex made no opposition, and, finally, the Post Office were placed in possession of this site in the year 1888. A question then arose whether the title of the Post Office was good, inasmuch as it could not be said strictly that the Secretary of State had sold the site in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1877. Therefore this Bill was introduced to remove that doubt, and also to confirm an arrangement which was made as to the closing of a right of way. The Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, and was referred to a hybrid Committee. It was at first opposed by the County Council on the ground that it was an opportunity which should not be lost of providing a public open space for this crowded part of the Metropolis; but a compromise was arrived at which was embodied in Sections 4 and 5 of the Bill. I now ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading to this measure.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed forthwith.

GENERAL POLICE AND IMPROVEMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1862) AMENDMENT BILL (No. 228)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3ª to-morrow.

COTTON CLOTH FACTORIES BILL (No. 227.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount CROSS): My Lords, this is a purely sanitary measure. It is for the purpose of regulating the amount of steam that may be introduced into the sheds, so as not to oppress the people who are working there. The fact is that the steam, if the room is not at a proper temperature, condenses upon the workpeople and does them great injury. The object of this Bill is to regulate the heat as compared with the amount of steam which may be admitted. It is a Bill which has been very carefully considered elsewhere, and it has been entirely agreed upon between the operatives and workmen engaged in this class of business and their employers. As an excellent sanitary measure and a very useful piece of legislation, I ask your Lordships to give it a Second Reading.

Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

REGULATION OF RAILWAYS (No. 2) BILL (No. 229.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*LORD BALFOUR: I ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading to this Bill. There is also on the Paper a notice to the effect that I propose to ask the House to suspend the Standing Orders for the purpose of the consideration of the Bill. That notice was given at a time when it was thought possible that it might be necessary to ask the House to take that step, but I am glad to be able to inform your Lordships that I do not intend to make that Motion to-day. If your Lordships read the Bill a second time, I propose that the Committee stage should be taken to-morrow. The Bill itself is a very simple one, and one which I think will command the general assent of your Lordships. Its provisions are mostly matters of detail. By the first clause it is proposed to give the Board of Trade power to make Orders, obliging the Railway Companies when called upon to introduce on passenger lines what is known as the block system; also to make a better provision for the interlocking of points and signals where those mechanical contrivances are at present defective; and thirdly (and I think this is the most important provision), to compel the in-

troduction and the constant use of efficient brake power. A very large number of vehicles which are used for passenger traffic are now fitted with continuous brakes, but it is found that some companies are backward in introducing these necessary appliances, and it is thought right that further pressure should be put upon them to take that step. The conditions which it is proposed to enforce are laid down in one of the sub-sections to the first clause of the Bill. It is not the intention of the Board of Trade, and I am sure it would not be thought right by Parliament, to prescribe by name any particular brake, but there are several brakes in existence and in regular working on some railways which comply with all the conditions in the Bill. These are five in number—that the brake must be instantaneous in action, must be self-applying in the event of any failure in the continuity of its mechanism, must be capable of being applied to every vehicle of the train, must be in regular daily use, and of such material as to be durable and easily kept in order. Those conditions are thought to be necessary, and it is the intention of the Board of Trade that any brake which complies with them shall be regarded as sufficient for the purpose. The second clause of the Bill provides for proceedings in case of a company making default in obedience to the Orders. The third clause provides a method of meeting any expense to which the companies may be put in complying with the Orders. The fourth clause provides for certain Returns being given to the Board of Trade by the companies as to the overtime of the servants in their employ—a matter in which the noble Earl behind me (Earl De la Warr) takes great interest. The fifth clause strengthens the regulations for the production and delivery of tickets upon demand by railway *employés*. The sixth clause accomplishes a very simple, but I venture to think, a very useful, reform, by providing that the Board of Trade may order (after allowing a certain time for the Railway Companies to work off the existing tickets) that each ticket shall have its price legibly printed upon its face. That is really the whole of the Bill, and I now ask your Lordships to read it a second time.

THE EARL OF MORLEY: I do not rise in any way to oppose this measure, which I think is an admirable one in many ways; but I think the attention of the House ought to be directed to Clause 3, which empowers a Railway Company executing any of the works ordered to issue debentures or debenture stock in priority to or ranking *pari passu* with existing debentures. This is a very strong, and possibly a necessary power; but, in the first place, it would enable Railway Companies to exceed their normal borrowing powers, and in the next place it would enable them to create debentures or debenture stock having priority over existing debentures. I assume that the justification for this is the paramount requirements of public safety. I am quite aware that the amount of capital that is to be so raised is to be fixed by the Board of Trade, and with these guarantees that it will not be improperly raised—and I presume that it will only be raised in the case of extremely poor and small railways—I shall offer no opposition to that portion of the Bill, though I thought it was right to call the attention of the House to it.

Bill read 2ª (according to order): Then Order of the Day for the consideration of Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. read, and discharged; Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow; and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

COINAGE (LIGHT GOLD) BILL
(No 233.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."

*LORD DENMAN: I am extremely glad that the holders of light sovereigns are not to suffer, but that they are to be indemnified under this Bill. I venture to think that there is at the present time one of the best opportunities for increasing the circulation in the country by the restoration of £1 notes, and, if possible, by such small notes as the $1 and $3 notes in Prussia, which were always preferred to silver, and were really of the greatest possible convenience. This would prevent people

being in such a violent hurry to return their half-sovereigns to the Mint. I earnestly hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom I am indebted for very great courtesy, may take this into consideration, so as to be able to relieve persons from the want of small change.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL
(No. 230.)

Reported without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 22nd August, 1889.

QUESTIONS.

LADY CANDIDATES FOR INDIAN SCHOLARSHIPS.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether it is a fact that a lady, Native of India, who had graduated with first-class honours at an Indian University, has been held to be ineligible to the scholarships instituted by the Government of India, and tenable in England; and, whether there is anything in the resolution of the Government of India of 12th February, 1886, constituting these scholarships to exclude women from their benefits; if there is not, would he communicate with the Government of India, with a view to throwing open the prizes of University education to all Her Majesty's Subjects irrespective of sex?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The facts are as stated. The Indian Scholarships were constituted as an experiment, and were intended for men only. The Secretary of State considers the decision of the Government of India right, and does not intend at present to make any alteration in the system.

SUPERANNUATION CLAIMS.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Government will consider the claim for superannuation of the attendants and messengers at the South Kensington Museum, while they are considering the evidence given before, and the Report of the Select Committee on the grievances of the Woolwich Arsenal workmen, or whether the Government will assent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the claims of the attendants and messengers of the South Kensington Museum?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I have to inform my hon. Friend, whose patience in dealing with this question I fully acknowledge, that Her Majesty's Government have given the most careful and complete consideration to the claims put forward by the men referred to, and they have come to the conclusion, which probably the men themselves would not dispute, that they have no legal claim to the benefits of the Superannuation Act, 1859. During the recess, however, the Treasury will consider whether it may be possible to meet in any way, and, if so, in what way, what I may describe as a sentimental feeling on the part of the men that they have a claim to some consideration, especially when their case is compared with that of men doing similar work elsewhere; but I am unable at present to say what direction the action of the Treasury may take.

THE BISHOPRIC OF NATAL.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to a printed Report of the Standing Committee of the Church Council of the Church of England in Natal, dated 30th October, 1888, in which the archbishops, bishops, chaplain general, and others in England are accused not only of throwing obstacles in the way of obtaining a bishop for the vacant See of Natal, but of actively intervening to intimidate clergymen of the Church of

England from going out to minister to their congregations in Natal, and stating in particular that the Bishop of Wakefield, in a letter dated 17th September, 1888, wrote respecting the Rev. W. P. Ingledew, with whom the congregation at Durban had arranged to go out from England, stating that he had warned him that he would have a difficulty in finding any bishop in England to welcome him back did he go out in that connection, and citing two further cases of clergymen who were informed that they would place themselves in opposition to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Chaplain General of the Forces if they held services for congregations of the Church of England in Natal without taking license from Bishop Macrorie, who is well known as the head of an Independent Church in South Africa; whether the Government will make inquiries respecting the alleged action of the archbishops, bishops, and chaplain general in preventing the congregations alluded to from obtaining the services of English clergymen, and in endeavouring to force upon them the licensees of what is to them an alien authority; and whether any steps can be taken to secure these congregations and their clergy against interference with their liberty in the future?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Secretary of State had not seen the Report referred to until it was received from my hon. Friend; but the circumstances as alleged are not such as to give him any jurisdiction to inquire into or deal with them. The Secretary of State is not aware that there is any power to interfere with the action of any Ecclesiastical Authorities or other persons who may think it right to make such representations as are alleged to have been made in this case.

CEYLON—THE BUDDHIST TEMPORALITIES ORDINANCE.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the purport of the "Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance" lately passed through the Legislative Council of Ceylon by Sir A. Gordon; does it involve in any form the endowment of the Buddhist religion; and, is an ordinance of this character subject to the approval of the Secretary of State?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The purport of the Ordinance is to vest the property belonging to the Buddhist temples in trustees appointed by and acting under the control of district committees elected by the Buddhist householders in the district, the object being to ensure that the revenues of the temples are applied to their proper purposes. The Ordinance does not involve the endowment of the Buddhist religion. The draft of the Ordinance was approved by the Secretary of State before it was introduced in the Legislative Council and the Ordinance has been confirmed and allowed by the Queen.

SIR J. KENNAWAY: Is not the Ordinance a distinct departure from the principle of non-interference on the part of the Local Government with Buddhist affairs?

BARON H. DE WORMS: I think not, Sir.

IRELAND—CONSTABLES BIDDING AT MARKETS.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland if any other constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary besides Sergeant Dallas are engaged in cattle dealing; from what source are funds provided for the purchase of cattle by the police; and, in the event of a loss arising through these transactions, out of what fund will it be defrayed?

*THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, University of Dublin): The Constabularly Authorities report that it is the case that some other constables besides Sergeant Dallas have been employed in bidding for cattle at fairs, with a view to detect persons unlawfully engaged in preventing the sale of cattle belonging to boycotted persons or raised on evicted farms. No expenditure for the purchase of cattle has been incurred; nor is any loss anticipated.

MR. M. HEALY (Cork): May I ask what would happen if the constables' offer was accepted?

*MR. MADDEN: That question I shall answer when the circumstance has arisen.

MR. FLYNN: The hon. and learned Gentleman has not answered the last part of the question—namely, out of

what fund any loss arising from these transactions would be defrayed.

*MR. MADDEN: I have just stated that no loss has, as yet, occurred, and none is anticipated.

MR. FLYNN: My question is in the future tense, and applies to the future only.

*MR. MADDEN: I have not the least doubt that if any loss did occur it would be borne by the public funds.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): How or in what cases can a loss arise? How is it arranged that these constables shall attend sales? Can a boycotted man require the Government to bid for his cattle?

*MR. MADDEN: The employment of constables in the manner which I have mentioned must rest with the Executive, who would exercise a discretion in the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury if it is to become a system that land grabbers are to secure the attendance of the police at Irish fairs, and get the Government to bid for their cattle, so that any loss that may be incurred may be thrown upon the public funds?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): The hon. and learned Gentleman must be aware that, having just entered the House, I know nothing of the question or of the answer which has been given to it. I think the hon. and learned Gentleman must take the answer of the Solicitor General as the answer of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY: As the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in his place, may I ask him, before the Government decide upon allowing the cattle of the land grabber to be paid for out of the Imperial Exchequer, whether the Treasury will be consulted?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I must ask for notice of that question.

DERRY GAOL.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland what number of prisoners were confined in Londonderry Prison on the date of the discharge of the man M'Gee, since dead; what number are at present in Clonmel Prison; and, how many baths are there available for the use of prisoners in the latter prison?

MR. MADDEN: The General Prisons Board report that on the 8th instant, which is the date referred to, there were in Londonderry Prison 144 prisoners. On the 19th instant there were in Clonmel Prison, 125 prisoners. There are four baths available for the use of prisoners in the latter prison.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask the hon. and learned Gentleman if he is aware that Rose Trainor, of Brackaghlislea, County Londonderry, who had been confined in Derry Gaol and released on the 1st instant after undergoing a month's imprisonment, was, on 17th August, removed to the fever hospital at Magherafelt on the certificate of Dr. Hegarty, the medical officer of the district; that this certificate is in the following terms:—

"I hereby certify that I have been attending Rose Trainor, Brackaghlislea, for typhoid fever, and I am perfectly certain that she contracted the disease before she left Derry Gaol on the 1st instant.

"A. HEGARTY, M.D."

And, will Rose Trainor's case be inquired into in relation to the sanitary condition of Derry Gaol?

MR. MADDEN: I have already made a statement in relation to this case in reply to a question of the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill). From further Reports received it appears that Rose Trainor, after refusing to proceed to her place of conviction (Draperstown) by rail on the date of her discharge on the ground that she was going to stay for a time with some friends in Londonderry City, subsequently altered her plans and proceeded on foot to Draperstown, walking a distance of 32 miles. I understand that the medical officer named did give a certificate to a newspaper correspondent in the terms stated in the question. The medical officer of the prison reports that the woman during the period she remained in prison had never complained of any illness, was not at any time under medical treatment there, and was in her usual good health when discharged.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the Government, in view of this statement by an experienced medical man that this woman was seized with typhoid fever in

Derry Gaol, ease the public mind by ordering an independent inquiry?

MR. MADDEN: The date of the discharge of Rose Trainor from Derry Gaol was the 3rd of August, and she did not receive medical advice until the 15th. Certainly the Government will inquire further into the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then I may take it that the case is still under investigation?

MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether it is a fact that for several months up to April in this year, when they were set right, the water closets in Derry Gaol were not acting, being out of repair, and whether any notice was taken of the matter by the medical Officer of the Gaol, Sir W. Miller, or any Report thereon made by him to the proper authorities; whether during this period several cases of diphtheria occurred in the gaol, and also several cases of fever, either typhus, typhoid, or simple continued fever in the female side of prison; whether those fever cases were removed to the workhouse where they were at once placed in hospital, and whether a female prisoner who went to workhouse to mind one of those cases developed fever when she subsequently returned to the gaol; whether it is a fact that about one-half of what properly constitutes the hospital of the gaol is at present used as a cook house and mess room for the officers of the prison, thereby seriously curtailing the hospital accommodation of gaol; whether the female cook and the hospital warder, a man named Fitzsimons, have at present sleeping apartments in the same division of the hospital; and, if so, will he order its discontinuance; and whether all the above matters were inquired into by Dr. O'Farrell on his recent visits; and if so, will he give his Report thereon; and, if not, will he direct an inquiry into them and lay the Report upon the Table?

MR. MADDEN: I regret that I have not a full Report in reference to this and some other questions which are upon the Paper in the name of the hon. Member, but I will give him all the information I have. It appears from the Report of Dr. O'Farrell that the closets are of the modern type, and that there has been no case of fever of a serious character in the gaol for more than 20 years.

DR. KENNY: I have next to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he is aware that M. Size, who recently died immediately after his discharge from Derry Gaol, was when he entered prison a remarkably powerful man of about 13 stone in weight and about 5 feet 8 inches in height; whether he will give his exact height and weight when he entered prison; whether he was specially selected on account of his strength to take charge of a dangerous lunatic named John Kelly, who had committed a murder, and whether it was owing to the fatigues of this anxious, dangerous, and laborious work that Size contracted the disease from which he subsequently died; whether he will inquire particularly into the facts and treatment whilst in prison of this man's case; and, if the facts are as detailed, procure from the Treasury a grant of money sufficient to compensate his parents, who relied greatly for their support on his exertions, for the great loss they have sustained through his untimely death.

MR. MADDEN: I have not been able to get any special Report on the subject in time to answer this question; but I gather from Reports previously received that this prisoner's weight on reception was 175 pounds, and he had lost but six pounds when discharged. The medical history of the case of this prisoner is fully detailed in Dr. O'Farrell's Report which has been placed in the Library. The Government are not aware of any grounds upon which an appeal could be made to the Treasury as suggested.

DR. KENNY: Is it the fact that on or about the 16th April last a man named Bingham, who had some time previously been committed on a charge of murder, hanged himself in his cell in this gaol; whether it was known to the prison doctor, Sir W. Miller, and the Governor of the gaol that Bingham had previously been an inmate of a lunatic asylum; whether the warder in charge of Bingham frequently called the doctor's attention to the prisoner's condition and demeanour; whether, on the morning of the day on which the unfortunate man hanged himself, the warder specially directed the Governor's, and subsequently Sir W. Miller's attention to Bingham; whether Bingham

was ever removed during his incarceration from his cell to hospital, or other place, where he could be constantly watched; and, whether any, and, if so, what, precautions were taken by the prison authorities to prevent the catastrophe which ultimately ended Bingham's life?

MR. MADDEN: The prisoner Bingham committed suicide as stated. It was not known to the Governor or Medical Officer that he had been an inmate of a lunatic asylum. It is not true that the warder called the attention of the doctor or the Governor to him as stated. Bingham was not removed to hospital, and there did not appear to be any necessity for watching him specially, and there was no apparent reason to apprehend the catastrophe which happened.

DR. KENNY: Was a prisoner named Doyle admitted into Derry Gaol about April last; was he, on admission, suffering from a wound in the groin, supposed to have been caused by a thrust of a stick in some brawl; was he, though walking with difficulty from this cause, exercised daily, and kept in an ordinary cell, and not removed to hospital at once; was he ultimately removed in a delirious state from his cell to hospital, it being found necessary to carry him there when removing him, and whether he died in hospital three or four days, *i.e.*, about 14th May, after his removal there, with symptoms of blood poisoning caused by the wound in his groin; and was an inquest held in this case; and, if so, what was the finding of the Jury?

MR. MADDEN: I must ask the hon. Member to postpone this question. I have not yet received the information necessary to enable me to answer it.

DR. KENNY: Is it a fact that up to a recent period the cell in Derry Gaol in which Mr. Conybeare is at present confined was used as a cell specially set apart for prisoners suffering from a highly contagious skin affection, easy to catch and tedious to get rid of; has Mr. Conybeare since his incarceration in this cell, contracted this affection; and, in view of this fact, and also that Mr. Conybeare suffers from rheumatism, will the Chief Secretary order his immediate removal therefrom to hospital or other appropriate place in the gaol where he can get hot baths or other suitable treatment?

MR. MADDEN: I must also ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone this question.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell): Seeing that the Chief Secretary gave us a very full account or statement of the health of the hon. Member for Camborne three or four days ago, why is it not possible to answer this question, about which information could have been got a week ago?

MR. MADDEN: Inquiry has been made, and I regret that the Report has not yet been received.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR: Will the hon. Gentleman telegraph for it?

MR. MADDEN: It has already been telegraphed for.

DR. KENNY: Is it a fact that a man named Diver, of Gweedore, recently discharged in a dying state from Derry Gaol, where he had been confined awaiting his trial, was attacked with spitting of blood very soon after his admission; whether he was thereupon admitted to hospital; whether he was discharged therefrom when his condition improved, but had to be again admitted almost immediately owing to a return of the hæmorrhage from his lungs; whether he can state how long altogether Diver was in hospital; and why, if the facts are as above mentioned, he was not at once discharged from prison, when the evidence of lung disease was so fully established as the above facts indicate?

MR. MADDEN: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone the question.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I beg to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether complaints have reached him as to the condition of the water supply to the City of Derry; whether the Derry Gaol is supplied with the same quality; whether the collecting basin was visited over 10 years ago by the members of the Corporation owing to the number of complaints made at the time; whether Mr. Foster, one of the body, expressed himself in these words—"That the top-dressing in the collecting basin was sufficient to cover 6 acres of grass land;" whether anything has been done to cleanse this since; and whether the Government will take steps to force the Derry Corporation to give the citizens a purer supply of water?

MR. MADDEN: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will be good enough to postpone the question until a Report has been received.

MR. O'HANLON: I will repeat it to-morrow.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Can the Chief Secretary say whether, in addition to the two Falcarragh prisoners who lately died on release from Derry Gaol, and the other two who became dangerously ill immediately after release, a fifth Falcarragh prisoner, named Cannon, is now seriously ill in Derry hospital, and what are the particulars of his case?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am sorry that I am unable to give any reply to the question. I have telegraphed to Ireland but have as yet received no answer.

MR. SEXTON: In view of the undoubted fact that two prisoners have died since their release from this gaol, and that three others have become seriously ill, and also in view of the medical certificate that one of the prisoners when discharged had typhoid fever while in gaol, will the right hon. Gentleman cause an independent medical inquiry to be made?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am naturally desirous that there should be a full inquiry; but up to the present time nothing has come to my knowledge to induce me to believe that the matter is one which requires any exceptional treatment. The medical officer who has been sent there is exceedingly competent and the question can be discussed on the prison Vote.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give notice that unless the uncorroborated Report of Dr. O'Farrell is corroborated by some independent authority the absence of such an independent Report will become a matter for serious consideration.

CORK GAOL.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to a letter addressed on the 16th instant to the Irish Prisons Board by the Mayor of Cork; whether he is aware that on the date mentioned a prisoner named James O'Brien, confined in Cork Gaol, expressed a wish to make a statement in private to the Mayor, Mr. M. J. Daly, J.P., and Mr. C. J. Dunn, J.P., then members of the Committee of Visiting Justices, and visiting the prison as such; that the Deputy Governor thereupon interfered, and said that he could not permit any statement to be made to the Visiting Justices in private; and that the Justices had in consequence to retire without any statement being made; whether, under the prison rules, it is the right and the duty of Visiting Justices to hear the complaints of prisoners in private if asked to do so; and, what notice the Prisons Board propose to take of the Deputy Governor's conduct on the occasion in question?

MR. MADDEN: The General Prisons Board report that the matter referred to had already come before them, and they forthwith instructed the Deputy Governor of the prison that the prisoner is entitled, under the rules, to have a private interview with the Justices.

MR. M. HEALY: May I ask for an answer to the last paragraph in the question? As I understand, it is admitted that the Deputy Governor of the Cork Gaol acted in an improper manner in preventing the Visiting Justices from having an interview with the prisoners. I wish, therefore, to know what notice the Prisons Board propose to take of the Deputy Governor's conduct.

MR. MADDEN: The Deputy Governor appears to have acted in ignorance of the rule, and the Prisons Board have informed him that he acted in error.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has he been reprimanded?

MR. MADDEN: I am not aware that he has been reprimanded personally.

LABOURERS' DWELLINGS.

MR. RICHARD POWER (Waterford): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware that the Corporation of Waterford applied to the Board of Works for a loan for the erection of labourers' dwellings, and that the project was sanctioned by the Local Government Board after due inquiry; and, whether the Board of Works has submitted the application to the Treasury; and, if so, will the money be advanced at once, so that the Corporation may be able to take advantage of the fine weather to commence the works, and to give much needed employment, and supply a serious want?

MR. JACKSON: The application for a loan has not been forwarded by the Board of Works to the Treasury, the Corporation of Waterford being in arrear with payments due on other loans. But I will ask for a complete Report on the subject.

EGYPT—FURTHER OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if it is true, as reported in the *Times*, of 19th August that the Governor General of Suakin has again commenced an aggressive warfare in the country beyond his limits; has sent the Hadendowas to try and drive the Dervishes from Sinkat, and provided them with arms and ammunition; but that they returned with no greater result than the capture of 400 sheep and a little grain, which they consumed; and whether Her Majesty's Government, to obviate a recurrence of last year's events, will interfere to prevent a renewal of this class of raids, and insist on the observance of the policy they prescribed, to hold Suakin and the ground necessary to prevent approach to the works, but on no account to go beyond?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): The facts of the case are that the Egyptian Government permitted a tribe near Suakin, which had suffered much from the exactions and outrages of the (so-called) Dervishes, to drive them back and recover some of their cattle. They were also assisted by a supply of arms and ammunition. The result was much more successful than is represented in the Report referred to. Her Majesty's Government saw no cause to interfere with the discretion of the Egyptian Government in the matter; the policy pursued being in accordance with the recommendations made in despatches which have been presented to Parliament.

IRELAND—SKIBBEREEN CUSTOM HOUSE.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if it is contemplated to remove the Custom House from Skibbereen to Bantry; is he aware that the merchants and traders of Skibbereen have protested against the change; and, in view of the increasing importance of the fishing and other trades at Skibbereen, will the wishes of the traders be consulted before making this change?

MR. JACKSON: It is in contemplation to transfer the Customs Offices for the port of Skibbereen (which embraces the whole length of coast-line between the town of Kenmare (westward) and Galley Head (eastward), from the town of Skibbereen to the more centrally situated part of the port, Bantry, which is in communication with Skibbereen by railway. This arrangement will, it is believed, tend to improve the facilities of the port generally for the transaction of Customs business, and will not interfere with the facilities required by merchants at Skibbereen. A Memorial on the subject from the Skibbereen Town Commissioners has reached the Board of Customs, who, before finally deciding on the change, will give full consideration to the representations contained in that Memorial.

THE CASE OF MR. MICHAEL WALSH.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether, on the occasion of the prosecution of Mr. Michael Walsh, at the last Fermoy Petty Sessions, reported in the *Cork Examiner* of the 14th instant, when the defendant was bound to be of good behaviour, the evidence of the prosecutor, Constable Lane, Royal Irish Constabulary, was taken down in writing; and, if so, whether he can state the contents of the deposition so far as relates to the amount of violence used by the constable?

MR. MADDEN: I understand that the sworn evidence of Constable Lane was that he first tapped Walsh on the shoulder and demanded his name, and that it was only when Walsh would not give his name that he caught him by the collar and stated he would bring him to the Police Barrack. The evidence of the constable was not taken down in writing.

MR. M. HEALY: Is it not the law that the evidence should be taken down in writing?

MR. MADDEN: No, not in a case of binding over a person to be of good behaviour.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary how long was Mr. Michael Walsh, the bail prisoner, in Cork Gaol before he was stripped of his clothes and had his hair and moustache cut off; by whose instructions and what authority was this done, and was it sanctioned by the Government or the Prisons Board; was Mr. Walsh informed that, under the rules, he was entitled to wear his own clothes and not to be shorn; what "consent" did he give to this treatment beyond submitting; is it alleged that it was necessary for cleanliness to take off his moustache and hair and dress him in prison garb; and will no apology or compensation be offered to Mr. Walsh?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The General Prisons Board report that Michael Walsh had been about a quarter of an hour in Cork Gaol when his clothes were changed and his hair and moustache trimmed. It was done by a warder without special instructions from any one. No special information appears to have been given to him as to his being entitled to wear his own clothes and not to be shorn. The prison authorities do not allege that the action was necessary for cleanliness. According to the prisoner's own statement, his moustache was trimmed with his own consent and his hair was also trimmed, and he said he would wear the bail clothes until he wrote home for a change of linen, as he was told that he should change it every week.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will this outrage be apologised for or compensation granted for it?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not gather that there was anything done in the nature of an outrage. No doubt the warder committed an error. I will inquire into the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I asked on Tuesday, and I ask again to-day, who is the person who is responsible? This is the second remarkable case which has occurred recently in Cork Gaol. The first was a case in which the Deputy Governor refused Walton the Visiting Justices to see the prisoners. Was this outrage also committed with the sanction of the Deputy Governor?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The person who committed the error in this case was not the Deputy Governor but a warder.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Who is the person who is responsible? I have twice respectfully asked the question.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And I have answered it respectfully. The warder committed an error; he had no order to do what he did. Therefore, the responsibility rests with the warder.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman know that there was never any rule allowing the cutting off of the hair of an untried prisoner?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe the hon. Member is correct. I think the rule does not apply to bail prisoners.

MR. T. M. HEALY: When is my question going to be answered? We ask for the name of the person who is responsible.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have attempted to answer the question of the hon. and learned Member; it appears that the warder did this without any orders.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What is the name of the warder?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am unable to say.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I have put this question on two separate days, and I want to know why it is that the Irish Office pays no attention to the form in which a question appears on the Paper?

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): What steps have been taken to communicate any changes in the Prison Rules to the officials?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will obtain the information if the hon. Member will give notice of the Question. No change applies to this particular case.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I must ask again for the name of the warder?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already informed the hon. and learned Gentleman that I am not acquainted with it; but if the hon. Gentleman desires to know, I shall be glad to find out.

BANTRY BAY.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, in view of the numbers of Her Majesty's ships resorting to Bantry Bay, he will include a small sum in the Estimates for marking the entrance to Bantry Harbour, for want of which several of Her Majesty's

ships and boats have from time to time suffered damage?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): Bantry Harbour is not largely used by Her Majesty's ships, but in view of their occasional visits and of the fact that the district coastguard ship lies there, directions were given in January last for a buoy to be moored on the extremity of the shoal east of Horse Island; and this order has been carried out. This is the only artificial mark considered necessary for the navigation of the harbour.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is true, as stated in the Cork papers, that it is the intention of the Government to repair the fortifications in Whiddy Island, in Bantry Bay, and to station troops there?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): No, Sir; there is no truth in the statement.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES IN INDIA.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of any *bonâ fide* attempt made in any of the Cantonments or elsewhere in India to carry out the recommendation of the Army Sanitary Commission, which, while condemning the system for regulating prostitution as wholly unsuccessful, suggested as the proper way of dealing with venereal disease—

"The establishment of a properly organised system of hospital and dispensary relief for the use of all classes, and strictly voluntary in its character;"

and, if so, whether, he will lay upon the Table of the House any Returns or information in respect of such attempt.

SIR J. GORST: The recommendation of the Army Sanitary Commission was commended to the Government of India in 1882, but rather with reference to the large towns than to Cantonments; but the Secretary of State is not aware that any system of hospital or dispensary relief for the use of all classes has ever been established for the purpose of dealing with venereal disease exclusively.

MR. J. STUART: Has the hon. Gentleman called the attention of Surgeon Major Barclay, and other compilers of Indian statistics in respect of venereal diseases, to the errors in their method of calculating averages which have vitiated their results hitherto; and, if so, what reply has been made by or on behalf of these gentlemen?

SIR J. GORST: The attention of the Government of India was, as I stated more than a year ago, called to the arithmetical error, pointed out by the hon. Member, and the justice of the criticism of the hon. Member does not seem to be disputed.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): I beg to ask the hon. Gentleman whether it is the fact that, at the last meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla, on the presentation of a Report on the Cantonment Bill, the Commander in Chief stated—

"That the Returns of the Surgeon General showed that the number of venereal cases in the Army had actually doubled, and were of a much more virulent type."

Whether the Viceroy said—

"If any room had existed for doubt as to the gravity of the case which confronted the Government, the statement of the Commander in Chief dispelled that doubt, and that he hoped public opinion would support the Government in its endeavours to reduce the evil as much as possible;"

And, whether Her Majesty's Government, under the circumstances, intend to take any, and what, action in the matter?

SIR J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt that the Reports of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council at Simla are correct. The Cantonment Bill contains provisions for enabling the Government of India to deal with all contagious diseases within Cantonments, and regulations for that purpose will be made by the Government of India as soon as the Bill becomes law.

HOLYWOOD PIER AND HARBOUR.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can say if anything has yet been done with reference to the state into which the undertakers have allowed the pier and harbour works at Holywood, County Down, to fall?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I am informed by Messrs

T. Dixon and Sons, of Belfast, who have purchased Holywood Pier, that, as soon as the transfer of sale has been completed, steps will be taken by them for its repair.

CLACTON-ON-SEA.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received a Memorial from the residents at Clacton-on-Sea, with regard to the recent step taken by the War Office in closing a footpath between the Martello Tower and the sea; and if he will give a favourable answer to the request therein contained?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: I have received the Memorial, and I am making personal inquiry into the matter. It appears that the right of the War Department to prevent trespass across its ground is incontestable; but I have every wish to make such an arrangement as shall be agreeable to the inhabitants of Clacton-on-Sea, and I shall be glad if my hon. Friend will confer with me as to the best steps to take.

ZULULAND.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that an armed body of police left Etshowe for northern Zululand on or about the 20th July; whether Mr. Saunders, an official, accompanied such expedition, and in what capacity, and under what instructions; whether the Native Chief Zibebu also accompanied such expedition, at whose request, and for what purpose; whether the expedition is, in fact, directed against the Tongos; whether these Tongos were raided by Zibebu in September last, and what Report has been made thereon by Colonel Coope; and whether the Special Commissioners, when sitting at Etshowe, pronounced any, and what, conclusion as to the status of these Tongos as subjects of the Queen?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The hon. Member probably refers to an escort of 15 police who are to accompany Mr. Saunders on a Mission with which he is charged under instructions of the Governor of Natal, by direction of the Secretary of State, to define the boundary between the territories of Zambili, Queen of Tongaland, and Zululand. The Queen Zambili has been invited to send a representative to assist in the demarcation. There is no reason to suppose that Usibebu is with Mr. Saunders, of whose departure no information has yet been received. Colonel Coope, in September last, reported to the Governor of Natal that Usibebu had committed a wanton raid upon the Chiefs Usibondi and Umcamana; but on inquiry it appears that these Chiefs, under orders from Dinizulu, had turned out to "finish off" Usibebu, and that the latter had retaliated upon them. The status of these Chiefs as subjects of the Queen did not come before the Special Commission, so far as is known, but the evidence is not yet before the Secretary of State; he has, however, heard nothing to lead him to believe that the Commission came to any conclusion about them.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire whether it is true, as I believe it to be, that the native Chief Zibebu is with Mr. Saunders and this body of police, and will he give such directions as will prevent any interference by the British Authorities with the Tongos?

BARON H. DE WORMS: I shall be happy to make inquiries.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether any legislative action is being taken by the Government of India to provide for the great necessity existing in the Central Provinces of India for legislation in the direction of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 and the Jhansi Incumbered Estates Act of 1882, to oblige Civil Courts, in decreeing on contracts of mortgage or loans, to enforce the payment of only so much as is warranted by the principles of justice; whether he is aware that indebtedness is everywhere increasing in the Central Provinces to such an extent that, unless relief in the direction indicated is found, the inevitable result will be the transfer to the money-lending classes of a very large portion of the land of these Provinces; and if no action has been taken, whether the Secretary of State will give instructions for a measure to be prepared and considered during the next Session of the Viceroy's Legislative Council?

SIR J. GORST: This is a matter in which the initiative must be left to the

Government of India, and the Secretary of State has not yet heard of any legislative action being taken by them. Careful inquiries have, however, been made regarding the condition of the lower classes in the Central Provinces. The conclusions arrived at were that the agricultural classes were, generally speaking, very well off, but that a deplorable amount of indebtedness existed. A very large proportion of the cultivating classes has been thrown by extravagance into the money lender's hands, and is now practically at his mercy.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Is it not true that Mr. Mackenzie's Report, 915 (s), to the Government of India, which has been communicated to the Secretary of State, states that indebtedness is everywhere increasing in the Central Provinces to such an extent that. unless relief in the direction of legislation is afforded, the land will pass into the hands of money lenders? Does not the Secretary of State consider that to be sufficiently grave to require some communication to be addressed to the Government of India on the subject?

SIR J. GORST: I cannot call to mind the exact accuracy of the quotation given by the hon. Gentleman unless he will give notice, so that I may be able to verify it. The Secretary of State has carefully considered the statements of Mr. Mackenzie, contained in the Report referred to, and I have endeavoured to give the substance of that Report. The matter is engaging the attention of the Government of India, as has been frequently stated in this House. The initiative must be left to the Government of India.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Do not the words which I quoted appear in the very Report from which the hon. Gentleman took a portion of the answer he made to me?

SIR J. GORST: That s exactly what I said; but I added that I could not verify the strict accuracy of the quotation without referring to the Report itself, and I have not got the Report here.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state to the House the amount of the Separate Surplus Fund, and of the balance on current account, which have been applied to cover partially or wholly the frauds and defalcations at Canterbury, Epsom, and Chertsey Banks; whether he will grant as an unopposed Return an account of the amounts in detail which have been so used in cases of ascertained frauds and defalcations in connection with Trustee Banks; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of this House copies of counsel's opinion as to the disposal of the Separate Surplus Fund and its relation to the State?

*MR. GOSCHEN: The Canterbury, Epsom, and Chertsey Savings Banks mentioned were closed in consequence of the frauds and defalcations which took place in them. The surplus balance on current account at the 20th of November preceding the date of closing was stated to be £455 at Canterbury, and £74 at Chertsey, while the current account of the Epsom Bank showed a deficiency balance of £93. In each instance the total amount on current account was insufficient to meet the liabilities to depositors, and sums of £3,500, £460, and £60, being the amounts at the credit of each bank, were issued from the Separate Surplus Fund to Canterbury, Chertsey, and Epsom respectively. With regard to the second paragraph of the hon. Member's question, I must ask for time to consider whether the desired Return can be granted. Any opinions respecting the Separate Surplus Fund which may have been furnished to the Government by their Legal Advisers are, in accordance with the usual practice, treated as confidential, and cannot be made public.

MR. HOWELL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government will, during the Recess, consider the advisability of amending the law relating to Trustee Savings Banks, their relation to the State, the duties and responsibilities of trustees and managers, and as to the fraudulent Returns made to this House for many years of the accounts rendered pursuant to the Act of 1863?

*MR. GOSCHEN: I certainly consider that it will be my duty to consider very carefully the various points referred to by the hon. Member, and which are raised by the Report of the Committee on Trustee Banks, as well as by the recent inquiry at Macclesfield.

SEIZURE OF FISHING NETS.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND utherlandshire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether his attention has been called to the seizure of five fishing nets belonging to Martin Kennedy and Lachlan Curry, fishermen, in Loch-in-daal, on the night July 23rd-24th, by Major Wise, a lessee of certain fishings in Islay; whether it is true, as stated, that the seizure of nets referred to took place half a mile beyond the protected line, and was consequently illegal; whether it is true that a fortnight after the seizure of the nets Major Wise had not lodged any complaint with the Criminal Authorities, but retained the nets, and refused to deliver them to their owners; and if, on inquiry, it appears that the appropriation and retention of the nets was illegal, in view of the frequency of similar treatment of fishermen by fishing tenants in the Highlands, he will instruct the Procurator Fiscal to institute proceedings in this case?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): My attention has been called to this case. The information before me as to the situation of the nets is somewhat conflicting, and does not enable me to say with certainty whether they were set within or beyond the limits of the estuary of the River Sorn. Major Wise has not lodged any complaint with the Criminal Authorities, and I believe he retained the nets. Whatever may have been the situation of the nets, I am not aware of any legal grounds on which the seizure and retention of the nets can be justified; but it seems to me that, if a grievance exists, the proper remedy is civil and not criminal.

TYPHOID FEVER IN THE WEST-END OF LONDON

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the supposed outbreak of typhoid fever in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, he will call on the Sanitary Inspectors of the parish to report on those houses which still have open cesspools, and advise as to their immediate removal?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I have no authority to give any directions to the Sanitary Inspectors of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square. They are in no way subject to the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board. I will, however, communicate with the Vestry of the parish with reference to the question.

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is aware that at School Board Elections voters frequently indicate the number of votes they intend to give to a candidate by placing a corresponding number of crosses after his name; whether, in many instances, Returning Officers count the crosses when the intention of the voter is plain, and admit such voting papers; and, whether the rejection of voting papers in which the number of votes given to each candidate is indicated by crosses is in accordance with existing Laws and Orders of Council, especially the Order of 3rd October, 1873?

*THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I have no information with regard to the first two paragraphs of the question; but the Department have been advised that the Returning Officer may confine the voter, in filling up the ballot paper, to the use of numbers written in full or in figures. In the absence of any such instructions being given, it is understood that Returning Officers allow the use of both figures and crosses; but the Education Department have no means of reviewing their action in such a matter.

LABUAN.

DR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there have been any, and, if so, what proposals made to or by the Colonial Office for the cession of the Island of Labuan to the Central Borneo Company or any other Company, or whether there are any negotiations pending for such cession?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Owing to the insufficiency of the revenue of Labuan to maintain an efficient Colonial Administration, Her Majesty's Government have proposed that the Chartered

British North Borneo Company shall take over the administration of the island, which would remain a British colony, and would not be ceded to the company. The terms and conditions of the proposed arrangement have not been settled.

FATAL FIRE AT EXMOUTH.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the deplorable fire at Exmouth on Monday last, by which father, mother, and three children were burnt to death owing to the inefficiency of the fire brigade, fire escapes, and fire engines; and whether he will cause inquiries to be made with the view of punishing those who are responsible for the mismanagement?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Constable that the Coroner's Court which is inquiring into the fire at Exmouth stands adjourned till the 27th inst. Pending this inquiry, I am not in a position to say whether the deaths of the persons burnt were or were not caused through the inefficiency of the fire brigade escapes and engines.

DISTRESS FOR TITHES IN WALES.

SIR CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has seen and tested the accuracy of the report circulated by the Central News Agency that within the last few days some bailiffs, in endeavouring to execute a distress for tithe in Pembrokeshire, were mobbed and hunted by two dogs and thus pursued until they promised never again to attempt the execution of any such process; whether the Government will use every effort to bring the ringleaders to justice and punishment; and, whether the Government will take the necessary steps to protect during the coming months those who have legal process to enforce in the disturbed districts in Wales?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; I have seen the report in question, and I am informed by the Chief Constable that it is the fact that some bailiffs were by menace compelled to leave the locality where they were executing a writ issued upon a judgment of the Superior Court, and to sign a paper that they would not return there or ever execute a warrant pertaining to tithe. It has not been reported to the Chief Constable that they were hunted with dogs or subjected to violence. The bailiffs state that they cannot identify their assailants; but diligent inquiry is being made, and no effort will be spared to bring the offenders to justice. It is the duty of the Local Authorities to preserve the peace and to see that the execution of the law is not interfered with, and the Government will assuredly do all in its power to assist the Local Authorities in the performance of that duty.

IRELAND—CASE OF TIMOTHY SHINE.

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the sworn information made by Timothy Shine at Newmarket Petty Sessions against Constable Connolly and Jeremiah Murphy, charging them with conspiracy to murder, whether he has sanctioned the Inspector General's decision to allow Constable Connolly to continue discharging the duties of a police officer pending the trial, or whether he will now have him suspended from the performance of such duties while such a serious charge is hanging over him?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the sworn information referred to does not charge either Constables Connolly or Jeremiah Murphy with conspiracy to murder. The Inspector General of Constabulary sees no reason whatever to suspend the constable.

MR. HANRATTY.

MR. O'HANLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that one of the local Justices of Crossmaglen, Mr. Hanratty, has lately evicted some of his tenants and taken off all the crops; and whether he is aware that Mr. Hanratty's bailiff is also summons server for the district; and, if so, whether it is in accordance with the regulations that a summons server should act as bailiff to a landlord in the district?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It appears, as far as I can learn, that Mr. Han-

ratty has not evicted any of his tenants lately, and that he has no bailiff.

MR. O'HANLON: Has he evicted any tenant within the last 12 months? The answer of the right hon. Gentleman is not at all satisfactory. I think I have a right to a direct answer.

[No answer was given.]

MR. O'HANLON: Mr. Speaker, will you be good enough to get a reply for me?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman asked me two questions—whether this gentleman has lately evicted any of his tenants, and whether his bailiff is summons server for the district? My answer is that Mr. Hanratty has not evicted any of his tenants lately, and that he has no bailiff.

MR. O'HANLON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Thomas Morris, a merchant of Crossmaglen, was summoned for fishing in a lake last July; that the case was dismissed by the Magistrate acting at the time; and that Mr. Morris is again summoned for the same offence, to be tried next September; will Mr. Hanratty act as a Justice on the occasion, in view of the fact that he had a dispute with Morris lately; and can Mr. Morris be twice tried for the alleged offence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It appears that Thomas Morris was summoned last month by the Local Fishery Authorities for illegally fishing with an "otter." The case was dismissed not in the sense indicated in the Question, but without prejudice on the technical point as to the description of the "otter." An amended summons has been issued, and the case will be heard in September. Mr. Hanratty is a local Justice. There is no information as to whether he will take part in the case or not. He does not appear to have had any dispute with Mr. Morris lately. As regards the last paragraph, the effect of dismissing a case without prejudice is to enable the prosecution to re-open the proceedings if so advised.

MR. O'HANLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman instruct Mr. Hanratty that he has no right to sit on the Bench in such a case?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; that is no part of my functions, nor do I gather that there is any reason why this gentleman should not sit.

ARMENIA.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government have received any confirmation of the statements made by the correspondent of the *Times* at Constantinople, that orders have been sent to disarm both the Armenians and the Kurds; and, if so, whether, having regard to the impracticability of disarming the nomadic Kurds, Her Majesty's Government will make representation to the Turkish Government, pointing out the danger which such a policy must occasion to the Armenians?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: No confirmation of the statement referred to by the hon. Member has reached Her Majesty's Government.

TELEGRAPHIC MONEY ORDERS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether it is true that he has completed the details for a scheme for telegraphic money orders; and, if so, whether he can state when it is likely the scheme will be introduced?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigtonshire): In reply to the hon. Member's question, the Postmaster General asks me to announce that the scheme for telegraphic money orders will be introduced, by way of experiment, at certain offices on Monday, the 2nd September.

H.M.S. *SULTAN.*

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he can give the House any further information as to the raising of H.M.S. *Sultan?*

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I am glad to be able to inform the House that the following telegram, dated the 20th instant, has been received from the Admiral Superintendent at Malta—

"*Sultan.* — Kingston valve forward discovered open, now plugged. Water rapidly decreasing. Ship afloat. Hope to bring her in to-morrow."

SCHOOL FEES.

MR. HUNTER: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate when he expects to lay upon the Table of the House the Minute of the Scotch Education Department

with respect to the distribution of the probate grant in aid of school fees?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The Minute will be laid on the Table as soon as the Local Government Bill receives the Royal Assent.

IRELAND—THE LAND ACT OF 1870.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to a letter, said to have been written to a correspondent by the hon. Member for Dover, "on behalf of the Chief Secretary for Ireland," and published in the *Times* of the 19th instant, in which it is stated that since the Land Act of 1870 it has not been lawful for any Irish tenant to enter into a contract not to claim compensation for improvements; and, whether this is a correct statement of the law?

MR. MADDEN: My attention has been called to the letter referred to, an extract only from which was published in the *Times*. I have ascertained that the correspondence referred to the case of one tenant only, whose rent was alleged to have been raised from £15 to £40. As applied to such a case, the statement was perfectly accurate, inasmuch as, as I understand, the valuation of the holding was less than £50.

MR. M. HEALY: Will care be taken in future to ascertain that, before letters of this kind are published, the facts to which they relate are correct?

[No answer was given.]

PORTUGUESE MISSION TO LAKE NYASSA.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is a fact that a Royal Decree has been issued at Lisbon authorising the establishment of a Portuguese mission at Mponda, at the southern end of Lake Nyassa, having amongst its objects the colonisation of that district; whether this decree claims territorial sovereignty by Portugal over that district; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will decline to recognise that claim?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: We have no information of any Royal Decree authorising the establishment of a Portuguese Mission at Mponda.

BEHRING'S SEA FISHERIES.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if it is true, as reported in a Reuter's telegram from Victoria (British Columbia) to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that a United States cutter has seized the British sealers *Pathfinder* and *Minnie* in the Behring's Sea, and that other Dominion vessels engaged in the seal fisheries have been boarded and searched; and whether Her Majesty's Government intend, prior to the Recess, stating what measures are being adopted, and what diplomatic progress is being made, for the purpose of arranging mutually with the United States and the Dominion a system of regulations under which seizures may in the future be avoided in Alaskan waters over which the Americans claim exclusive jurisdiction?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the Government of the United States upon this subject.

THE REGISTRATION ACTS.

MR. KENYON (Denbigh District): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether he can now supplement his answer of 20th May on the subject of the hardship inflicted upon Militiamen under the present Registration Acts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I think the hon. Member knows that I am anxious that the Bill dealing with this subject should pass, and that the grievance should be removed. I still hope that the Bill may be passed, notwithstanding the very short time before us.

THE TITHES BILL.

SIR JOHN PULESTON (Devonport): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government can give the assurance that the Tithes Bill, now withdrawn, will be introduced and pressed forward early next Session?

MR. J. MORE (Shropshire, Ludlow): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been called to the fact that the following statement occurs in nine Memorials sent by the clergy of nine Welsh counties to the Prime Minister:—

"That a transfer of the liability from the tenant to the landowner would doubtless afford

much present relief; but that, as not a few of the landowners are themselves hostile to tithes, your Memorialists venture to submit that the substitution of landowners for tenants can only be regarded as a temporary expedient, which may at no distant day open the door to a fresh and probably more disastrous agitation;"

and whether he will decline to pledge the Government to the re-introduction of the Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill until the policy of appointing a Joint Committee of Members of both Houses of Parliament to consider the value of tithe rent-charge, with a view to its possible redemption, is finally decided upon?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: My attention has been drawn to Memorials of the character referred to by the hon. Member who has just sat down. I am unable to give any pledge beyond those I have already given as to the course of legislation next Session. I have stated that, without committing themselves absolutely, the Government regard favourably the suggestion for the appointment next Session of a Committee of both Houses to inquire into the tithe rent-charge question.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE DEAF, BLIND, AND DUMB.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if his attention has been directed to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c., of the United Kingdom; and, if he will consider during the Recess the best means by which practical effect may be given to the recommendations of the Commissioners, unanimously agreed upon, after an investigation extending over more than three years?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: Personally, I have not yet had time to read the important Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf, and the Dumb; but I am acquainted generally with the recommendations of the Commission, which will be carefully considered during the Recess.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he is aware that the *School Board Chronicle* and other newspapers are strongly opposed to the Technical Instruction Bill; whether he has seen communications in the Press from the Chairman of the Nottingham School Board, and from other education authorities, to the same effect; whether, having regard to these facts, he has any reason to modify the views expressed on Tuesday; and, whether he will now consent to adjourn further progress with the Bill till next Session?

MR. WOODALL: Is it not a fact that the Technical Instruction Bill, with the proposed Amendments of the hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Mather) was supported by all the members of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction who have seats in the House of Commons, as well as by Sir Philip Magnus, the director of the City and Guilds of London for Technical Instruction; and whether it has not been intimated to the Vice President of the Council that, while regretting the failure of the Government to provide for technical and manual training in elementary schools, the members of the late Commission regard the Bill as indicating a recognition of some of the more important of their recommendations?

*SIR W. HART DYKE: Yes; the statement contained in the question of the hon. Member is correct.

MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Dixon) has Amendments on the Paper, and does he know of any other paper besides the *School Board Chronicle* that is opposing the Bill?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am aware that the hon. Member for Birmingham has placed Amendments on the Paper. Hon. Members must be aware that newspapers invariably take opposite sides on all debated questions. If we are to wait, before proceeding with legislation on any specific subject, until there is an unanimous opinion in the Press with respect to it, I fear we shall have to suspend legislation altogether. I have not seen the communication from the Chairman of the Nottingham School Board, nor the communications from other educational authorities, to the effect described by the hon. Member. I have no doubt, however, that there are Chairmen of School Boards who differ from the Chairman of the Nottingham School Board. What has

been already said upon the subject supplies, I think, sufficient justification for the course which the Government think it their duty to pursue. Those who have studied the question closely are almost unanimously of opinion that the Bill ought to be proceeded with.

MR. BROADHURST: Has the right hon. Gentleman observed that the supporters of the Bill on the Opposition side of the House have nearly all bolted?

*MR. CHANNING: I wish to know whether we are to understand from the reply of the right hon. Gentleman that he has not read or considered any of the arguments advanced in the *School Board Chronicle* and other papers directly representing the School Board?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE ADMIRALTY SHIPBUILDING PROGRAMME.

MR. CROSS (Liverpool, West Derby): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether tenders have been or will be invited for the building of any of the ships included in the new Admiralty shipbuilding programme from any firm or firms of shipbuilders on the Mersey; and, if not, whether there is any reason for not inviting tenders from such builders.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: Tenders have been invited from one of the shipbuilding firms on the Mersey for those classes of ships which have been already put out to contract by the Admiralty, and tenders will be invited from the same firm for the battleships, for which contracts have still to be made.

EXAMINATION IN SCIENCE AND ART.

MR. OCTAVIUS V. MORGAN (Battersea): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is in a position to state the number and cost of Inspectors and Superintendents of Examination in Science and Arts in May, 1889, in England, Ireland, and Scotland?

*SIR W. HART DYKE: A complete Return cannot yet be given, as the claims of all the local superintendents, who are paid in part by the locality and in part by the Department, have not yet been received.

ARMY RETIRING PENSIONS.

GENERAL FRASER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the statement he made regarding the changes in the lists of the General officers in the Army, what is to be the retiring pensions of Major Generals, Lieutenant Generals, and Generals; what is to be the amount of their unemployed pay; supposing a General Officer to be unemployed for five years, what is to be done with him; and what is to be the age for retirement in future of Major Generals, Lieutenant Generals, and Generals?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: There will be no change as regards retired pay, half-pay, or age for compulsory retirement; but retirement will be optional at any time on the retired pay of the next lower grade. Compulsory retirement after five years non-employment will continue until the numbers are reduced to those fixed in the warrant by a gradual process of absorption.

THE MAYBRICK CASE.

SIR J. PULESTON: I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether he can give the House any information with respect to the Maybrick case? [*Cries of* "No!"]

[No answer was given.]

Subsequently Sir. J. PULESTON, amid loud cries of "No," repeated his question, with a similar result.]

At a later period,

MR. W. A. MACDONALD said: I wish to ask the Home Secretary when he expects to be in a position to announce to the public and the condemned woman—[*Loud cries of* "No!"]—any decision at which he has arrived in the Maybrick case? [*Renewed cries of* "No!"]

MR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Speaker, the advice which I conceive it to be my duty to tender to Her Majesty in the case referred to by the hon. Member is not a matter for question in this House.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): As I understand that after 12 o'clock to-night English Votes in Supply will be taken, I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury to agree that two

Votes of great importance shall not be taken after 12 o'clock—namely, the Vote for English Law Charges and the Vote for English Prisons.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Although the Party in this quarter of the House at one time thought that it would be necessary to debate some questions on the Vote for English Law Charges, we have, after consultation, determined not to do so, having regard to the general convenience of the House. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will undertake, in return, not to proceed with the Official Secrets Bill after 1 o'clock in the morning?

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman can name the night on which the first two Votes in Class V. will be taken, particularly the Consular Vote?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Will the Committee stage of the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill be taken this evening?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: It is not the intention of the Government, if the House should pass the Motion which stands on the Paper in my name, to proceed after 12 o'clock with any Irish Votes. If those Votes are under discussion from, say, half-past 4 until 12, we could hardly ask hon. Members who are specially interested in them to stay in their places after that. With reference to the English Prisons Vote I have to say that if it is the opinion of any considerable section of the House that it is undesirable that we should proceed with Vote to-night we will not do so. But I must point out that Votes cannot be indefinitely delayed if the Session is not to be protracted, and I apprehend that a desire prevails in all parts of the House that Supply should be closed this week if possible. It is, I think, the general wish of the House that business should be concluded next week, and that there should be no delay with the prorogation, which could not take place next week if there were further postponement of Votes in Supply. The hon. Gentleman has requested us to consider Class V. We will endeavour to meet his wishes as far as possible, but we are unable always to communicate beforehand what particular business will be taken. We shall endeavour to take these Votes this evening. We will not take the Official Secrets Bill to-night if it is not reached before 12 o'clock. With regard to the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, we should like to take it this evening, but it is desirable to make progress with the Votes which are reached after 12 o'clock. If, however, there is no objection, we shall be glad to take it. The hon. Member will see that there will be another stage, when he will have an opportunity of making any statement which he may desire to make.

SIR R. FOWLER (London): Can my right hon. Friend give the House any idea when the Indian Budget will be taken?

MR. H. J. WILSON asked when the Technical Instruction Bill would really be taken?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir. We must first see our way to the conclusion of Supply. So soon as we can see our way to winding up Supply, then I shall be most willing to consult the wishes of hon. Members.

TITHES.

SIR J. SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, pending the appointment and Report of the Royal Commission on the tithe question, he will ask the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to allow reductions on tithes due to them in the same proportion as they are allowed on similar lands in the same parishes.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: It would be entirely beyond my duty or that of any Member of the Government to tender any advice to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with respect to reducing their tithes.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM STANDING ORDER).

Ordered—

"That the proceedings of the Committee of Supply, if the Committee be sitting at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order 'Sittings of the House.'"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MOTION.

DUBLIN HOSPITAL BOARD BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jackson, Bill for the establishment of a Dublin Hospital Board, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson and Sir Herbert Maxwell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 389.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPERANNUATION BILL. (No. 385.)

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square) : I desire to say that the First Lord and myself have received so many communications from various parts of the House, to the effect that it would be undesirable to proceed with the Superanuation Bill during the short time which remains of the present Session, that I do not propose to go on with it. I will, however, ask the House to give me their attention for a few minutes while I explain the position in which the matter will remain after the withdrawal of the Bill and after the issue of the Treasury Minute, which I hope is in the hands of Members. ["No."] The Minute can be obtained in the Vote Office. The Treasury Minute and the Superanuation Bill constitute together one whole, and embody the reforms in the Civil Service which the Government propose in consequence of the valuable Report of the Royal Commission which inquired into Civil Service Establishments. In the two together we deal, one way or the other, with every recommendation which has been made by the Royal Commission, with one exception; that exception is the formation of a superannuation fund by the deduction of 5 per cent from salaries in the case of future entrants. The Government consider that this is so large a proposal that they ought not to commit themselves to it without further consideration. They will, however, be prepared to announce a decision on the subject early next Session. Now, with regard to the Superannuation Bill, there are in it many provisions to which the Government will be able to give effect within the next six months even without legislation. The first clause of the Bill repeals the power to add a certain number of years in the calculation of pension in the case of professional men who enter the service late in life. This is a subject in which the House has taken a great interest, and from both sides of the House there have been expressions of opinion that this mode of raising the non-effective charge is one which ought to be viewed with suspicion. The repeal of this power was recommended unanimously by the Royal Commission, and it would require a strong case to induce the Government during the next six months to add professional years on any appointment. The Government will exercise the greatest caution with regard to any proposal in that direction coming from any quarter. The next clause deals with special allowances on abolition of office. On that matter the Commission were again unanimous, and the House will remember that a Resolution was carried against the Government limiting their power with regard to special allowances. I have, indeed, received a great many protests from Members of the Civil Service on that point, suggesting that the cessation of what were known as abolition terms would be against their vested interests. But I demur to the theory that any Civil servant has a vested interest in an additional allowance on abolition of office. The Government, therefore, will not during the next six months, except in very special circumstances, grant any allowance of that class. The third clause deals with the abolition of special pensions. That is not a recommendation of the Royal Commission, but the matter is one which has been very carefully considered by the Government; and looking at the special pensions which have been granted during the last 10 years, I come to the conclusion that the system is one which lends itself to considerable abuse. If in future there are special rewards to be given for special services, I hope they will be given only by means of a direct appeal to Parliament, so that the rewards proposed may be brought into immediate juxtaposition with the services rendered. The next clause relates to the production of medical certificates. The rule on that subject has already been tightened, and the tighter rule will be strictly adhered to. These are the main provisions of the Bill to which the Government can give effect even if the Bill is withdrawn. There is, however, one important reform contained in the Bill to which the Government cannot so well give effect without legislation, although they have certain powers with regard to the age of retirement in the Civil Service. I refer to the clause which provides that

Civil servants should, as a general rule, retire at the age of 65, with a certain elasticity in cases approved by the Heads of Departments and the Treasury. It is proposed that in certain cases two more terms of two years each should be added, thus bringing the age up to 69 years. The House will bear in mind that we are here acting on the Report, though not to the full extent, of the Commissioners' recommendation. The Commissioners say—

"We agree with the Commissioners of 1857 that it is absolutely essential to fix an age for compulsory retirement, and we suggest 65 as the age. There should be no exception to this rule, except in the case of certain scheduled offices, in which the officer, if asked by the Government to do so, might be allowed to extend his services for a further period never exceeding five years. It should be clearly understood that at the age of 60 a man may be required to retire by the Head of his Department upon such pension as by his length of service he is qualified to receive. He may, if he pleases, retire voluntarily at this age, and the State should have the corresponding power of retiring him if it be for the advantage of the Service."

A limit of age has already been introduced in some Departments. In the Admiralty, and, I think, in the War Office, the age is 60; in the Inland Revenue 65. There have been protests against the general limit of age now proposed, and no doubt it is open to argument. There are doubtless many Civil servants whom at the age of 65 it is desirable to retain. On the other hand, it is certain that there are many of the age of 65 whom it is not to the public interest to keep quartered on the public purse. It will be for the House to decide whether the clause ought to be retained in its present form. It may give rise to considerable discontent in the Civil Service; but the Government have acted on the strong recommendation of the Royal Commission, and in the full belief that some such measure is necessary in the public interest, though it may be desirable to give it even more elasticity than has been given to it in the Bill. In addition to what I have said with regard to the Bill, I desire to point out that the Treasury Minute now laid on the Table does not absolutely and finally determine the questions with which it deals, because the proposals of the Treasury Minute have subsequently to be carried out by an Order in Council. The Treasury Minute embodies a great many, although not all, of the recommendations of the Royal Commission not dealt with in the Bill; and where those recommendations have not been embodied alternative proposals have been worked out which will carry out the general principles recommended by the Royal Commission. I wish, however, to warn the Members of the Civil Service that this Minute, which, in some respects, will increase their emoluments, must not be regarded as creating any vested rights from the date of the Minute. If the Royal Commission have, on the one hand, recommended some increase in the emoluments of some Civil servants, on the other hand they recommend certain changes with regard to their superannuation and other allowances. Civil servants cannot claim to have at once all the advantages offered to them without certain conditions being attached to them, which they may not regard with equal favour. I regret that this matter should have been dealt with so late; but the House will feel that, owing to the extreme complexity of the questions at issue, the Government have been bound to consider very carefully the interests of the vast body of Civil servants with which they are about to deal. I trust that the Civil servants will be convinced that the Government recognise the great and valuable services which they have rendered to the State, and that, in issuing the Treasury Minute, the Government are in no way desirous of interfering with any legitimate advantages which Civil servants now enjoy. I beg to move that this Order be discharged.

*MR. SPEAKER: The Resolution does not cover the Bill.

*MR. GOSCHEN: Then I will ask leave to withdraw the Bill.

MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, East): Perhaps, as the only Member of the Royal Commission, who is also a Member of the House of Commons, who is now in London, I may be allowed to say that, although I very much regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not in a position to legislate upon this question this Session, on the whole I quite concur, and I am sure my Colleagues will, in the course he has decided to take. It is clear that the Minute and the Superannuation Bill

must be taken together, so to speak, as one Code. The course the Chancellor of the Exchequer has indicated is one which I am confident will commend itself alike to the House, the Civil servants, and the taxpayers. I have only to ask the right hon. Gentleman to give us an assurance—although assurances at this period of the year are very unreliable—that the Government will at the earliest possible moment next Session propose legislation on this matter and set all these vexed questions at rest.

*Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I understand that the Government pledge themselves not to give any extra pensions for compulsory retirement on abolition of office pending the reintroduction of the Bill. But in fairness to their Civil servants, I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government will also pledge themselves not to make any compulsory retirements of this kind, except under particularly exceptional circumstances, until the Bill is reintroduced, and the House has had an opportunity of discussing it?

Mr. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he proposes to disagree with the Report of the Committee, which is the first Order of the Day; whether he proposes to abandon a great portion of the Superannuation Bill; and whether he proposes to bring in a Bill founded on the present Report with respect to the superannuation of workmen?

Mr. GOSCHEN: No, Sir; I thought the whole matter should stand over; that we could not well separate one part from another; but I will undertake that the workmen who are concerned shall not be damnified. We have committed ourselves to a principle, and we shall not retire from the principle next Session. I cannot give the absolute pledge my hon. Friend (Sir R. Lethbridge) asks. We cannot entirely fetter our action, and I would remind my hon. Friend that we shall only be in the position we have been in, I think, for more than a year. The House has pronounced strongly against granting abolition terms, and for some time past they have not been allowed. In this matter, therefore, there will be no change.

Mr. SPEAKER: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will move that Order 13 be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I do so.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Perhaps I may be allowed to say, on behalf of the Government, that it is our deliberate intention to legislate on this question at the earliest possible period next year.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

SUPERANNUATION [ALLOWANCES, &c.

Order for Consideration of Report thereupon read, and discharged.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

Ordered—

That a Message be sent to the Lords, requesting Copies of the First and Second Reports from the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1887-8.

Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon Navy and Army Grants for 1887-8, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to the Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year, to-morrow.

Ordered—

That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 25th day of February last, be referred to the Committee.

EDUCATION GRANTS [CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND].

Resolution reported—

"That it is expedient to authorise annual Parliamentary Grants to be made, as from the 30th day of July, 1886, to schools in the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, upon the same conditions as are applicable to schools in the counties of Inverness, Argyll, Ross, and Orkney and Shetland."

Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Courtney, the Lord Advocate, and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 390.]

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.

1. £1,470, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: This is a very small Office, yet it is an Office in regard to which there is ample room for economy. If I remember rightly, the Office has only about one bit of business per diem to discharge. It has two secretaries, one receiving £700 a year, and the other receiving £800 a year. These secretaries have between them only one clerk besides some copyists. I ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will take the trouble to ascertain the amount of work which these secretaries have to do during the year, and whether if there was only one he would be able to occupy his time? We know perfectly well what the work is. It is of the simplest possible description and of the most limited amount. To have two gentlemen, receiving £1,500 a year between them, acting as secretaries, is a perfect farce. I do not know what amount of investigation the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments may have given to establishments in Ireland; but I am perfectly certain this Office, in respect to the work of its staff, would not bear investigation at the hands of such a body. If they have reported upon it, it would be interesting to know what the Treasury intend to do. I rather think they have not reported upon the Office. If I am right in my supposition, will the Secretary to the Treasury cause some investigation to be made, so that reasonable economy may be effected?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I think the request of the hon. Gentleman is a reasonable one, and I will certainly make inquiries.

Vote agreed to.

2. £111,530, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Anyone who glances at the second and third pages of the Vote will see the Department is very liberally provided for and exceedingly well manned, and that, therefore, there is every reason to expect it will properly discharge its functions. I am willing to admit the Board has been very prompt and efficient in the matters I have had occasion to refer to it; but in some other matters I find reason to complain of its action. I lately asked a question about a dangerous nuisance which has been allowed to exist on the foreshore at Holywood, Belfast. Sewage has been allowed to accumulate on the foreshore, and we have medical evidence that in sunshiny weather it becomes offensive to a sickening degree and also very dangerous to health. Some years ago there was litigation in the matter. The Magistrates made an order, but the order was dismissed by the County Court Judge. There the matter rested until I lately put a question in the House. The question has had some effect, but not very much. The Belfast Board of Guardians took out a summons against the landlord, but the Holywood Magistrates dismissed it, on the ground that, in their judgment, the Belfast Board of Guardians was liable. The Local Government Board has been guilty of unaccountable inaction. The nuisance has continued throughout the summer season. The summer is now nearly at an end, and the matter is, therefore, not so urgent; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to give his attention to the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians on Tuesday last. It appears that there is no way of meeting the case except by an order of the Local Government Board making the cost a special charge and forming a special district in the contributory area. What I would ask is that this order should be issued, and that no time should be lost in forming the special district. Nothing practical, perhaps, can be done this year; but before another year comes round, effective steps should be taken by the Irish Local Government Board to discontinue this nuisance. Another matter to which I wish to allude is one which bears somewhat of a political aspect—namely, the action of the Belfast Board of Guardians in regard to issuing requisitions for the purpose of the franchise to occupiers in Belfast. The Representation of the People Act of 1885 specified a certain form which was to be issued by the Clerk of the

Union to all occupiers in the constituency, and in certain cases to the landlords—when the landlords were liable to the rates in tenements below £4 annual value. That form has been found sufficient for all the Boards of Guardians except that of Belfast, and even in Belfast I am not aware that before the Revising Barrister, or at the Board of Guardians itself, or in any shape or form, any objection has been taken to the form provided by the Act of 1885. The Belfast Guardians having used the forms provided by the Act every year since 1885, have this year taken the unprecedented step of availing themselves of a section in the Poor Rate Assessment Act of 1869 — a section embodied in the Representation of the People Act—to issue in Belfast, not to the occupiers, but to the landlords, a certain form allowed by the Act for an entirely different purpose. The Guardians are not entitled to use this fancy form of their own, which cannot be issued under the Poor Rate Assessment Act unless where the landlords are either liable to be rated or agree to pay the rates. No such agreements have been made in these cases, and the Guardians have no power to serve the landlords of tenements over the value of £4. I therefore submit that the Guardians under the Act of 1869 have no power to issue these forms. In the second place, they ask for information unauthorised by the Act of 1869, because that Act only authorises the Guardians to ask the landlords for a list of occupiers, but in this form the Guardians go beyond this, and ask not only the name of the present tenant but the date of the commencement of his tenancy. I say that is information for which they have no legal authority to ask. This is a political movement of the Belfast Guardians against myself as one of the Members for that city. I happen to differ in political opinion from the majority of the Belfast Guardians, and they consider themselves entitled to use the money of the ratepayers for the purpose of obtaining information for landlords, for which they are not entitled to ask by law or by the state of facts in Belfast; and then, that information being supplied to the Clerk of the Union, he compiles his long list upon that, and opposite the name of the voter he places his official objection by reason of the information thus obtained, and which is unauthorised by law. The effect of that objection derived from this information illegally obtained is this: the person officially objected to has to attend the Court, and the official objector is not obliged to show any reason to the objection, but by reason of this tortuous and unjustifiable action the onus of proof is thrown upon the claimant. Why should not the law in regard to the franchise be the same in Belfast as it is in all other parts of the kingdom? I am not disposed to submit to this action of the Belfast Guardians, and to allow advantage to be taken of me by the use of public money, and I shall take every means in my power to compel the Government to take proper steps to put an end to this system. The legal adviser of the Local Governmen Board receives, by way of fees, &c., £2,300, and as it is his duty to advise on questions of law he ought to have done it in this case, and I shall, therefore, move to reduce this gentleman's salary by £300, which will be about the amount of the poor rates in Belfast illegally employed by the guardians out of political animus in obtaining for political purposes information unauthorised by law. And now I should like to bring before the right hon. Gentleman the case of the refusal of the Irish Local Government Board to allow the North Dublin Board of Guardians to manage their own financial affairs. I would ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether it is not a fact that every Board of Guardians in Great Britain is allowed discretion as to where they shall transact their banking business? The case of the Local Government Board in this matter is very different to what it was 40 years ago, the banks then being very different to what they are now. Moreover, the old Board of Guardians had to administer only one Act, and under that Act they found it a very simple duty to estimate their Budget and prescribe the rates. But Irish Boards of Guardians now deal with a variety of Acts, relating not only to hunger, but to health, education, and other matters of public importance, and it is difficult for them at the beginning of the year, especially in a place like Dublin, to estimate what the probable expenditure will be. In proof of that,

I would remind hon. Gentlemen that an unforeseen expenditure of £8,000 has been incurred during the year on the compulsory slaughter of cattle under the order of the Privy Council. This kind of unforeseen expenditure occurs annually, especially in Dublin, and I maintain that it is unjust and unreasonable to expect the North Dublin Board of Guardians to be able at the beginning of the year to estimate with accuracy the amount of expenditure that may fall upon them before the year comes to an end. That, I believe, is the supposition on which the contention of the Local Government Board is founded. They say the Guardians ought to know at the beginning of the year what they will want in the course of the year. But I say that is impossible. What are the relations between the North Dublin Union and the Bank of Ireland—that bank having been the Treasurer of the Board since it was formed? The Union has always been in credit for about two-thirds of the year, and at the end of the year it has occasionally fallen out of credit. The Bank has allowed the Board 1 per cent on the credits, but when the Board has fallen out of credit and the Bank has allowed an over-draft it has charged the Board 5 and 6 per cent. Anybody can see that that is sharp treatment and that the Bank must have made a very good thing out of the Board. In October last the Bank wrote to the Board that their account was overdrawn £350—a very inconsiderate thing for the Bank to do after a connection of 40 years with the Board. At the beginning of January that information was repeated, and the Board was informed that the account would have to be kept perpetually in credit. The Guardians found themselves in a very difficult position. The year had been a very expensive one owing to unforeseen expenditure; the rates were not easily collected; the Guardians owed bankers and others some £4,000, and in order to pay this amount they had to wait until the rate for the new year could be levied. They passed a Resolution asking the Bank of Ireland to give them credit for £4,000 from the beginning of the year to the end of March, by which time the new rate would be levied. The Bank of Ireland refused to do it. Upon this, the Guardians applied to the Munster and Leinster Bank, who agreed not only to advance £4,000 for this year, but to do so every year on condition that the account was transferred, and they also agreed to give, on credits on the account, interest not of 1 per cent, but at the deposit rate, and to charge on over-draft the market rate of interest. That was a very tempting offer to the Board of Guardians. The Munster and Leinster Bank is a perfectly safe Bank, and provided the account were transferred to them they agreed to give these terms. Then, what did the Bank of Ireland do? Their first answer was a *non possumus*. They would not give credit at all, but when they found that the Munster and Leinster Bank was ready to give it they said, "We will give you credit for £2,000 to the end of March, provided that you undertake, when the Government pay you the money payable under the Probate and Succession Duty, to immediately lodge that amount." The Board agreed to do that for the moment, but the difficulty with them continued. I wish to call attention to the shameful condition of local government in the City of Dublin. The North Dublin Union is partly urban and partly rural. The rates are not collected by the Board of Guardians, but by an official collector appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. The Board of Guardians have, therefore, no control over the collection of the rates. Yet the Local Government Board compel them to keep their account at one Bank, where they have not the accommodation which they can obtain at other Banks. The Guardians, who cannot get the accommodation they require at the Bank of Ireland, wish to change to the Munster and Leinster Bank. But Boards of Guardians cannot change without the consent of the Local Government Board, which is composed of three gentlemen appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. They have no representative capacity whatever. The Article of the General Order of 1882 provides that the Treasurer cannot be dismissed without the consent of the Local Government Board. I admit that would be a reasonable order were the Treasurer an individual who received a salary. But in the case of a Bank, and where it is a matter of obtaining accommodation, there is no reason why the Board of Guardians,

for ordinary commercial reasons, should not be allowed to change from one Bank to another. The Local Government Board have kept the Guardians bound hand and foot to the Bank of Ireland. They say that they do not consider the refusal of the Bank to accommodate the Union with credit is a sufficient reason for taking the account from their hands. Now, you cannot always expedite the collection of the rates, and in a poor country the Guardians must be allowed discretion as to the degree of force they bring to bear upon the ratepayers. To refuse the Board this power to change their Treasurer for the purpose of obtaining better accommodation is an insult to their intelligence and an injury to the ratepayers, on whom it inflicts a considerable money fine. My last question relates to the suspension of Boards of Guardians. I think the Local Government Board are rather disposed to take arbitrary action upon slight cause, especially in a case where the majority of the Guardians are Nationalists. I wish to know what Boards are now suspended. The Local Government Board has suspended the Dungarvan Board of Guardians because they gave a contract for bread to a person whose tender was not the lowest sent in. This action on the part of the Guardians involved a loss of £30 to the ratepayers, but in consequence of the suspension of the Board the ratepayers had had to pay £500 a year to two Vice-Guardians who are sent down by the Local Government Board. They are military men, these Vice-Guardians, and they spend a considerable time in training the Militia. I submit that the time has arrived when the Dungarvan Board of Guardians should be allowed to resume their elective functions. There will be considerable irritation if the Estimates for the coming year are determined and controlled by gentlemen appointed by the Local Government Board and not by the Representatives of the ratepayers.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has brought forward two or three points of some interest and importance. The first relates to a nuisance in the neighbourhood of Belfast. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that the Local Government Board will not neglect to use such powers as they have in the matter if on inquiry they find that they can do so with propriety. As to the action of the Belfast Board of Guardians in dealing with certain electoral matters, the right hon. Gentleman indicated that the Board was actuated in the course they pursued by animus against the political party to which the majority of the Guardians happened to belong. If the action of the Board of Guardians has been illegal, the Guardians who are responsible may be punished by being surcharged; but if the action of the Guardians has been legal the Local Government Board can hardly interfere. The right hon. Gentleman next pointed out that a very great financial burden had been thrown on the North and South Dublin Union by the cost of the slaughter of cattle under a compulsory order. I regret that so large a portion of the cost of these compulsory slaughter orders should fall upon the locality where the cattle are slaughtered, but any change in the practice which governs those cases must be by legislation. It is doubtful whether it would be desirable to deal with Ireland separately from England and Scotland in making any such change. I have done all I legitimately can to make the payment easy for the Guardians, and will continue to do so. The right hon. Gentleman complains because the Local Government Board has not allowed the North Dublin Board of Guardians to change their Treasurer. The Local Government Board has not acted in that particular case in any arbitrary or abnormal manner, but according to well-established precedent. In some cases Boards of Guardians are allowed to transfer their account from one bank to another, but the general principle is that no transfer of accounts shall be made unless some solid reason can be shown for it. The competition among banks all over Ireland is so very keen that in some parts of the country it would not conduce to the ultimate solvency of Boards of Guardians if they were allowed arbitrarily to transfer their accounts from one bank to another. I am disposed to allow very considerable weight to the argument that it is very hard to prevent a transfer where the new treasurer is prepared to offer very much better terms than the old one. I do not recollect whether

in the present case much better terms have been offered.

MR. SEXTON: Considerably better terms have been offered.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not know that. I will, however, cause inquiry to be made. I am quite prepared to say that in those cases where the danger to which I have alluded of financial embarrassment does not seem likely to occur, if the new Treasurer offers more liberal terms than the old one, the Local Government Board ought to use very great discretion in exercising the powers vested in them by law to prevent a change. The number of Boards of Guardians who have been suspended is four. With regard to the Dungarvan Board the right hon. Gentleman rather led the Committee to infer that that Board has been supended because they accepted a higher and rejected a lower tender for bread. There are, however, other significant circumstances not mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman. There were two contractors —a Mr. Casey, whose tender was 5¼d. per 4lb., and a Mrs. Armstrong, whose tender was 4¾d. The Guardians determined to take the bread at the higher price. I agree that, under certain circumstances, it may be proper to accept a higher tender, but that would only be when the higher priced bread was the better. So far from that being so in the present instance, while Mrs. Armstrong supplied excellent bread to the workhouse Mr. Casey's bread has on several occasions, in and after 1886, been complained of by the Medical Officer as insufficiently baked; on other days it had been rejected as unfit for use and bad, and on one occasion is was described as being more fit for painters' putty than human consumption. The course which the Guardians subsequently took in accepting the tender of the dishonest and neglecting that of the honest contractor was not a little remarkable, and it was calculated to inflict great hardship on the inhabitants of the workhouse. I think that on reflection the right hon. Gentleman would agree that the Local Government Board has not acted unreasonably in suspending the Board of Guardians.

MR. SEXTON: That is not my question. It was whether, as the Board had been suspended nearly a year, that punishment has not been sufficient.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never desire unduly to prolong those suspensions which give a good deal of trouble. I will cause inquiry to be made, and as soon as the public interest will allow the ratepayers will again have the right to elect Guardians.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I am glad to hear the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to Dungarvan, for though disfranchisement might continue for two or three months, I do not consider it should last for a year and a half. With regard to the same Union, I see by the newspapers that the Vice Guardians actually accepted a tender which was sent in a day after the time fixed for the receipt of tenders; so that these Guardians do not do their duty any better than the elective Guardians. And with regard to the *ex officio* members of the Board of Guardians, in the Union to which I belong, out of 50 meetings of the Board held in one year, I find that five only attended twice and five once; eight never put in an appearance. These are the gentlemen who are censorious, and who say we do not know how to manage our affairs. I think it right to say that there is one *ex officio* Guardian in my Union who has regularly attended to his duty. With reference to the question of my hon. Friend the Member for Cork, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the reason of his refusal to bring in a Bill which would lead to the work of registration being far more efficiently done than at present. I wish again to call attention to the removal of the poor from this country to Ireland. The Union with which I am connected in Waterford receives week after week warrants from different parts of England for sending over paupers who have passed most of their lives in this country, which they have enriched by their labour. This grievance, which is admittedly a grievance, still remains. A rather large charge is made for the auditors. As a rule the officials appointed by the Local Government Board are out of joint with the people of Ireland in political views. These auditors have a control over the accounts of the Unions, which are obliged to submit to the surcharges without having any redress. I think the auditors might be better employed in looking after the expenditure of the county rates, which are paid altogether

by the occupiers, and to which the landlords do not contribute, although they spend the money. We, the occupiers, are paying at present 11½d. in the £ in respect of a railway which was constructed without consulting us. A large sum is demanded under this Vote for workhouse schools and workhouse teachers. The Irish people are sometimes upbraided for not desiring to promote education. The Union of Waterford will, however, be prepared to contribute to the payment of these teachers if they have a proper voice in the education of the people of the country. If a duly constituted Board of Education be appointed, in which the people had confidence, it will be found that most of the unions which at present refuse to pay these teachers will become contributors and assist in paying them proper salaries. Considering the way in which Local Government has been withheld from the Irish people, the blunders made by the Boards are remarkably few. It is said to be a significant fact that mismanagement is most conspicuous where the Boards are composed mainly of Nationalists. Yet the Nationalist Boards have carried out the complicated provisions of the Labourers' Act, whereas in unions where the Nationalist members are not in a majority the Act has remained a dead letter. In connection with labourers' dwellings, I would suggest that the Inspectors, who receive large salaries, should be asked to suggest the most suitable form of cottage to construct for labourers.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I have to express my satisfaction at the answer of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the charges in connection with the Cattle Diseases Act, but at the same time I must complain of the way in which slaughtering orders have been issued. The South Dublin Union refused to carry out the order, and then the Privy Council intervened and made an imperative order that the Board should carry out the slaughtering order. This sent up the price of cattle in a remarkable degree. It is a hard thing one district should suffer when cattle have to be slaughtered in such a wholesale way for fear of the spread of disease, and I am gratified the Government have determined that in future the country at large shall bear the burden of it. I am inclined to think it should be an Imperial rate thrown over the three kingdoms. I have before called attention to the Act of last year to give relief to local burdens out of the probate grant, and I have expressed my amazement at the manner in which the money was allocated, and pointed out that the Act was rushed through on Christmas Eve in the absence of Irish Members. I also suggested that it would be a graceful act on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he were to apply part of the money in reduction of the interest on labourers' cottages in the same way as the charges under the Public Works Loan Bill. It is a remarkable fact that throughout Ulster, with the single exception of Nationalist Cavan, not one Board have put up a cottage for their labouring people. Unhappy Connaught has taken action, and even disturbed and lawless Munster has done more than two other provinces put together. The reason is that Ulster is governed entirely by *ex officio* Boards, with the exception of Cavan. It would greatly conduce to the improvement of labourers' dwellings if the Government were to carry out the suggestion I have made. I really think the Government ought to repeal the Act and consult with the Irish Members as to some better means for the distribution of the money. I would remind the Government that the Bill relating to Scotland was made annual, whereas that relating to Ireland was made perpetual. The allocation of the money according to salaries and superannuation allowances is absurd, and I should like to know who is the genius at the Local Government Board from whom it emanated. As to the suspension of Boards of Guardians, before the right hon. Gentleman came into office it was a very rare thing to suspend Boards of Guardians. I do not say that Boards of Guardians are perfect by any means; but if you want to improve them, I would suggest that you should reduce the qualification of a Guardian, and in that way you would get men more popular with the electors, and you would give the labourers a chance of getting a Representative. From the point of view of freedom, it would be better to let the Local Boards blunder on and spend money, to some extent foolishly, than to send down colonels and majors and

generals to annoy them in the management of their affairs. Besides, this is a very expensive method of Government. In addition to their half-pay, these men receive big sums for acting as Vice Guardians. I protest against the class of men selected, and I say that if Vice Guardians are necessary at all, a body of men could easily be found who would be more suitable to perform the duties assigned to them than those selected by the Local Government Board. If you were to investigate the private affairs of these men you would find the Bankruptcy Court and *Stubbs's* Black List figuring prominently in their history. I would suggest that in the future, if the Government are serious in their expressed desire for local administration, they should, if they insist upon dissolving Boards of Guardians, allow other Boards to be elected in their places instead of appointing Vice-Guardians. Why do not the *ex officio* Guardians in these cases step in and do their duty? Property, we are told, has its duties as well as its rights. I, myself, should be very sorry indeed to see the Conservative element removed from any Board in Ireland, and I am glad when I see the *ex officio* members attending to their duties. I may say that I should be glad if the Conservative Party had a larger representation than they have on the Dublin Corporation, and I should like to see this brought about by plurality of voting or something of that kind. At present, the moment the *ex officios* on Boards of Guardians lose their majority and their power of electing the Chairman—and, in point of fact, in getting the plunder—they abdicate their functions. Because they cannot be masters, they will not work as the equals of the unfortunate elected Guardians. When men, who have had no training in the management of local affairs, step in for the first time and have the responsibility and burden of conducting the work of a Board cast entirely upon them, is it any wonder that they should make mistakes? This was the case in the Dungarvan Union. The Tory Party had had a majority ever since the Poor Law Act was passed. Suddenly the elected Guardians found themselves placed in a position of authority. They make some mistake, and—presto!—down comes an Inspector of the Local Government Board and dissolves the Board, which the *ex officio* party had boycotted. When has a Local Board been dissolved in England? Never within my recollection. I will give one instance of the partial action of the Local Government Board in Ireland. For seven years we were complaining of the fact that a Board of Guardians would not appoint a Catholic priest to attend to the poor, and the priest of the district was obliged to discharge the entire duties without a salary. I brought the subject before a Liberal Government in the year 1882, and was informed by the present Master of the Rolls in Ireland—then the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter)—that the Local Government Board were powerless in regard to it. I brought it before his successors time after time, but nothing was done. After the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) came into office, he sent down a Sealed Order, I think, and insisted upon the Guardians paying the salary. Why was not that Board dissolved seven years ago? Why were the paupers of the Union left in a state of spiritual destitution for those seven years, and why did not the Local Government Board take the action in 1882 which they took in 1889? They have dissolved Boards of Guardians in Donegal, New Ross, and half a dozen other places; and I read the other day one of the most high-handed letters which I think even the Irish Local Government Board ever wrote. It was addressed to the Cork Board of Guardians. It was a most audacious and impertinent communication. It was the kind of letter which Lord Clanricarde used to write to his late agent. The Board were told that because they had adjourned as a protest against the arrest of Dr. Tanner they had misconducted themselves in the most outrageous way, and that they must not do such a thing again. The Board is a most important one, with 130 members, and the Tories are in a majority when they attend, which, however, they only do when a salary has to be voted or the Chairman has to be elected. It is, therefore, only a Nationalist Board of Guardians for executive purposes. I see in that letter the fine Roman hand of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour). His policy is to destroy Irish Local Government, and, with the object of doing so,

he tries to show that it has broken down. He generally has an ulterior motive in what he says and does. You, Mr. Courtney, have frequently to call him to order, because he is so fond of descanting upon, not what is really before the Committee, but some ulterior matter. My contention is that if a Board of Guardians is dissolved, the proper course is to allow fresh Guardians to be elected. Before I sit down, allow me to draw attention to some very remarkable figures in connection with the administration of the Labourers' Act by the Local Government Board. I find that the number of cottages actually built in Connaught up to the present time is 46. In Leinster the number actually built is 1,783; in Munster it is 3,524, and in Ulster it reaches the magnificent total of one. That cottage is in the County of Cavan, which is represented in this House by two Nationalists. Under these circumstances, I say that the Local Government Board ought to put pressure on the Guardians to induce them to get cottages erected. There is power under the Labourers' Act giving the labourer a kind of appeal to the Local Government Board when the Guardians refuse to carry out the measure. I myself have advised labourers in two or three cases to appeal to the Local Government Board. Whether they did so or not I do not know, but, at all events, nothing came of it if they did. I say, however, that under the Act there are means of getting cottages erected for the Orange peasantry and yeomanry in the North of Ireland, and I trust the right hon. Gentleman will do his best to get the Act put into force.

*Sir C. LEWIS (Antrim, N.): I have been endeavouring the whole of this Session and last Session to get an opportunity of drawing attention to the very facts which the hon. and learned Member has so much emphasised in his speech. I have to complain, on behalf of my constituents, that the Labourers' Dwellings Act is an entire dead letter. The Act has not fair play on account of the expense and the cumbrousness of the process by which it is in force. The initial expense is very great, and there is the greatest objection on the part of Boards of Guardians not only in Ulster, but in other parts of Ireland also, against putting the Act into operation. In regard to the constituency I represent, it is not my duty to decry or defame their social arrangements or their dwellings, but their case is by no means different from cases in other parts of Ireland, and there is urgent need for the passing of some Act by the Legislature for providing an inexpensive machinery to carry out the reforms required. I have been gravely disappointed with the answers I have received from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) on the several occasions on which I have put questions to him on this subject. We have his sympathy I am sure, but I think the *non possumus* tone he always adopts has not been satisfactory to my constituents. Unquestionably the root difficulty, after all, is that the Boards of Guardians as a body to put the Act into operation is, in most instances, perfectly useless. Those Boards are comprised of elective and non-elective Members, the former belonging mainly to the farming class and the latter to the landlord class, and the farmers are even more out of sympathy with the labourers than are the landlords. The consequence is, that the working of the Act is blocked. While Parliament has in recent years loaded the Irish farmers with gifts, the labourers have been left entirely in the lurch. But in the near future the labourers will, I believe, combine against the farmers, as the farmers have combined against the landlords, and in their agitation against the farmers the labourers will probably improve on the methods they have learnt from their masters. On behalf of the unfortunate labourers, who have no advocates, at all events in Ireland, to speak for them, I do most humbly represent to my right hon. Friend that this question cannot be delayed. It is a question on which I am receiving the most piteous complaints from my constituents, and it is positively disgraceful not in one part of Ireland only, but in many parts.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): The affecting regard which the hon. Baronet has displayed for the labourers must be rather a surprise to the House. There was a Motion on the Paper on the subject in the name of the hon. Baronet some time back; but as to the means he took of bringing it forward, most Members are entirely innocent. I think I should not be incorrect in describing his speech as a speech to

the labourers among his constituents without reference to the rest of the question. If difficulties in the way of the enforcement of the Act exist in Ulster they exist in other parts of Ireland to an equal extent; but, in my own constituency, the Nationalist Boards of Guardians have erected 600 labourers' cottages, and I do not look forward, at any rate in the near future, to a general advance of the insurrectionary body of labourers upon the farmers. I have no doubt that when the time comes we shall see the hon. Baronet at the head of a surging crowd of labourers leading an attack upon the farmers. The hon. Baronet has used language almost identical with that for which the hon. Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin underwent two months' imprisonment. With reference to the main question, we wish to protest on this Vote against the continuance of a bureaucratic system of cast-iron rigidity, a system over which popular opinion in Ireland has no control whatever, and which seems to pride itself upon sitting itself up on every possible occasion against popular opinion. I think there can be no answer to the able argument of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) in reference to the dissolution of Boards of Guardians. I can quite conceive, however, that the right hon. Gentlemen (Mr. A. J. Balfour) thinks it his duty to throw discredit generally on the local administration of affairs in Ireland. A great many extraordinary things sometimes take place in Local Boards in England. But we have not heard that the Local Government Board jumps down on them and dissolves the Board, and sends two or three highly-paid officials to administer the affairs of the union; and why have we not heard that? Because the Local Government Board in England have some respect for local opinion, and know that the people are very tenacious of their rights and privileges. It is quite otherwise in Ireland. Take, for instance, the case of the Cork Union. A very short time since the Irish Local Government sent a most audacious communication to the Cork Board threatening it with suspension and with the appointment of paid Guardians. Personally, I should have rejoiced if the Local Government Board had carried out their threat. I should not have paid my poor's rate. I should have subscribed the amount of it to some charitable society for the relief of the poor, and, I believe, in taking this action I should have been supported by at least five-sixths of the ratepayers, and then I should like to know where would your paid officials have been? Why, of course, you would have had to fall back upon distraint, but it would have taken you at least 12 months to distrain for one month's poor rates, and I believe that the people of the district would have gladly subscribed to any fund for defraying the costs incurred in resisting the demands of these paid Guardians. Why was this threat made against the Cork Board? Simply because at one of their meetings, after the correspondence had been read, and after nearly all the ordinary business had been disposed of, a Nationalist member proposed a resolution sympathising with Dr. Tanner in his imprisonment. The resolution was passed, and nothing else was done, but a Tory Guardian happened to hear of the matter. He wrote to the Local Government Board on the subject, and because of this utterly insignificant incident the affairs of the Union were threatened to be thrown into disorder and paid Guardians appointed at a very heavy expense to the Union, while there would have been a general state of revolution and agitation against what was going on. At present I believe the Cork Union is as well conducted as most of the Unions in England, and I believe the Guardians, both Nationalist and Tory, endeavour to carry out the work in an amicable spirit, and with a due regard to economy. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, though he does usually disregard expressions of opinion coming from these Benches, is not yet sufficiently foolhardy to permit the Board, of which he is the President, to persist in this course, and I do trust that he will allow even the faint echo of my voice to be conveyed to the Local Government Board in reference to this system of arbitrarily and unnecessarily dismissing local bodies in Ireland, and appointing paid officials at high salaries. And now I should like to say a few words with regard to the auditors. I believe that at present there are no fewer than 10 auditors, and they make very frequent

surcharges in the course of their audits. This may be attributable to a desire on their part to show the country that they are doing work. I have no doubt that if we had a smaller number of auditors we should have fewer surcharges, and the Vote for them might be very greatly reduced. I hope that the short discussion we have had will not be unproductive of good, and that it will prove to the right hon. Gentleman that the Irish people are examining more and more closely this autocratic system by which two or three officials in Dublin, appointed nobody knows how, interfere with local bodies which are honestly, fairly, and conscientiously discharging their legitimate duties and giving satisfaction to the public at large. It is time that this impertinent officialism of these nominated bodies and highly paid officers was put a stop to, and I hope that this Debate will have the result of ending it.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I desire to say that I entirely agree with everything that has been said by my colleagues on the subject of the letter addressed to the Cork Board of Guardians. It was an audacious and injudicious letter, and calculated to produce results the very reverse of what were intended. I can conceive nothing more impudent than the manner in which these gentlemen addressed one of the largest and most popular Poor Law bodies in Ireland. But the immediate object of my rising is to call attention to another matter in which the Cork Board have, I think, serious reason to complain of the blundering and mismanagement of the Local Government Board. I refer to the action of the latter body in regard to the Queenstown intercepting hospital, and I do not think this is a matter which has previously been brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. I venture to say that if any other Irish body had blundered and mismanaged its business in the way in which the Local Government Board have done in this case, the right hon. Gentleman would have dissolved it long since. But, unfortunately, we have no power to dissolve the Local Government Board. Two old Sanitary Acts, which have been repealed, give Boards of Guardians bordering on ports certain sanitary jurisdiction over ships arriving in those ports. An Act passed in the year 1873, also since repealed, enabled the Irish Local Government Board to appoint some one riparian Union to have complete jurisdiction over the port, notwithstanding there might be several other Unions abutting on the port. The Public Health Act, 1874, also since repealed, enabled the selected Union to build a hospital for the reception of persons, afflicted with contagious disease, who might arrive in the port. In pursuance of that power, the Cork Board of Guardians, which was appointed the Sanitary Authority for that port, proceeded to build an intercepting hospital at Queenstown. The Act of 1873 further provided that any special expenditure incurred in this way should be borne jointly by all the Unions which abutted on the port, and everyone will admit that that was a fair and equitable provision. Consequently, the cost of this intercepting hospital was intended to be borne, not by the Cork Union alone, but by all the three Unions abutting on the port. Well, Sir, the Local Government Board, when the Act of 1873 was passed, declared the Cork Board of Guardians to be the Port Nuisance Authority, and ordered that all expenses which might be incurred should be contributed jointly by such Unions as the Local Government Board might fix upon. The Cork Board, acting under that authority, and believing that any expense they incurred would have to be borne, not solely by the Cork ratepayers, but by the various Unions, expended a sum of £2,000 in building an intercepting hospital, and when the hospital had been erected, the Local Government Board issued a Sealed Order declaring that no fewer than five Unions should contribute to the cost. That order has since been proved to be absolutely *ultra vires*. As a fact, only three Unions abut on the port of Cork; but the Local Government Board Order directed that, in addition to those three Unions, the Clonakilty and the Bandon Unions should contribute to the expense. The Cork Board, relying on the Sealed Order of the Local Government Board, and believing that that body knew what it was about, proceeded against the Clonakilty Union in order to recover their share of the expenses. Litigation was the result; it continued for a considerable time, and ultimately the Clonakilty Union suc-

ceeded in getting an order of the Court declaring that the Sealed Order which the Local Government Board had taken upon itself to issue was absolutely *ultra vires*. Now, Sir, owing to that blunder of the Local Government Board, the Cork Board of Guardians have had to pay about £400 in law costs, and I wish to ask what steps the Local Government Board propose to take in order to reimburse the unfortunate ratepayers of the Cork Union for that enormous expenditure incurred through no fault of their own, but through the blundering and incapacity of the Local Government Board itself. There is no reason why the ratepayers of the Cork Union should be saddled with this expense, seeing that the Local Government Board have since admitted their mistake and have issued a fresh Sealed Order excluding the Clonakilty and Bandon Unions from the list of contributory Unions.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): My immediate purpose in rising was to ask a question of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom I am glad to see present. I wish to know when the next payment will be made to the Poor Law Union Boards out of the Probate Fund. Last year the payment was very much delayed as compared with the time that it was made in England, and I think it ought to be expedited this year. I now wish to say a few words with regard to the treatment of workhouse children in Ireland. I find fault not so much with the Irish Poor Law system as with the manner in which the children are managed, and I do not think that this complaint is attributable to the action of the Guardians, for I do not see how those gentlemen can give the children more attention than they now do. But my point is that the treatment which the children have does not fit them for their struggle in after life, and the result is that they very soon return to the workhouse, which they practically look upon as their home. What is desirable is that these children should get the best possible substitutes for home influence, and for the care of parents of which they are now deprived, and I do not think that the present workhouse system gives them that. These children may be divided into three classes. First, there are the children sent to reformatories for real crime; secondly, there are the children sent to industrial schools for nominal crime; and thirdly, there are the children kept in workhouses on account of their destitution. The reformatory system, I admit, is a very good one, but the industrial school system is both foolish and illogical, because if anyone wishes to send a child to one of these schools, he first induces that child to commit some petty crime.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. and gallant Gentleman must direct his remarks to matters connected with the Local Government Board. I do not think he is doing that now.

COLONEL NOLAN: My desire is to impress on the Chief Secretary, as President of the Local Government Board, that some different system should be adopted in dealing with these children, and inasmuch as this Vote includes the salaries of Poor Law officials, I think I am entirely in order. What I wish to urge is that there should be some machinery which would enable Boards of Guardians to place their children in industrial schools, where they would be very much better brought up than they can possibly be in workhouses. The number of industrial schools in Ireland is, I admit, too limited; but I think that difficulty might be easily overcome. We all know that there are too many Unions in Ireland, and it has long been urged that some of these Unions should be amalgamated. By this means, I hold that the number of Unions might be reduced by 30 or 40. I do not blame the Government for not having taken steps to secure this amalgamation, because we know that public opinion, both in and out of this House, has not yet been concentrated upon that question, and we also know that some difficulty arises from the fact that it would be necessary to supersede a good many Poor Law officials, and these officials naturally object to supercession unless they get their salaries paid to them for nothing. Now, my suggestion would be that every eighth or tenth workhouse in the country should be used solely for the maintenance and training of the children from the other workhouses in Ireland, and I believe that if that were done you would have the means in your hands of making these children good and useful citizens. I do not want to have new schools erected; there is no necessity for that,

but I do think if certain workhouses could be set apart for these children, the little ones could be trained in the same way as juveniles are trained in industrial schools. I do not, of course, contend that no children at all should be admitted into the workhouse. Where they only go in temporarily with their parents for the purpose of getting lodging and food, it would be necessary to keep them in those Unions, but my proposal is to deal with the majority of the children who are now reared in workhouses from the age of three years and upwards, and whose tendency is at present to stay too long in those institutions. Possibly it would be better if some religious organisation would take charge of these institutions of which I have suggested the creation, and I have no doubt that there are a good many Protestants in Ireland who would be only too anxious to take care of the Protestant children. I take it that one of the greatest blots of our Poor Law system in Ireland is that we are rearing up in the workhouses a very large number of paupers, whereas by a little organisation and attention to detail we might produce a very great improvement in this respect. Let the Government bring in a Bill to that effect next year. I do not mean to increase the expenditure upon the Unions. The schoolmasters and mistresses could be transferred or some of them to the central schools, and there the children could also be taught such trades as shoe making and tailoring, which are now most inefficiently taught in the workhouses. I am not speaking of large Unions such as those of Dublin. I mean the smaller country Unions. Whatever project is entertained it should be in connection with the amalgamation of Unions, and having the buildings it would simply be a case of transfer.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I would press the advantage of developing the system of boarding out the children with persons of their own denomination. There can be no doubt of the advantage of this system for the improvement of the condition of the children. No human beings are in such an unfortunate position as these poor children. Nothing of the attractions and the social blessings of a home ever touches them. The only place in the nature of a home with which they become acquainted is that where they happen to serve, and whenever misfortune happens to them, and they are knocked out of employment, they gravitate at once to the workhouse or the gaol. I have known many of them from the ages of 16 to 25 return helpless to the workhouse, but if they have gone through the boarding-out system they become self-reliant and get to love their foster parents, and some of the instincts of home are developed in them. But what I rose to mention is the matter, to which the hon. Baronet the Member for Antrim has referred in an impassioned way but not beyond what it deserves, the total neglect in Ulster by Boards of Guardians of the Labourers' Act. My attention has been directly called to this subject as a member of one of the largest Boards in Ulster. I have endeavoured to urge upon my fellow Guardians the adoption of the Act in places where there is evidence of overcrowding, and have even gone the length of getting the feeble support of the sanitary officer of the district, but I must say the force of inertia, and the dead weight of unwillingness on the part of the elected Guardians, the men who employ labour, have prevented action being taken. Speaking from experience I can say that this opposition comes from men who in other matters take an active and intelligent part in the political affairs of the county. I do not say for a moment that it is made altogether a political or religious question, but I have no doubt that the neglect is largely owing to the differences—political and religious—between the farmers and the labourers, and in the district I am particularly referring to, the labourers have no political power. I represent a district where the labourers are but a small fraction, and, indeed, can scarcely be called a class, the farmers and their sons doing nearly all the agricultural work. I do not suppose the labourers make more than 3 per cent of my constituents. But I do say that throughout Ulster and in those Unions where the Guardians have the most sympathy with the labouring class, there is the greatest unwillingness to put the Act in force. I would suggest very briefly to the Chief Secretary what I think should be the leverage in the hands of the Local Government Board to make the measure work. The Sanitary Officers and the Medical Officers get in various ways

about £100,000 of this Vote, but do they do their duty in return for this? If these men were inspired by the Local Government Board with a desire to look after labourers' cottages, then they might force the Guardians to make use of the Act. I have taken the trouble to make inquiry, and I find that inspection is carried out in the most perfunctory way, and though it may be reported here and there that such a roof is not watertight, or that such a cottage is not habitable by reason of want of accommodation, really action is not taken except in flagrant cases, when proceedings are taken against owner or occupier to abate a nuisance. But I think out of this £100,000 this helpless misrepresented class might claim some assistance from the Local Government Board. I do not deny that the *ex officio* Guardians are as much to blame as the elected Guardians; but it is of the elected Guardians I most complain that they seem bent on making the Act inoperative. For the sake of a class which consists of the worst fed, worst housed, worst clothed, and worst paid in the three kingdoms, the right hon. Gentleman might do a great deal of good, he has the means at hand in his Local Government Inspectors, and a word from him would put that means in operation.

*MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.): I desire to bring under the notice and consideration of the Chief Secretary as head of the Local Government Board, the difficulties that stand in the way of Guardians obtaining loans for carrying out necessary improvements in workhouse buildings. In this connection I would refer him to the correspondence that took place last year between the Board and the Guardians of the Rathdrum Union, and I would impress upon him the desirability of some clear definition of how far works in relation to workhouse buildings come under the provisions of the Public Works Loans Act. In the matter of labourers' cottages, I think the Local Government Board is to blame for not facilitating the adoption of the Act. Undoubtedly there is no great disposition on the part of Guardians to avail themselves of the Act; but if the Board of Works prepared designs, which being lithographed, could be available all over Ireland for the use of Guardians, professional expenses in relation to the Act would be reduced, and uniformity in providing cottages would be secured. One other point deserves attention in connection with this Vote, and that is the improper and dishonest manner in which votes for the election of Guardians are manufactured by the connivance of members of a family.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.): I think that one of the obstacles to the operation of the Labourers' Act is the part that is played by the Privy Council, which is constituted a sort of Court of Appeal. When a scheme for labourers is sought to be carried out, the first thing is the adoption of the scheme by the Board itself——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will be travelling outside the Vote in criticising an Act of Parliament over which the Local Government Board have no control.

MR. GILL: I must apologise for inability to make my point clear. I am going to show that the Local Government Board, who now exercise full right of supervision on this question of labourers' cottages, constitute a sufficient instrument for the purpose, and that the Privy Council is an obstacle in the work, and a considerable reform might be effected by the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Privy Council.

THE CHAIRMAN: The control of the Local Government Board, but not the action of the Privy Council, can be discussed under this Vote.

MR. GILL: It is competent for me to refer to those points in which the Local Government Board exercises their functions in an efficient manner, and do good work. The system of inspection in relation to any proposal for labourers' cottages is exhaustive and efficient, though, perhaps, it might be somewhat less cumbrous. After the adoption of a scheme by the Guardians, the Board send down an inspector and engineer, who visit the proposed sites for the cottages, and satisfy themselves as to this point. They then hold a sort of inquiry, and any person can raise any objection to the proposed erection of cottages, and, if necessary, the ground is visited again. But when the question of site and the requirements of the district are inquired into and determined by the Local Government Board, then comes in the power of the Privy Council as a Court of Appeal.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is at this point that the hon. Member travels outside matters concerned in this Vote. The powers of the Privy Council are determined by Statute, and the Local Government Board have no control over them.

MR. GILL: I will not attempt to press the discussion of the action of the Privy Council, but I apprehend the right hon. Gentleman, as President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, has appreciated the drift of my remarks, and will see where it is possible for a practical reform to be effected. I can conceive no fitter opportunity for raising this question than in connection with this Vote, but having suggested it I do not wish to press the point. I will only say further that I hope the right hon. Gentleman when next he makes a speech in England will kindly take notice of the extent to which the Labourers' Act has been used in the Southern and Western parts of Ireland as compared with Ulster. In Munster some three or four thousand cottages have actually been erected, and in Leinster some 1,500. Considering the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of the Boards of Guardians by the Local Government Board in regard to the administration of the Act, I think great activity has been manifested by the poorer Boards of Guardians in carrying out the Act, but the one spot where the Act has not been carried into effect has been the province of Ulster, where all the wealth, all the intelligence, and all that is laudable in the public life of Ireland are supposed to exist. I trust that when next the right hon. Gentleman is comparing what are called the two nations of Ireland he will not neglect this comparison.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I would ask the Committee whether, in view of the very important business that has yet to be discussed, it will not be convenient to bring these conversations to an end. I do not think it necessary to deal at any great length with the various speeches that have been made. However one province may compare with another in respect of the advantage taken of the Labourers' Dwellings Act; it is a matter in which neither initiative nor encouragement rests with the Local Government Board. Neither directly nor indirectly is it their function to encourage or discourage recourse to the powers given to localities by the Act of Parliament, and no blame attaches to the Local Government Board in the matter. The hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. M. Healy) called my attention to a matter of which, I confess, I was not cognisant when I came into the House, nor am I able to give him any information on the subject. All I know about the matter is derived from the hon. Member's speech. It appears that a legal error was made by the Local Government Board, and in consequence the Cork Union was put to certain law expenses, which he estimates at £400. Of course, if the hon. Gentleman has accurately represented the facts, which I have no doubt he has done, it was unfortunate that the error was made, but I do not think the Local Government Board have power to pay out of the funds at their disposal the costs which have been incurred by the Local Authorities. With regard to what has been said by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), I entirely agree that there cannot be a more unfortunate method of dealing with pauper children than that of educating them in the workhouse. The matter came prominently before me when I was Secretary to the Local Government Board in England; and no doubt in Ireland the same evil consequences have ensued that have been experienced in England. As to the suggested remedy, that certain workhouses should be appropriated as District Schools, one difficulty would probably arise from the distribution of the disused workhouses, which might not always be found where they were wanted. I propose to appoint a small Committee to investigate the question of the amalgamation of Unions in Ireland and I have great hope that, aided by the advice which such a Committee will be able to furnish, the Government will be able to do something material in the direction of increased amalgamation.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that it is proposed to take some definite step in the direction of closing some of the workhouses in Ireland. There are at present no less than 170 in Ireland, and no doubt many of them could be done away with. I hope the Government will take some definite

step to close more than they have done. There is only one workhouse in my constituency. It contains practically no inmates, and the only objections to closing it have been the petty objections of officialism. In Donegal the Local Government Board propose to close the most convenient workhouse in the county, and the consequence of their doing so will be to impose on the poor people the burden of travelling 60 or 70 miles to reach the nearest of the surviving workhouses. I think it would be a mistake to shut up a workhouse even in a thinly inhabited district in Ireland, with such a result as that. I would suggest to the Local Government Board that, whilst in many of the more prosperous parts of Ireland they could close workhouses with great effect, it would be very doubtful policy to make a clean sweep of those in Donegal. I do not believe that at all a good precedent has been created by the dissolution of Boards of Guardians in various parts of the country. More have been suppressed by the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues during the last three years than ever before, and for the most trivial and petty offences. In one instance a Board was dissolved because it would not strike a rate to please the Local Government Board, when the district was so poor that it could not afford the rate. The Local Government Board had appointed paid Guardians, and the duty of paying them had fallen upon the ratepayers of the union, which is, as I have said, very poor, and which is pre-eminently one for amalgamation. If the Local Government Board had looked after their business as they ought to have done, they would have amalgamated the Unions years ago. I say that this sending down of paid Guardians is an absurd practice, a shameful practice, and a practice which inflicts grievous injury on a district. There is another matter which needs attention in connection with the Local Government Board and that is the question of Sanitary Inspection. The Rural Sanitary Inspectors in Ireland are all a sham. They are usually local doctors who dare not report upon insanitary houses for fear of losing their practice. The fact is that the Local Government Board should appoint Sanitary Inspectors, not for parishes as at present, but for baronies or counties. That is the only way in which to secure a really independent supervision of the condition of the houses in a district. As to the question of labourers' cottages, it is a very remarkable thing that so very few applications have been made throughout the entire Province of Ulster for the construction of labourers' cottages. The fault does not lie more with the *ex officio* than with the elected Guardians, but I believe that as long as the practical initiative rests with the Guardians the present stagnation will continue throughout the province. I only direct attention to the matter with the view of reminding those persons who are principally concerned that they have a remedy under the Act, though it is not a very good or effective remedy. They can appeal to the Board of Guardians, and I would suggest that in every case in which the local Guardians refuse to sanction these schemes the labourers should appeal to the Local Government Board.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I am glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman has appointed a small Committee to consider the question of amalgamating Unions. It is a very important question, for we have a great deal too many Unions, and the conditions under which they were first formed have in many respects wholly changed. I hope that the decision of the Committee will not be founded upon the evidence of officials and contractors, who, I believe, were opposed to the amalgamation of Unions.

COLONEL NOLAN: Is it to be a Committee or a Commission?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: A small Departmental Committee.

COLONEL NOLAN: Well, I hope the popular party will in some way be represented upon it. I should like to repeat the question I have already put to the right hon. Gentleman—namely, when this year's payment is to be made to the Poor Law Unions.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not the information here, but if the hon. and gallant Gentleman will put a question on the Paper, I will reply to it.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): Did I properly understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he would initiate legislation to prevent the recurrence of heavy charges imposed on the Poor Law Board of Dublin for the compulsory slaughter of cattle?

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I said the whole question was one which my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) said would occupy the attention of the Government during the recess.

Mr. MURPHY: I am glad to hear that, and I hope we shall have some legislation next Session which will put an end to this anomalous and unreasonable state of things. I wish, also, to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is considering the question of the deportation of paupers into Ireland. There are no Returns later than 1880, but up to that date there was an average of between 4,000 and 5,000 people who had spent the greater part of their lives in England or Scotland sent over to the Unions in Ireland. As to the question of sanitary inspection in Ireland, the present officials seem to regard their allowances as inspectors and medical officers as a sort of perquisite, and I think they will continue to do so unless the Local Government Board call upon them to perform their duties. I should say it would be quite within the power and the duty of a Local Government Inspector, when he goes down to visit a Union, not to confine his attention to the workhouse, but to see whether the sanitary officials have performed their duties. In a great many towns the condition of the lanes and alleys and of the labourers' dwellings is simply a disgrace to any civilised community, and I think the Local Government Board ought to insist upon the Inspectors performing their duties.

Mr. M'CARTAN (Down, S.): I trust that the Local Government Board will do everything in their power to influence the Belfast Board of Guardians in the matter referred to by my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), and which affects the health of a large number of the people of Belfast. With regard to the new form of requisition, there is no doubt that, in the opinion of many of the ratepayers, what has been done has been done for political purposes. There is no precedent for the issue of such a form of requisition. The form has been prepared for the purpose of saving certain political Associations in West Belfast from expending money on collecting information. We have no fear that the result will be to affect the representation of Belfast, but we do complain that such a discreditable practice should be allowed to take place in Belfast.

Vote agreed to.

3. £23,962, to complete the sum for Public Works, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON: In connection with this Vote, there are many matters to which, if time permitted, we should direct the attention of the Committee. The administration of the Board of Works has formed the subject of discussion every year since I entered the House, but no matter what Party has been in power, I cannot say that our efforts at reform have been attended with any important consequences. Our objections to that administration remain as they were. Our coasts are strewn with the wrecks and ruins of piers and harbours, testifying to the neglect and incompetence of a Department which the Secretary of the Treasury has been put to much trouble to justify. I do not think it is incumbent on me at this stage of the Session and on the eve of some great measure of Local Government for Ireland, to go exhaustively into the defects of the Board, with which I think the House must be familiar. There is, however, one small matter to which I will take the opportunity to refer. There is in Dublin City a large space of public recreation ground known as St. Stephen's Green. It became the property of the citizens of Dublin a few years ago through the munificence of Sir Arthur Guinness (now Lord Guinness), and is an agreeable place of public resort in a district but inadequately provided with open spaces. In the centre of this park it has been the custom, as in Phœnix Park, to have a band for the performance of music in the summer evenings, and in June last the secretary of the workmen's club, a respectable and self-supporting body of working men, wrote to the Board of Works asking for permission for the playing of the workmen's band in St. Stephen's Green on Sunday evenings. I know the band myself, and can testify to the excellence of its performances. To the application the Board of Works returned a curt, if not uncivil reply, refusing permission, and assigning no reason for doing so. Questions were put to the Secretary of the Treasury a short time ago, and he, in explanation

of the refusal, pointed out that the square was not large, and that the band might be a source of annoyance to the inmates of houses and the hospital in the square and the congregations of two churches. Now, I think I am not over-estimating when I say the square has an area of 30 or 40 acres. As to the services in the churches, of course it is simply a matter of arrangement that these should not be interrupted, and in one of the churches I know that no service is held on Sunday evenings. As to the hospital and the houses, I can only say that, the inmates being subjected to the painful din of heavy traffic for six days in the week, it is absurd to suppose that there would be any annoyance in the mellow strains of a good band playing appropriate music on Sunday evening. I will not enter into a larger question with which the people of Dublin are much concerned. You want to close the public houses on Sunday, and, not attempting in any way to argue this, I will only say the people must go somewhere, they cannot be expected to pass Sunday in a state of still existence, and surely it is wise to allow such places as this park to become places of harmless and agreeable resort. I trust that the opportunity for consideration that has been given will allow of a more favourable answer being given to the request, which I, as representing the Dublin Corporation, make on behalf of the citizens.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Before the hon. Gentleman answers there is one point I would bring to his notice which has been made the subject of repeated protest, and that is the difficulty that is put in the way of tenants obtaining loans for improvements on their holdings. It is the custom of the Board to insist on the production of receipts for rent before any application for a loan is granted, although, as is very well known, there are arrears for which the landlords never do press the tenant. It is quite the ordinary practice and well understood, and does not really in any way affect the condition, that the Board shall satisfy themselves that the property is not overburdened with debts. Besides, the Board of Works loan takes precedence of other claims. It is against the interests of both landlord and tenant often that the regulation is enforced, and it is within my knowledge that by private arrangement the landlord has provided the tenant with a receipt in order to enable him to obtain the loan. What is the use of enforcing a condition which is simply an obstacle in the way of a most useful piece of legislation?

MR. JACKSON: I say at once quite frankly that I think the representations of the citizens of Dublin through their mouthpiece, the Lord Mayor, deserve the greatest consideration, and unless some very strong reason can be shown against it I certainly think that permission for the band to play at the place in question ought to be granted. With regard to the point raised by the hon. Member for Donegal, I imagine that the reason why the regulation was made in the first instance was to afford security against arrears leading to the loss of the tenancy, but if the hon. Member will communicate to me particulars of any specific cases, I hope shortly to be in Dublin and will make these matters the subject of inquiry.

MR. P. J. POWER: Can the Secretary to the Treasury give me any idea of what surplus remains on hand of the money allocated by Parliament in 1883 to works in connection with the fishing industries in Ireland? A small Commission appointed at the instance of my predecessor in the representation of Waterford, the late Mr. Blake, had the administration of the fund, and I believe a balance is left for—an unusual circumstance in such cases—considerable savings were effected from the estimates for work undertaken. My reason for asking the question is that I have had many applications in respect of this balance.

*MR. JACKSON: Speaking roundly I think it may be taken that there will be a surplus of about £20,000. The surplus is not, however, yet available, because some portion of the amount has not yet come in. Until those sums come in it would hardly be safe to undertake fresh works. I shall be glad to give the hon. Member more details if he requires them.

MR. JORDAN: There is a small pier at Seafield on the coast of Clare which was recently repaired by the Board of Works. Complaints have been made that after the repairs *débris* has been left in the channel that causes a great deal of obstruction to vessels. Indeed, there are fewer facilities now for ap-

proaching the pier than there were before the pier was repaired. I shall be glad if the hon. Gentleman will direct the attention of the Board of Works to this subject, which is the source of great complaint and causes much inconvenience to the fishermen.

*Mr. JACKSON: I understand from the Board of Works that it is the duty of the contractor for the repairs, to clear away the *débris* complained of. I do not think there is any doubt about that, but I will make further inquiry.

Vote agreed to.

4. £4,037, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

5. £10,777, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.

6. £12,088, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

Mr. BLANE (Armagh, S.): Some time ago the Boundary Commissioners in Ireland took evidence in relation to the extension of Municipal boundaries in various towns, but I have not since heard that they have made any Report. I gave evidence before the Commission, and in doing so strongly advocated the division of Municipal areas into wards, a question with which I understood the Commissioners had power to deal. Taking Armagh as a type, it is possible, owing to the non-division of the town into wards, for one citizen to nominate the whole of the Town Council. The result in Armagh was that one gentleman having nominated 21 Town Councillors, and they being returned, he received the appointment of Town Clerk. If a town were divided into wards abuses of this kind would not arise, for one citizen could only nominate councillors for that ward in which his own residence or property is situated. It is a reasonable proposition, I think, and I would urge the Government to press this upon the attention of the Commissioners for whom we are now voting this large sum.

Mr. FLYNN: We have to complain of the rather peculiar system of taking valuations, an automatic system founded upon no tangible or comprehensible reason, and against which there is no appeal. For instance, if alterations are made in any premises, the valuator comes round and makes a valuation, and in the great majority of instances the variation in the value is in the direction of an increase. In a case that came under my personal knowledge, and which I only mention by way of illustration, a relative of mine made an alteration in his premises for business purposes, alterations of a structural character which as anybody could see really depreciated the value of the property. In this case an alteration was made, and it actually depreciated the letting value of the property, but the first intimation the owner had of any alteration of the assessment of the property was when he received the next tax papers, and then he found that the assessment for Income Tax, local rates, and poor rates had been increased. The discovery caused him considerable astonishment. He could not understand why he should be called upon to pay on a higher valuation when he had made alterations which had actually depreciated the letting value of his property. It was not a very serious matter certainly, but it was a question of principle which was involved, and in order to test the matter he refused to pay the local rates on the increased valuation. He arranged that a friendly summons should be served upon him, but when the case came on for hearing it was found that the Magistrates had no power to deal with the case. The increase, I may mention, was only from £5 to £10, but the principle was the same as if the increase had amounted to £500. The owner of this property, as a fact, found that the valuation officials were practically irresponsible. The truth is, that when new houses are valued in Ireland, there is a kind of "rule-of-thumb" system adopted, by which the valuation is placed at half the rack rent. It is a rough system, but it is also a very unsatisfactory system. I know that in certain parts of Ireland they are calling for a re-valuation, and it is a cry with which I have a good deal of sympathy, but before such a re-valuation could be carried out, I think there should be some more scientific or exact principle laid down by which parties, who feel aggrieved at the re-valuation, may have a right of appeal to somebody beyond the valuator who makes it. To my own knowledge, there is property in the City of Cork which is greatly undervalued; indeed, the assessment is about

one-third of the letting value, and that property has not been interfered with for a considerable number of years, while in another part of the same city, owing to the annual or biennial visits of the valuator, the assessments have been increased, although the letting value of the property has decreased. Surely some better system could be devised than this rule-of-thumb principle, and surely it would be possible to lay down some scientific and tangible plan upon which the valuations or re-valuations should be made. I think, also, it would be desirable that the owner of the property should receive some notice of any intended visit on the part of the valuator. Now, the owner of the property to which I have referred had no knowledge whatever that the valuator had been to his premises. He did not know whether the visit was a nocturnal or a matutinal one. Probably the valuator surveyed the premises through a telescope at long range, and then disappeared without even letting the owner of the premises have the slightest suspicion that he had been investigating them. My object in making these remarks is to secure that in future the owner of the premises shall receive notice of a visit, and also that there shall be some principles laid down on which valuations shall be made instead of adopting, as at present, a rough and ready rule.

MR. JACKSON: I do not know what are the particulars of the case to which the hon. Member has referred. I have always understood that the valuations made in Ireland have given general satisfaction, and that, as a rule, there has been no revision of the valuation unless some alteration has been made in the premises. I take it that in this case, another alteration being made, an opportunity was offered for a revision of the valuation, and that would account for the increase in the assessment, and not the mere nature of the alterations made. If the hon. Member will be good enough to give me the details of the case to which he has referred, I will inquire into them, and I will also consider whether or not it is desirable to give a power of appeal in these and similar cases. I shall also be happy to make inquiry into the points raised by the hon. Member for South Armagh.

MR. M'CARTAN: I rise to support the hon. Member for North Cork (Mr. Flynn) in the complaint he has made with reference to the method of making valuations in Ireland. I do not think it is fair that one of the valuers should go down to make a valuation of property without sending some notification to the person interested in the property. The valuers really make their valuations in the dark. Perhaps they are told by some neighbour, unfriendly to the person whose property is to be valued, something that will give it an increased value; and they possibly do not consult the person who is affected. There is another important matter I wish to bring to the notice of the Secretary to the Treasury. I have received many complaints with reference to the granting of the certificates of valuation. The certificates are required for various purposes in Ireland; but the principal purpose is in connection with the Land Commission. The valuation of the land has to be stated in the originating notice to fix a fair rent, and when the people come to the Court to have their cases tried the only evidence as to valuation is the certificate from the Valuation Office signed by the Commissioner of Valuations in Ireland. It would be well that a person could get the certificate the day he applies for it. I do not see any reason why there should be unnecessary delay. I have known cases in which reasonable time was given to have certificates prepared and delivered, but in which they were not delivered until the cases were before the Court.

*MR. JACKSON: So far as the certificates are concerned, I am sure the Commissioner desires to meet the wishes of those interested in the matter as far as they possibly can. I will mention the matter to him.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS III.

7. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £53,910, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland."

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): Anyone looking at this Vote must be

struck by the extravagant and monstrous proportions it assumes; indeed, the amount of it would be large even in a very extensive country, and when one has regard to the smallness of Ireland, the amount becomes simply monstrous. But in addition to the smallness of the country, it is a practically crimeless country. Time after time we hear of maiden Assizes. There is in Ireland crime of only one class chiefly, namely, crimes of a political complexion. Nine-tenths of the crime in Ireland springs directly or indirectly from the agrarian movement. In cases of that kind surely it is the duty of the Government and of the Crown Prosecutors, who are the paid agents of the Government, to maintain a scrupulously fair course, to conduct the prosecutions with an even keel—with justice, fairness, and impartiality. The Irish prosecutions ought to be what prosecutions in England are, or at least used to be—namely, investigations to discover truth. But the Crown Prosecutors in Ireland exert themselves with all their force to procure convictions. Why is that? Because to the Crown Prosecutor convictions mean pay and promotion from the Government. In cases of a political complexion we are taught an object lesson of the cruelty of man to man. We see an opponent of the Government prosecuted by a man who is inspired by Party feeling and mercenary motives. In political hands the Irish Crown Prosecutor pursues his victim with the zeal of the sleuthhound and the low cunning of the fox. I wish to call attention to three cases in particular in which the Crown Prosecutors have endeavoured to secure a verdict against the accused when he was an opponent of the Government or to shield him when he was a friend of the Government. That is a serious and shocking charge to make if I could not prove it up to the hilt. The first case was tried in Dublin early this year; it was the case of Charles Freckleton, a friend of the Government, who was placed on his trial for murder. Freckleton was a bailiff and an emergeney man on the estate of Captain Guinness. He went into a public house armed with a revolver, and deliberately shot the publican dead. Then he fired on two women, and one of them was in danger of losing her life for many weeks. The man was placed on his trial in Green Street, but I charge that justice was manipulated in order to prevent the death penalty being inflicted. No challenging of jurors proceeded from the Crown. My hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) asked the Chief Secretary this question on the 11th April last—

"Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence in the case of Charles Freckleton, an emergency man and gamekeeper, tried in Dublin on Friday and Saturday of last week, for murder, from which it appears that Freckleton, in a public-house at Rathfarnham, in the County of Dublin, deliberately fired three shots at three different persons in succession, killing one man on the spot and wounding one young girl so seriously that for several weeks her life was despaired of; whether he has considered the observations of the presiding Judge, Mr. Justice Murphy"—

a kind-hearted man, if ever there was one, a man who was determined to do justice in spite of the Crown—

"In which he expressed the opinion that the crime of Freckleton was both unprovoked and without any justification whatever, and declared that there was no case in the books that would suggest that in a case of this kind the Judge should suggest that the jury should reduce the crime from murder to manslaughter; whether the jury found Freckleton guilty, not of murder but of manslaughter; whether it is a fact that, in the empannelling of this jury, the representatives of the Crown did not order any jurors to stand aside, while the prisoners challenged 20 jurors, all but four of whom were Catholics, with the result that all the 12 jurors sworn were Protestant landlords or persons connected with the landlord class; and if these allegations are well founded whether he intends to take any notice of the action of the Crown officials in this case?"

The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary replied—

"I understand that the prisoner, Charles Freckleton, was not an emergency man. He was brought over from Scotland to act as a gamekeeper for Mr. Guinness, of Zibradden, in the County of Dublin, in whose employment he was as such gamekeeper when the offence was committed. The presiding Judge made, in effect, the observations mentioned in the question, and he left it to the jury to determine whether the prisoner was guilty of murder or manslaughter, and they found a verdict of manslaughter. It is a fact that the representatives of the Crown did not ask any juror to stand aside while the prisoner challenged 20 jurors; but the religion of those challenged cannot be given. It is not known what was the religion of the 12 jurors sworn to try the prisoner, but their occupations were as follows:—1 retired officer; 1 bookseller; 1 jeweller; 1 carrier; 2 described as gentlemen; 1 manufacturer's agent; 2 bank clerks; 2 commercial clerks; and 1 farmer."

Now I will take the Committee to another case by way of contrast. Let us see how justice was meted out to the tenants of the Olphert estate. There was a crop of hard and shocking evictions in January. The peasantry resisted them. Two of the men who so resisted have now passed beyond the reach of praise or censure. Well, a whole batch of them was arrested and sent to Enniskillen—to a district in which there was an overwhelming preponderance of Protestants. A special jury under the Crimes Act was empanelled to try them. There was a panel of 200 jurors out of a population of 84,879. There was no Catholic on the special jury panel. The Crown even challenged a number of these Protestant jurors in order to get 12 men who could be relied upon. They obtained convictions, I believe, in every case. I know they challenged, because the Solicitor General for Ireland, on official information on which I can always rely, assured me that that was the case. The Crown Counsel was a Mr. McLaughlin, who saw that the action was a political one, and who took occasion in the course of his opening remarks to compliment the Chief Secretary. The Irish Judges are far less strict to mark "out of order" iniquities than are the Presidents of this House, and it is an extreme case when a Judge interrupts a Crown Counsel in his opening remarks; but the Judge in this case did so, and told Mr. McLaughlin that his praise of the Chief Secretary was out of place and had nothing to do with the case before the Court—in which I think he was quite right. A conviction, as I say, was obtained. But a head constable named Macaneely was arrested for presenting a revolver at the head of one of the tenants on the same occasion as that upon which the events occurred which formed the subject of the trials to which I have referred. In his case, also, the venue was changed, but he was not sent to Enniskillen. He was sent for trial to Londonderry, and the same counsel who prosecuted the Donegal tenants for defending their homes prosecuted, or pretended to prosecute, Macaneely for excess of zeal in defending the emergency men. The Crown did not challenge a single juror in this case, but left that to Macaneely's counsel, who weeded out all the Papists. Is this "Government with an even keel?" Can hon. Members feel surprise that we are not contented with the Chief Secretary's rule and do not regard that right hon. Gentleman as a Heaven-sent gift to afford us peace, prosperity, and even justice? I have another case arising out of the Olphert affair. The Committee will remember the thrill of horror that ran through the breasts of all the loyalists at Inspector Martin's death. Inspector Martin met his death at the hands of people who are supposed to be Mr. Olphert's enemies. Well, will the Committee believe that one of Mr. Olphert's tenants went scot free after committing, so far as we can see, a wilful and unprovoked murder? One of the many accusations we have brought against Mr. Olphert is this—that on his estate there is a most awful system of espionage. It seems that some of those starving creatures — tenants of Mr. Olphert—to whom a handful of meal would be quite as much as a Lord Mayor's feast to some of our friends opposite, got some small employment from a Help Society, for which a man named Beattie was agent. We believe that the moment Beattie paid these poor creatures he told Mr. Olphert, so that he might be down on them like a vulture for the few miserable shillings they received. Between Mr. Olphert and Beattie there existed a friendship—for in Ireland, where identity of interest binds people together, there exist strange friendships. A man named Irwin goes into Beattie's store, and shortly afterwards Irwin is found lying there, dead, Beattie with a smoking revolver in his hand. Of course, we do all things decently in Ireland. Beattie is brought before the Petty Sessions, and amongst the Magistrates on the Bench there is our old friend Mr. Olphert. There were three Magistrates there, one of whom was a removable; and two of these Magistrates, including the removable, said that the case should go on. Mr. Olphert, however, said it should not go on. He remembered the shillings of which this man had advised him and had enabled him to collect from his miserable tenantry. Beattie was sent for trial at the Summer Assizes at Lifford, but on that occasion there were only 17 Grand Jurors present—though the usual number was 23—and they threw out the bill, the foreman stating that there was not a sufficient number of Grand Jurors to find

a bill. It is necessary that there should be 12 Grand Jurors to find a true bill. Mr. Olphert again appeared on the scene—this time on the Grand Jury to do a good turn for his tenant. This was at the Summer Assizes; but at the Winter Assizes nothing was done in reference to this interesting gentleman, Mr. Beattie. The Spring Assizes came round and Beattie was left alone. On the 10th of May I put this question to the Solicitor General for Ireland:—

"Mr. Mac Neill (Donegal, S.) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland whether a man named Beattie, an agent for the Kelp Company, was returned for trial to the Petty Sessions Bench at Falcarragh, to the Cork Summer Assizes, for the wilful murder of a man named Irwin, by shooting him with a revolver; whether Mr. Wybrant Olphert sat on the Bench, and decided to dismiss the charge, but was overruled by the other Magistrates; whether at the Summer Assizes at Lifford, the Grand Jury, who were only 17 in number, threw out the bill against Beattie, the foreman stating that there was not a sufficient number of Grand Jurors to find a bill; whether, having regard to the fact that a bill to become an indictment must be found to be a true bill by 12 Grand Jurors at least, will the Crown take any, and what, steps to insure a full attendance of the Grand Jury, which should consist of 23 members; was Mr. Wybrant Olphert a member of the Grand Jury by whom this bill was ignored; why was not a fresh bill sent up to the Grand Jury against the said Beattie at the Winter or Spring Assizes; and, do the Crown intend to take any further steps in investigating the circumstances of Irwin's death?

The circumstances of the death of a man found weltering in his blood, with Beattie standing over him, holding a revolver with a steaming mouth. The reply of the Solicitor General, as given in *Hansard*, was in these terms:—

"Mr. Madden: The facts are substantially as stated in the first, second, third, and fifth paragraphs of the question, with this exception, that it is inaccurate to say that there was not a sufficient number of Grand Jorors to find the bill."

Mr. Olphert, I openly assert, had canvassed the Grand Jury to shield his friend. The Solicitor General went on to say:—

"In answer to the remainder of the question, I have to say that, after the bill was thrown out at the last Summer Assizes, the Attorney General"—

a gentleman well-known for selecting jurors and unearthing old Acts of Parliament—

"The Attorney General called for a Special Report from the Crown Solicitor, and after going into the matter fully with him"—

—Oh! I should have liked to have heard that consultation!—

"Came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient evidence against Beattie to justify the Crown in taking any further proceedings."

Why did they bring the charge against Beattie in the first place, as there was not sufficient evidence—why did they put him in peril of his life? The fact of the matter is, that the murder was condoned on account of the man Beattie being a friend of Mr. Olpherts. Does not this disclose a pretty state of things in Ireland? Here are three object lessons in the way Ireland is governed. In another place, on the occasion of O'Connell's trial, a gentleman who occupied the position of Lord High Chancellor of England declared that trial by jury in Ireland was "a fraud, a delusion, and a snare." Forty years afterwards I say the same thing. Would it not, I ask, be better to stop trial by jury altogether and to send the hon. Baronet (Sir C. E. Lewis) round like a drum major to hang us all off-hand. Even the organ of the Conservative Party in Ireland—the *Daily Express*—when what I will call "Pigott's Act," was going through the House, declared that trial by jury in Ireland was a make-believe. It is no longer a make-believe, for we have pushed aside the drapery and have exposed it in all its enormity and imfamy as a part of Irish misgovernment. And now I will go to the inferior Courts. Do hon. Members know what the items are for expenses paid through the Crown Solicitors? I will read them, as they go to show the fox-like ingenuity of Dublin Castle. Under "G," on page 290 of the Estimates, we find these items:—

"For various expenses paid through the Crown Solicitors, &c., namely:—

Clerks of the Crown.
Clerks of the Peace.
Expenses of Crown Solicitors for Special Duty.
Expenses of Crown Solicitors for Winter Assizes
Expenses of Crown Solicitors' Assistants for Winter A sizes.
Expenses of Sessional Crown Solicitors for Special Duty.
Expenses of Juries at Assizes.
Printing Briefs, with sanction of Attorney General.
Defence of Prisoners in cases of Murder.

Extra Expenses of Traversers and their Witnesses in cases at Winter Assizes, and in cases of Charge of Venue under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act."

I should have thought that list would have exhausted the ingenuity of the Castle. But, not so. There is one sweeping item that is threefold the amount of any one of the other items, namely, "Miscellaneous Charges, £3,000?" Why is this money spent? It is not spent on stationery or telegrams. They are provided for under different heads. What is to be done for us, or rather against us, by means of this £3,000? I put that to the Solicitor General for Ireland, and I shall insist upon having an answer before the Vote is taken. We have here an item in connection with the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, and I am not exaggerating when I say that every prosecution under that Act has not been for the prevention of crime, or to promote peace and order, or even for the punishment of the new made crimes under the Crimes Act, but has been undertaken for political purposes. I will give seven or eight examples to show that the Coercion Act has been put into active operation for ulterior reasons—first, in the service of the *Times;* secondly, to punish men who have acted against the Government here in London; thirdly, to destroy the reputation of those who have been helping to win elections in this country; and fourthly—and this is the most serious charge of all—to inflict punishment on the men who have exposed the character of the tribunals in Ireland. I have mentioned the *Times*, and I think the present Administration might take for their motto, "We go with the Times." Now, I think it is an axiom that will be generally accepted that punishment should follow the commission of a crime as quickly as possible. That arch-heretic, that wicked man, the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) made a speech on the 29th September, of which Lord Salisbury said if the Government did not order a prosecution, they would be accessories to murder. No action was taken at the time, and on October 22 the Special Commission opened. In the middle of November various libels upon the Commission appeared in *United Ireland*, and the hon. Member for North-East Cork was summoned for contempt. He justified himself, and the Court, though finding he had technically committed a contempt, did not award any punishment. No; but other means of punishment were taken. My hon. Friend was delivered over to the "removables," and received sentence from Mr. Roche and another, ostensibly for the speech delivered at Ballyknee four months previously, but really for the blow he had given the Commission and its masters. Take another illustration: In November last the hon. Member for West Kerry, who had been writing articles in his newspaper with reference to the Coercion Act for 12 or 15 months without interference on the part of the Government, was arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment because he was actively engaged in getting up evidence for the defence for the purpose of its being laid before the Special Commission. On the other hand, Captain Plunkett had been allowed 59 days leave in London to enable him to get up evidence on behalf of the *Times*. That is the way in which the Government have worked the Crimes Act against their political opponents. Then, again, it having come to the knowledge of the hon. Member for East Cork that a Government official had been guilty of an abominable crime, he was arrested under the Coercion Act, and, having refused to withdraw the charge for the sake of the man's wife and children, was sent to prison for a month to keep him out of the way, so as to enable a bogus prosecution to be instituted against the accused official. The learned counsel who represented the Crown upon that occasion was none other than Mr. Ronan, one of the counsel for the *Times*, and who has since been honoured for his services by being made a Queen's Counsel. Again, the hon. Member for South Kerry, the hon. Member for South Galway, and the hon. Member for North Kildare have each been prosecuted this year for speeches which they made in the previous November, while the hon. Member for East Clare was prosecuted in February last for speeches delivered in the previous September and October, the charges having been left hanging over his head until it was found convenient to prevent him from bringing about a settlement between the landlord and the tenants on the Vandeleur

estate. The result of my hon. Friend's imprisonment is that his eyesight has been ruined. These are a few instances out of many that could be given to indicate how the Government use the Coercion Act simply in the interests of the landlords and of the *Times*, and for the gratification of mean and petty vindictiveness. The hon. Member for North Monaghan was an object lesson last night, and I think few Members will forget it. I was passing through the corridor, and I heard a gentleman —not a Member of this House—remark to an English Member, "What an indictment against the Government!" I am not the first to make the charge; but I do make it that Lord Ashbourne's Act is manipulated in the interest of a few landlords. My hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork advised the tenants on Lord Monck's estate not to buy their holdings under Lord Ashbourne's Act at 17 years' purchase, and for that he was given three months' imprisonment. This was not the charge, but this was his actual offence. I say the Ashbourne Act is worked to enable landlords to grab the public money. Under this sub-head H—expenses for the defence of public officials—there are no more scandalous items even in the records of Dublin Castle, showing the worst in connection with the passage of the Act of Union. What do these items mean? They mean that Resident Magistrates are given a free hand to carry out their system of persecution of the Irish people, and you stand by with the public funds to defend them, and to indemnify them against the efforts of the people when those who suffer grievous wrong try to vindicate their just rights. I do not speak in any sense of irritation; I simply state the plain facts; and to anyone with any sense of truth and public virtue the statement carries one of the heaviest indictments made against any Government.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I am anxious to bring before the Committee a matter to which I had occasion to refer in the House a short time ago, but before doing so I will say a few words on the relations between the Attorney General and the Resident Magistrates. I believe that much of the injustice that is perpetrated in Ireland is due far more to the authority directing the prosecutions than to the Resident Magistrates themselves. They are in many cases, if not as a rule, ignorant of the law, while the Crown Solicitors before them are well informed on legal matters and often men of considerable ability. I believe I am right in saying that the consent of the Attorney General is required for all prosecutions. But it is obviously impossible for the Attorney General to go fully into the details of all the cases. Whether it is determined by inferior officials in Dublin or by local authorities what prosecutions shall proceed I know not; but I feel confident that it is upon the inferior authority that many prosecutions are ordered that never ought to take place. When the cases are before the Resident Magistrates, I think only those who have seen the proceedings can understand how completely the Magistrates are overshadowed by the Crown Prosecutor. The Resident Magistrates are ignorant of law, they are inferior in ability and position often to the Crown Prosecutor, who appears with all the prestige of the prosecution having been determined upon by the Attorney General, and the Resident Magistrates have not the courage to withstand the influence of the Crown Prosecutor. I have seen these things going on, and have almost pitied the Resident Magistrates for the subordinate position in which they are placed. Injustice is often done by the arbitrary and capricious selection of persons for prosecution. The prosecutions arising out of public meetings are not directed against those who take the most prominent part in them, but rather against persons present who have made themselves obnoxious to landlords by acting as leaders among their tenants. In the same way, in prosecutions for boycotting, tradesmen are selected with reference to some disputes going on between landlords and tenants. The same individual is often prosecuted several times with the effect of ruining and, apparently, with the object of doing so. Last year I called attention to the persistent persecution in this way of Mr. John Roche, a respectable tradesman of Woodford, who has since told his story before the Special Commission in such a way as to establish his respectability, and to show that he was prosecuted simply because he was obnoxious to the great landlord of the district. I got no satisfactory answer last year, but I have

the satisfaction of knowing that the persecution of Mr. Roche has ceased, though he continues to do exactly as he did before. This leads me to the case with which I now have to deal. It was raised in questions addressed to the Chief Secretary not very long ago, and the answers of the right hon. Gentleman were so unsatisfactory that I then intimated my intention of referring to the subject on the Estimates. Since then I have endeavoured to fully inform myself as to the facts, and I have obtained the depositions in respect to the charges on which this gentleman to whom I am about to allude was connected. Mr. Fitzgibbon is one of the leading tradesmen of Castlerea, one of the most respectable and respected men in the town. A landlord of the district with whom I have some acquaintance has informed me that Mr. Fitzgibbon bears the highest character for probity, that nothing can be said against him in his private capacity, though he added he was a "dangerous politician." Mr. Fitzgibbon, three or four years ago, sympathising with the tenants of the neighbourhood, became a prominent member of the National League, and assisted the tenants in their combination against the landlord. No doubt Mr. Fitzgibbon had a great deal to do with these combinations. No one, however, is more anxious than he is to induce landlord and tenant to come to reasonable terms, and, mainly through his endeavours, agreements have been arrived at and settlements come to. For months past there have been no disputes, and the district has settled down. In one case a landlord asked Mr. Fitzgibbon to name the terms of settlement, and I mention this as indicating the opinion in which Mr. Fitzgibbon is held. In consequence, he has been specially marked by the authorities for prosecution. Three times he has been sent to prison with hard labour, and the first was in April of last year, when he was prosecuted for making a speech in which he was said to have incited persons not to supply the police. He was convicted on the evidence of policemen who had not made a report of his speech at the time, and who spoke of his speech from memory two months afterwards. Upon the evidence of those two policemen, given upon their memory of what had taken place two months previously, Mr. Fitzgibbon was sentenced to a month's hard labour; and, although he asked that the sentence should be increased to six months, in order to allow of appeal, the Resident Magistrates refused the application. On coming out of prison Mr. Fitzgibbon was immediately prosecuted for an offence which had occurred before the first prosecution—namely, for inciting the tenants of the district to combine against the payment of rent. The case lasted 18 days, and eventually a case was stated for the Superior Courts. His conviction, however, was sustained, and he was sent to prison on a sentence of four months' hard labour. Will the House believe that the Crown had the incredible meanness to charge Mr. Fitzgibbon with the costs of this case before the Superior Court, amounting in all to £130? Well, no sooner had Mr. Fitzgibbon come out of prison a second time than he was once more prosecuted, this time for an offence which had occurred 11 months previously. The offence was that of inciting to boycott. There was a farm from which some person had been unjustly evicted, and there was a meeting of the Land League, at which it was determined that this farm should be boycotted. A Mr. Wynn was present at that meeting, and made a complaint of the tenant then in possession. Some time afterwards the then tenant gave the farm up, and Mr. Wynn, a member of the Land League, took the farm behind the backs of his friends. Mr. Wynn was questioned about this transaction, and he denied the fact, although it afterwards turned out to be true. The police took Mr. Wynn to Fitzgibbon's, and, being refused supplies by the latter, they prosecuted him in respect of the previous meeting of the Land League. It seems to me that to rake up an occurrence of that kind, which took place seven months before the second prosecution, was monstrous, and would not be tolerated in England, or in any country where trial by jury is in force. When Mr. Fitzgibbon came out of prison at last he was followed constantly by the police. While in prison Mr. Fitzgibbon's business was managed by his brother-in-law, who came from a distance. This gentleman happened to be present at a Land League meeting, and was pounced upon by the police. He was called upon to give bail for good

behaviour, and, in default, he was sent to prison. Looking at this case as a whole I think there was a determination shown on the part of the authorities to ruin, persecute, and destroy this man. It was not a case of prosecution, but of persecution. I could give other illustrations of what has taken place, but I will not weary the House. I venture to think that what I have brought forward is worthy of the attention and serious consideration of the House as examples of what is taking place at the present moment under the administration of the Coercion Act.

*THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has called attention to the case of Mr. Fitzgibbon, which he has introduced for the purpose of showing that that person was persistently prosecuted with a view to his ruin. He has also stated that similar things are taking place in other parts of Ireland of a kind that could not possibly take place in England. The best answer I can give to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman is to call attention to the successive acts of the man whose case he has cited as a typical one, and to ask the Committee to draw their own conclusions as to whether the proceedings which were instituted against this man were prompted by a desire to ruin and destroy him, or whether it was not really the case of a man who, from whatever motives, had entered upon a course of open, persistent defiance of the law which would not be tolerated in England or in any other civilised country. If hon. Gentlemen argue on the assumption that boycotting and the Plan of Campaign are not crimes but eccentricities, then the prosecutions of this man upon the part of the Government might appear capricious; but if, as the highest Courts in Ireland have laid down, boycotting conspiracies are criminal conspiracies, and the Plan of Campaign is a conspiracy punishable by the common law of the land as being dangerous to the community, then I ask what course could the Executive take other than that of asserting the law, even though the motives actuating the individual might be as excellent as those suggested by the right hon. Gentleman in this case. The first case against Mr. Fitzgibbon was on the 1st of May, 1888, when he was summoned to answer a charge of having incited by a speech in Roscommon to boycott the police. The police were in consequence boycotted, and refused all supplies of provisions, and for that little eccentricity on the part of Mr. Fitzgibbon he was convicted and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. In the district in which Mr. Fitzgibbon himself resided boycotting and intimidation of the grossest character continued to exist. The next prosecution against Mr. Fitzgibbon was for inciting the tenants not to pay their rent. That prosecution followed from an inquiry under the first section of the Crimes Act, which had the happy result of eliciting evidence which had led to the practical suppression of boycotting and intimidation in the neighbourhood. The case was, however, adjourned from time to time in consequence of the difficulty in getting witnesses who had given evidence at the preliminary inquiry to repeat their evidence in open Court. Finally, on August 14, 1888, the Court sentenced Mr. Fitzgibbon to four months' imprisonment. The Magistrates stated a case, which was argued before the Court of Exchequer on November 23, 1888; but it was a remarkable fact that there was no appeal upon the merits. The defendant elected to appeal on a bad point of law.

MR. T. M. HEALY: He could not have appealed on the merits also.

*MR. MADDEN: Yes; but if he had a case on the merits, would he have taken an appeal on a bad law point? He took a bad law point and the appeal was decided against him.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Chief Baron himself said it was a very "narrow shave."

*MR. MADDEN: I must say that I consider a point of law upon which an appellant risks his liberty for four months and which is decided against him a bad law point, and if he felt that he had a good case on the merits he should have appealed to the County Court Judge. Not only did the Exchequer Court decide against Mr. Fitzgibbon, but the Lord Chief Baron went out of his way to compliment the Resident Magistrates upon the remarkable accuracy of their decisions upon all the points which arose in the course of a most complicated case. The third case against

Mr. Fitzgibbon was for having taken part in a conspiracy to compel one Wynne to give up a farm which was on an estate where the Plan of Campaign had been established. The offence, it will be observed, was committed under circumstances of aggravation, the Plan of Campaign having been established on the estate. Wynne was summoned on June 17, 1888, to appear before the League, and Mr. Fitzgibbon called upon him to give up the farm, saying that it would be made "hot" for him if he did not do so. Wynne refused to part with the farm, and it was made "hot" for him. He was rigorously boycotted and refused provisions in Castlereagh. When Mrs. Wynne endeavoured to obtain goods at Mr. Fitzgibbon's shop he refused to supply her, and forced a policeman who accompanied her out of the house. He then took Mrs. Wynne by the shoulder and put her out of the shop also. [*Opposition cheers from below the Gangway.*] Hon. Members cheer. Would they cheer such conduct if it had been manifested in any other circumstances?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Was not Wynne a member of the Land League himself, and had he not joined in supporting every resolution passed by the League?

*MR. MADDEN: I must say that I fail to see the relevancy of the right hon. Gentleman's interruption, unless, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman holds a doctrine which I cannot accept, namely—that to turn the wife of a member of the National League out of a shop is defensible conduct. Now, this is a remarkable case, and has been selected by the right hon. Gentleman as a test case. There was an appeal which was heard by the County Court Judge, one whom the right hon. Gentleman, in a book just published by him, has truly described as an able and experienced Judge. Well, the conviction was affirmed on appeal. He has been made a first class misdemeanant, and his sentence was diminished by two months; but, at the same time, he did receive a substantial sentence. As I have just said, this is the case which the right hon. Gentleman has chosen to bring forward as an indictment against the administration of the criminal law in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman has devoted a great portion of his time to this matter, and has carefully picked out one particular instance, and it is for the Committee to say how far he has succeeded in making out his proposition. I shall not take up the time of the Committee by discussing cases mentioned by the hon. Member for Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill), in which he admits that crimes were committed, but attributes the prosecution of those crimes to petty spite on the part of the Government.

MR. MACNEILL: Intervening transactions arose which made it convenient for the Government to gratify its petty personal spite. My charge is that offences by individuals under the Crimes Act, having been left unnoticed for three or four months, when other circumstances arose which rendered it convenient to prosecute those individuals the Government meanly took advantage of the old offences upon which to base their prosecution.

*MR. MADDEN: That is what I said. I decline to take up the time of the Committee with discussing the imputation of motives of a prosecution when it is admitted that a crime has been committed. The hon. and learned Member referred to the case of the hon. Member for North Monaghan, who, he said, was proceeded against for interfering with applications under the Ashbourne Act.

MR. MAC NEILL: I said the hon. Member was arrested under a warrant in reference to that very charge, but the Government would not proceed with it, as they had got a double-barrelled charge.

*MR. MADDEN: The hon. and learned Gentleman said the Government were using the Crimes Act to facilitate purchases under the Ashbourne Act. Now, the fact is that this portion of the charge was withdrawn by the prosecution, and the hon. Member was charged and sentenced for taking part in the Plan of Campaign. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman has referred to the case of Captain Guinness's bailiff. Now, in that case there was nothing of a political, sectarian, or agrarian nature. It only came to this. The able and experienced Judge no doubt charged for a conviction for murder. There was not an acquittal, but a conviction on the minor charge of manslaughter. Surely the hon. and learned Gentleman with

his experience cannot say that there is anything extraordinary in that. No doubt the skilful defence of the prisoner's counsel induced the jury to bring in the verdict for the lesser crime. Then there is the case of the man Irwin, who was shot. There is absolutely no evidence of murder beyond the fact that the man met his death in Bestley's house. There again there was nothing of a sectarian or political or agrarian character in the case, and not only the Bench of Magistrates on which Mr. Olphert sat, but the Grand Jury were unable to find a true Bill. The Attorney General called for a special Report of the case, for the Crown Solicitor was unable to find any evidence which would justify him in sending the case again before a Grand Jury.

MR. MAC NEILL: What about Sergeant Macneill?

*MR. MADDEN: I regret to say I am unable to deal with that case without notice. I cannot carry all the details of these cases in my head. If I had had notice I would willingly have made every inquiry into the case. I now ask what foundation is laid by the cases brought under the notice of the Committee for a grave impeachment of the administration of the law in Ireland? And if these cases are not a foundation for such an impeachment, why has the time of the Committee been taken up in discussing them?

MR. T. M. HEALY: The hon. and learned Gentleman who has just spoken is always courteous and endeavours to state his case fairly; but I desire to put to him one or two questions in regard to matters which have been referred to in the course of the Debate. I will take, first, the case of John Fitzgibbon, in reference to the facts of which I do know something. John Fitzgibbon was prosecuted for the crime of "inciting to conspiracy," and this was a phrase which was not known to the law until the Coercion Act was passed. He was given no opportunity for appeal. He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and I subsequently asked the hon. and learned Gentleman to inform the House what terrible thing it was he said, but the Solicitor General very cautiously, and no doubt wisely, declined to give that information. The charge of inciting to conspiracy arose in connection with the proceedings on Lord De-Freyne's estate. That was not the only charge brought against John Fitzgibbon. The second was that he had taken part in a criminal conspiracy, and for that he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. It has been suggested that he acted unwisely in appealing against this sentence on two bad points of law. But what were these points of law? It was admitted that the prosecution in this case was preceded by a Star Chamber inquiry, and the Act provided that in all these cases the person accused of crime respecting which the inquiry had been held under that section should be supplied with copies of the depositions taken. But John Fitzgibbon was denied these depositions, and this refusal formed one of the legal points which was raised in the Court of Appeal. The question was whether or not he was entitled to the depositions, and his appeal was defeated on the ground that the Petty Sessions Act was incorporated with the Coercion Act; that the word "trial" was used, and that the proceedings in Petty Sessions were only a hearing, and, that, therefore, this special provision did not apply in this case. Surely it was the intention of Parliament when this Act was passed that if there was a Star Chamber inquiry the accused should be entitled to the depositions which were taken. That was, undoubtedly, the plain intention of Parliament; but the Court decided against the appellant on a purely technical point, and he not only had to undergo his term of imprisonment, but he was fined £131 in addition, in the shape of the costs incurred in the appeal. I think it is a monstrous thing that the Government, instead of being satisfied with the terms of imprisonment to which Mr. Fitzgibbon was sentenced, should also press for the payment of the costs in connection with the appeals. Now what was the second point of law? It was that in order to prove the case against the defendant it was necessary to produce a copy of *United Ireland* published in the year 1886, which contained the promulgation of the Plan of Campaign. Under Section 10 Sub-section 4 it was necessary that the prosecution should take place within six months of the conspiracy, and as this prosecution occurred in 1888, whereas the Plan of Campaign was promulgated in *United Ireland* in 1886, and as it was necessary, in order to prove the cases against the defendant, that the promulgation in 1886

should be proved, it was argued that the case did not come within the section. I think that that was a very good point, and that a barrister who failed to raise it on an appeal would not in the future get a brief which was worth a glass of whisky. Well, the result of the appeal was that we settled the law for the right hon. Gentleman, and for doing that we are fined £131 in the shape of costs; and we have also since learned that the case was decided against us by "the very narrowest shave." I admit that in appealing on points of law we imperilled the liberty of the defendant; but I think it is better to appeal on two difficult law points than on other grounds which we know from past experience to be hopeless. Now remember that this conspiracy was in connection with the proceedings on Lord De-Freyne's estate, and it is a remarkable thing that, Fitzgibbon having acted as paymaster under the Plan of Campaign, the receipts given by him to the tenants were afterwards accepted by Lord De-Freyne's agent as cash. Now what was the third case brought against Mr. Fitzgibbon? He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for refusing to supply a woman named Wynn with what were stated to be the necessaries of life. But what were the facts? The woman's husband was formerly a prominent member of the Land League, but he left that organization and went over to the police. He took an evicted farm, and it seems that he had some difficulty in purchasing goods from his neighbours. The hon. and learned Gentleman has said a good deal about the woman having been deprived of the necessaries of life, but what were the facts? This woman, accompanied by a policeman, went into Fitzgibbon's drapery shop, and asked for—what? She asked for an ostrich feather! The landgrabbers evidently want their wives to be dressed in ostrich feathers; they swear that these are "necessaries of life," and they get policeman to prove the allegation. Now, John Fitzgibbon, seeing that this was an attempt to "bulldose" him, put the policemen out of the shop by the shoulders, and also put the woman outside. The Government thereupon prosecuted him and got him sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and not only was this man imprisoned over and over again because he took the side of his fellow-countrymen, but that did not satisfy the Government. They thought to secure his ruin. He had a good business in the town of Castlereagh; and by sending him to gaol his business was, of course, abandoned to the mercy of his clerks, and while he was so imprisoned the Government took another step and arrested and imprisoned his manager. English Members, who know nothing about these cases, cheer the right hon. Gentleman when he attacks the Irish Representatives, and I must say they ought to be ashamed of themselves for doing so. I invite the smiling Member for Dover to write a few letters on the basis of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. He can describe "St. George" wrestling with the "Dragon" of the Land League, and he can go into the subject of "ostrich feathers," considered as "necessaries of life." What was done when the case came on for appeal? The counsel for the prosecution made a terrible speech about boycotting. He suggested that the defendant was a terror to the neighbourhood, and consequently the County Court Judge, in the interests of what is called law and order, gave a decision confirming the conviction, but reducing the sentence to two months' imprisonment without hard labour. I am not going to quarrel with the learned County Court Judge. I believe he was the first County Court Judge in Ireland who directed that Coercion Act prisoners should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. These cases are not infrequent. They are like snow-flakes—one overlaps the other, and the dirtiest is always seen at the top. The hon. Member for the Holderness Division of York approves of the action of the Government in this matter. I should like to know what the working men in his constituency would say if he went down to them and endeavoured to justify the imprisonment of a man for refusing to sell ostrich feathers, which were asked for on the ground that they were necessaries of life. What would be done even in an English village if a man left the Primrose League? Would the Primrose dames patronise his shop? And now I come to another case, and that is that of Miss Cusack, who was deprived of her licence by two resident

bravos about two years ago, because she refused to serve some emergency men with porter. Well, we took her case on a technical point to the Queen's Bench, and we got her back the license, but will it be believed that in this case it was sworn that porter was a "necessary of life"? I should have thought that the hon. Member for South Tyrone, instead of condemning, would have approved of the conduct of Miss Cusack in refusing to supply porter to these men, and would have commended her self-denial and her efforts in the cause of temperance. They got her license put back. She applied for it next year, but they went at her again, and she was deprived of her licence by Magistrates of the type of poor old Colonel Carew, who I do not think has intellect enough to know how to sweep a street crossing clean. Instead of appealing from Philip drunk to Philip drunker, namely, the Court of Quarter Sessions, we took the case to the Queen's Bench, and again we got Miss Cusack back her license. This went on for three years. Her brother was arrested and sent to gaol, as also were a number of other people from the village in which she resides. Colonel Carew, having been instructed by two solemn decisions of the Court of Queen's Bench as to how to deprive a publican of his license, shot at Miss Cusack once more, and again deprived her of her license. Miss Cusack and her friends, however, took heart and determined upon starting a club. They opened a club in the village, and Miss Cusack's brother was made manager, whilst she herself had a position in it. I read in the newspaper to-day—and I am sure it will gratify the Chancellor of the Exchequer to see how the revenue can be enhanced—only members are admitted to the club, and they can, of course, go in every time they want a pint of porter. Emergency men cannot go in, and because of that I see that Mr. Cusack is being prosecuted for, probably, the 27th time, this time by Mr. George Bolton. Fancy Mr. George Bolton prosecuting anybody—the saintly George Bolton, whom an English Judge said ought to have been struck off the Rolls for fraud and infamy of every kind. The man is creeping with infamy, but he is good enough at all times to prosecute for the Crown. Miss Cusack this time was prosecuted for selling drink on unlicensed premises; but as it was shown that the club was regularly established, the Magistrates—and Colonel Carew was amongst them—what a bitter morsel it must have been for him—were obliged to dismiss the charge on the ground that the club was a legal institution, because drink was only sold to members, and all the necessary precautions had been taken to avoid a breach of the law. An application was made to the Magistrates to state a case, and, though such applications are almost invariably refused in the case of poor unfortunate prisoners, as a salve to Mr. George Bolton, Colonel Carew stated a case to the Court of Queen's Bench. Look at the cost of this proceeding to Miss Cusack. Supposing she succeeds, I venture to say these proceedings will cost her £30 or £40. Bye the way, I forgot to mention that last May Miss Cusack was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for refusing to sell a box of matches to an emergency man, and she is still under that sentence. And you tell us, forsooth! that cases of this kind are not cases of persecution. I ask, "What else are they?" And you talk of the sordidness of the publicans of Ireland! When we find people—even women—willing to go to gaol and to lose their licences, which means the loss of their livings in cases of this kind, I say that we, on our part, will never allow it to be said that the Irish publicans are sordid and money-grubbing, and animated only by one consideration, that of battening on the ruin of other people without standing up for them and defending them. There are a great many more cases. Like the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, they are endless. But so far as the cases before the Magistrates are concerned, I did not intend to recite them. What I intended when I rose to-night to go into was the question of the specific promise of the Chief Secretary that we should have an appeal in all these cases. The right hon. Gentleman is very sick, no doubt, of hearing of this promise of his of 17th May, 1887. He has told us that he has dealt with this matter over and over again. Well, I have been a diligent student of the statements of the right hon. Gentleman in this House, and out of it. I consider that his speeches always repay perusal; but I have never been able to

find that he has "dealt" with his refusal to carry out his pledge. If I were a person drawing £4,000 a year, and very ticklish on the point of honour, and always standing up for morality and law and order, and laying down the necessity for conscientious dealings as between man and man, I think I should try to get out of this statement in *Hansard*. He has never answered it. In the words of the celebrated miner spoken of by Bret Harte, in the *Luck of Roaring Camp*, when the miner gave the baby his thumb, "he wrastled with it, the little cuss." Here is his statement—and so long as he is in office, and so long as there is no Bill passed, I shall repeat it over and over again, like the beads of a rosary—and I would suggest to the hon. Member for Dover that he should write his next letter about it:—

"The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the law of conspiracy is an obscure law. It is said that it is a difficult law, which is capable of dangerous extension, and that we are leaving its administration to men who are not learned in the law—namely, the Resident Magistrates. But the right hon. Gentleman forgot to say that the Resident Magistrates' decision is not final.

"Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): He may give two months' imprisonment.

"Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not complain of the interruption. The hon. and learned Member is quite correct in saying that under the Bill, as we have drafted it, we may have followed too closely,"

"Too closely" are the words in *Hansard*, but this is a corrected speech, and I believe the word used was "servilely" or "slavishly,"

the Act of 1882, and that by the existing law of Ireland there is no appeal if the imprisonment is for less than a month. But we propose to give an appeal in every case.

"Mr. T. M. HEALY: With no accumulative sentences?

"Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: There will be an appeal in every case to a County Court Judge, and if, on legal technicalities, the County Court Judge is objected to, the Government will be prepared to consider a plan for giving an appeal in cases in which a legal difficulty may be involved to a still higher tribunal."

This statement remains on record. It has never been explained. He says he has "dealt" with it, but will he deal with it in a manner that our intellects can grasp? He has promised us an appeal, but no appeal has been granted, and no attempt made to carry out the pledge which was given, and I say unfulfilled is shamed by its non-fulfilment. But this law has obtained a new extension; the Government are now proceeding almost entirely under the Statute of Edward III., and are giving six months' imprisonment under it. Under that Statute there is no appeal of any kind. But not only that; they proceed under the Statute of Edward III. and the Crimes Act at the same that a Minister whose pledge stands time, thereby ousting the jurisdiction of the local magistrates. Take the case of Mr. Stack. On the 12th February, at Tralee, he was charged with conduct calculated to lead to a breach of the peace by cheering Mr. W. O'Brien when he was being conveyed as a prisoner to the station. Now, observe—this is the deposition of Cecil Roche; and who is it made before? Cecil Roche is a Resident Magistrate, and the deposition was made before another Resident Magistrate, Captain Welsh. Was it made in a Court of Justice? No; it was made in Tralee Police Barracks. They dragged Mr. Stack into the nearest police barracks; they got one puppet to try the case and another puppet to give evidence. Having ousted the ordinary Petty Sessions jurisdiction they tried him summarily before this Resident Magistrate. At the ordinary Petty Sessions Mr. Latchford would have sat on the Bench, to whom Mr. Cecil Roche had given a sentence of a month's imprisonment, which was quashed, and also Mr. H. St. John Donovan, a Catholic Magistrate and a Nationalist. For this reason Mr. Stack was brought before a puppet of the Government and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In his depositions Mr. Cecil Roche said that he was aware that the town was proclaimed. That was an illegal way of giving evidence with regard to a printed document; such evidence would not have been given by the Attorney General at

the Commission. The deposition then continued—

"I arrived from Tralee Petty Sessions and proceeded with a body of police"—

fancy Sir J. Hannen proceeding down Fleet Street with a body of police—

"and military in command of Colonel Turner)"

Colonel Turner being the genius who selects Mr. Cecil Roche for the trials. Mr. Roche proceeded to say that there was a large and disorderly crowd cheering and booing on the street. God help the people who are batoned! When the police make a baton charge you can hear the batons go through the skull just as a spoon goes through an egg shell. A man, not knowing what is going on, may come round the corner of a street and be met by a policeman, who will strike him with his baton, and down he goes. Then Mr. Roche went on to say—

"They booed for Balfour and myself. I saw Stack standing at the door of the house among a group of persons. When the car conveying Mr. O'Brien passed I saw the defendant take off his hat and waive it over his head. At that moment there was mingled cheering and booing from the people in the street. From my knowledge of the town of Tralee, as Resident Magistrate, I think such conduct is extremely likely to lead to a breach of the peace."

I hoped the hon. and gallant Commander opposite (Colonel Saunderson) is satisfied with the deposition of his friend the Resident Magistrate. For that Mr. Stack was bound over to be of good behaviour or to go to gaol for six months. Mr. Stack gave bail, but how does that affect the question? He has no appeal. Is it not a monstrous thing, as the Lord Chief Baron said, that a man has to humiliate himself by giving bail in a matter of this kind? You must write yourself down a coward or go to gaol, without appeal, for the space of six months. And that is the law of Ireland. I say that such a state of things is shocking and appalling. If this went on in any other country in the world except Ireland numberless indignation meetings would be convened. Look at the row you are creating at this moment over a wretched adulteress, because she is one of yourselves—a respectable person so-called. But everybody who is brought up in the Divorce Court now is a respectable person. The whole English nation is throbbing and thrilling to know what will happen in this case of Mrs. Maybrick, but many are the men who have been hanged in Ireland upon evidence upon which you would not hang a dog in this country. Ireland might be sweltering in blood, and you would have no indignation meetings. You are easily excited by events in Bulgaria and Armenia, but you regard Ireland as a British possession. Ireland is only four hours from your shores, and, therefore, you do not feel called upon to show her any consideration. When your own Minister promises an appeal in all cases under a certain Act, and breaks his word, he is regarded as the greatest statesman of the age. I brought in a Bill giving appeal, but it was objected to by followers of the right hon. Gentleman. I should have thought the Government would have looked upon me as a saviour. I took the trouble to draft the Bill. The Government had a measure ready to their hands if they had liked to pass it. But the Government cling to the system whereby the Catholic and the Nationalist is tried by a packed jury of his enemies, and whereby the Protestant and the Orangeman is tried by a jury of his friends. When the clause permitting the empanelling of a special jury was before the House in 1877, and we got up to expose the nature of it, the only answer we got from the Treasury Bench was: "I beg to move that the question be now put." The qualification for a special juror is so restricted that, in a county where there are only 10,000 voters, there will only be about 200 jurors. You may take it that the special jury class is the Orange class, the agent class, the Magistrate class. I assert this proposition—that I firmly believe that if a Nationalist Member of Parliament were shot in cold blood in the streets of Dublin nobody would be punished for the offence. If I were shot in my constituency by an Orangeman there would be no more chance of the man being brought to justice than there is of grasping at the stars. With

the single exception of Dr. Cross, who by the most overwhelming evidence was hanged for poisoning his wife, there has been no Protestant hanged for murder in Ireland for years upon years; and I say, furthermore—for plenty of murders have been committed by Protestants—that, when Protestants are convicted, they escape without adequate punishment. There was a blackguard called Lloyd, a landlord in Tipperary, who, with his bailiff, got drunk in the town of Templemore. A man spoke to him and advised him to go home. Lloyd pulled out his pistol and fired "at large," as the Americans say, and the unfortunate man was killed, while another man was wounded almost mortally. Lloyd was returned for trial, but the Crown Solicitor, Mr. George Bolton, was with Mr. Soames in Lincoln's Inn, and the Sheriff did not return the Special Jury panel. So the whole county was inconvenienced, and a Special Assize was held, when Mr. George Bolton returned from the O'Donnell trial. Lloyd was proved to have murdered the man in cold blood; but every Catholic was challenged off the jury. A verdict of manslaughter was brought in, and the Judge gave him 10 years' penal servitude. Was the murder of Inspector Martin worse than this? Inspector Martin, at any rate, met his death in a tumult that he himself did much to provoke by seizing a priest as he was returning from the celebration of the most sacred rite of the Church, and brandishing a sword over the priest's head; at least, Inspector Martin was killed in hot blood. Then there was the case of the Walkers in Belfast, who killed a policeman and a soldier, and wounded almost mortally another policeman. They were tried by a Judge and jury, and the Judge said that the jury must convict or violate their oaths. They did violate their oaths. One man was acquitted, the other was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude. Was the murder of Inspector Martin worse than that? Take another case, that of John Kinsella, killed by a gang of emergency men, who had no more title to come upon his land than a stranger has to walk into this House. A verdict of wilful murder was returned; but the Grand Jury ignored the Bill. The venue was changed, and a Special Jury, off which every Catholic was challenged, unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and the blood of John Kinsella at this hour cries to heaven for vengeance. Was the body and soul of Inspector Martin more precious in the sight of man than the body and soul of John Kinsella? Then there was the case of the man Frackleton, a gamekeeper to one of the Guinnesses, and who, drinking at a counter and being spoken to by a man, drew his revolver, and, without justification or quarrel of any kind, shot the man through the head. Not content with that, this man fired at the woman behind the counter, wounding her so that she has not yet left her bed; and yet a third shot Frackleton fired and wounded another woman who entered. Did you change the venue for Frackleton's trial? No, you had a jury of stalwarts in Dublin, who, on the plainest evidence of murder, brought in a verdict of manslaughter. The learned Judge was appalled at the verdict which the jury returned. The Chief Secretary was asked at the time to give some compensation to the widow of the murdered man, as was done in the case of a man murdered in Monaghan by some Orangemen as they were returning from some of their religious exercises, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian made the widow of Philip Maguire a compassionable allowance of £100; but in this case, when application was made on behalf of the unfortunate widow of Kennedy, there was a refusal. She and her children may go to the poor house for aught the right hon. Gentleman opposite cares, and the two poor women lie on their beds of pain in a Dublin hospital, and nobody cares. No, it is not like the case of Mrs. Maybrick. That does not exhaust my list. Take the case of Mrs. Lucas, the wife of a Magistrate in County Cork, whose husband was under police protection because he was boycotted. Mrs. Lucas was caught in her chemise at 2 o'clock in the morning by a policeman on duty with a can of petroleum in her hand, pouring the petroleum over the window-curtains and about to apply a match to them. The husband was drunk and might have been smothered, and the children might have been burned to

death. Mrs. Lucas was found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. But she did not serve her time; she was put somewhere where there were sympathetic doctors; her health became bad, and the Lord Lieutenant, returning from some English race meeting, signed the warrant for her release. There was a case tried a year ago at Kerry Assizes of an emergency man who killed his paramour. He was brought before the same Judge who let off Mrs. Lucas, and because he was an emergency man the police allowed it to be stated that the man's paramour was his sister, of whom he was very fond. Having been found guilty of manslaughter, the man was released on his own recognizances. The men convicted under the Home Rule Government for the Belfast riots were sentenced to five years' penal servitude; but directly the Tory Government came in they were released. Then there was the case of the Belfast frauds, which was tried by the same learned Judge who tried Mrs. Lucas and the men charged with the murder of Kinsella. In the murder of Kinsella the chief evidence for the Crown was that of a cousin of the deceased, who proved the shooting, and the Judge having ascertained that this man was a farmer actually said to him, "Don't you think you would be better minding your farm?"

THE CHAIRMAN: The remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman have been for some time far removed from the Vote under consideration. The hon. Member is now discussing the conduct of a Judge. That should be done in quite another fashion.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will pass from the conduct of the Judge, Sir, and go to the action of the Crown in regard to the Belfast frauds. The Crown called upon the New York Assurance Company to make a Report as to who were the persons guilty of fraud. I challenge the Government to lay that Report on the Table. I have seen it, and I find that deepest in the fraud is Mr. Henderson, the Government's chief backer and prop in Belfast, the proprietor of the *Belfast News Letter*, and a Magistrate for the county. They were the meanest and most murderous frauds ever exposed in a Court of Justice. Confirmed drunkards, whose livers were found afterwards to have been in a most astonishing condition, were plied with liquor and then set to climb up ladders. The doctors who signed the certificates and the men engaged in the frauds ought all to have been sentenced to penal servitude for life; for theirs was a distinct conspiracy to murder. Who were the men chiefly involved? The chief man was Chestnut Smith, Secretary to the Chamberlain demonstration in Belfast. What was done with him? The Government accepted him as an informer, although they had ample evidence without that aid; and the action of the Crown in taking this man's evidence simply to get him off because he was on their side was as petty, as mean, and as contemptible as any action which a Crown counsel ever engaged in. Robert Dunlop, worth £80,000, and some others were convicted, and the Judge passed sentence of nine months' imprisonment, and in relation to one of them he stated a case. The curious thing about this was that the Lord Chief Justice said he could not find out what was the point of the case which had been stated, and the upshot was that the man got six months' imprisonment; and when in gaol those prisoners got back their own clothes and paraded up and down Derry Gaol in silk hats. There was also the case of Kirwin, who murdered his wife, but being a Freemason he was not hanged, and was set free by the present Government; there were also the cases of Matthews and Beatty, but I will not enter further into these cases; time will not allow of it. All I will say is this—while on the one hand the Coercion Act is used as a mesh to entrap every Catholic brought before the Court constituted under it and to convict him, right or wrong, on the other hand it guarantees absolute immunity to the Tory or the Orangeman who commits a crime. I assert again, if I should be murdered in Dublin to-morrow, supposing I were there, not a soul would

be brought to justice for the deed, though possibly the murderer might receive a Government appointment as prison warder or perhaps Resident Magistrate. You ask us to respect your law. I pointed out when the Crimes Act was passing in 1882 that there was a clause in the Act which would enable unnatural offenders to escape. Cornwall and Fernandez escaped, having been acquitted by their "pals" on the jury without a stain on their character. Ffrench, it is true, was convicted. The only answer I got to my objection was closure, and now we see the use to which this section is being put. The Crown changed the venue in the case of the Donegal peasants down to a man, and after those prisoners have been convicted and turned out of gaol to die, the right hon. Gentleman says that those were not Crimes Act cases at all. The venue in cases like that of Father M'Fadden is changed. You bring this Catholic priest to Queen's County, and you are going to try him by the descendants of those men who, in '98, stirred their punch with Father Murphy's finger. Why, you might as well expect a runaway slave to be fairly tried by a jury of southern planters. And this is the great Government which is upholding law and order. The people despise your law and hate your order. Your order is that of the highwayman; your law is the law of the strongest—"Your money or your life." No one could entertain any feeling but that of holy horror and loathing for your system of law; and the Irishman who does not hate and despise it is the unworthy son of a great country which has always loved liberty and which will yet maintain it when those who are now persecuting it are only remembered to be accursed.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Before the Vote is taken I should like to call attention to the position of the Donegal peasants, who have been brought some 120 miles to Maryborough to be tried for complicity in the murder of Sub-Inspector Martin, who are to be tried on the 16th or 17th of October next. Why was the venue changed in such a case? The Chief Secretary has said that these men were able to meet the change of venue, but it should be remembered that these people in Donegal were starving, and had no means of bringing their witnesses or their legal advisers to the Court to which the venue had been changed. With regard to the practice of the Crown Prosecutor selecting the Jury, about 350 years ago a prisoner had the right to challenge the names of 30 jurors, but that has been reduced to 20, so that the prisoner is now in a worse position than before; but the Crown still retains its right of unlimited challenge. In Wexford, in the year 1887, a number of poor peasants had been fired on by an Orange mob, and the victims were tried for taking part in a riot; at the trial which took place no fewer than 65 jurors were ordered on the part of the Crown to "stand aside." In Wicklow last March no fewer than 35 jurors were similarly ordered to stand aside. In these cases the Judge remonstrated; but they have no power to alter the law; and only a few weeks ago Mr. Justice Andrews and Mr. Justice O'Brien said they could not interfere with the right possessed by the Crown in this respect. When, however, we ask whether the Crown intends to continue the exercise of this right, we are told that the Attorney General will exercise his discretion; and yet in the same breath we are told that the law of England and Ireland is the same. I can only say that if these 10 men are tried by a jury selected by the Crown, men who have no feeling in common with the class to which the prisoners belong, they will not be tried, as in the theory of the law they ought to be, by their Peers. When the trial is removed to such a distance that the witnesses have to go 150 miles, and when the jury are selected in this way, I say that these men will not have a fair trial according to the law. I might go on citing cases. Not long ago there was a man called Hickey tried for murder in County Kerry, and when a number of jurors were ordered to stand aside, one of the special jury, to use his own expression, declared that the jury was packed. The Chief Secretary has denied that packing; but there was another case in which every Roman

Catholic who happened to be summoned on the jury was ordered to stand aside. Protestants and Catholics alike protest against the number of jurors ordered to stand aside. I ask whether the Government intend to carry on this system of selecting juries on the principle that men may be set aside until the Crown Prosecutor is assured of a jury that will convict the prisoner.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 103; Noes 61.—(Div. List, No. 338.)

8. £7,273, to complete the sum for the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.

9. £885, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.

10. £10,243, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I should like to have an assurance from the Government that in any re-arrangement and re-construction of the Registry of Deeds Office the existing clerks will not be damnified. The clerks feel grave apprehensions on the subject. I also wish to know whether the Report of the Departmental inquiry that has been held can be made public?

MR. JACKSON: In connection with any changes that may be effected in the office there will, of course, be every desire to preserve the rights of the existing servants. I will endeavour, as far as possible, to satisfy the hon. and learned Gentleman that justice will be done, and I will make inquiries as to the feasibility of publishing the Report.

Vote agreed to.

11. £1,297, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

CLASS II.

12. £50,000, Supplementary, the Mint, including Coinage.

13. £15,765, to complete the sum for the Fishery Board, Scotland.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to ask whether the Government will give the names of the gentlemen who will be appointed on the Royal Commission to consider the rights of salmon fishery in Scotland?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: The Commission has been constituted, and consists of the hon. Member for Elgin, the Solicitor General for Scotland, the hon. Member for Wigtownshire, and Mr. J. K. Murray, a gentleman well known in Scotland. The Commission will begin work as soon after the holidays as possible.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I must protest against the taking of an important Scotch Vote at this late hour, when it is impossible that it can be fully discussed.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS III.

14. £50,709, to complete the sum for Law Charges.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I hope the Government will postpone this Vote in order at once to go into the Scotch Votes, which I understood were now to come on.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I trust the hon. Gentleman will allow this Vote to be taken. It was postponed last evening in deference to the wishes of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. That objection has now been withdrawn, and I believe there is now practically no opposition.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I do not think it is fair to take the Vote now, but if the Government insist, I shall not feel myself entitled to stand in the way of the Scotch Votes being disposed of, especially as I know that several hon. Members desire to speak on them.

MR. SEXTON: What the right hon. Gentleman has described as a "withdrawal" is merely the resolve of hon. Members on this side, in view of the whole situation, to postpone their criticisms on the Vote till it next comes on for payment. We take it that this course will be more respectful to the Special Commission, to say nothing

about the convenience of the Attorney General.

Vote agreed to.

15. £44,029, to complete the sum for the Lord Advocate and Law Charges, Scotland.

16. £43,800, to complete the sum for the Courts of Law and Justice, Scotland.

17. £25,480, to complete the sum for the Register House, Edinburgh.

18. £6,120, to complete the sum for the Crofters Commission.

19. £150,125, to complete the sum for Police, Counties and Burghs, Scotland.

MR. HUNTER: Without wishing to prejudice the attitude the Scotch Members have resolved to adopt—namely, that of silence, and of allowing these Votes to be passed under protest—because it is perfectly absurd to suppose that they can be discussed on the 22nd of August at 1 o'clock in the morning—I hope I may be allowed to ask the reason of this Vote having increased £3,800 since last year.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The increase arises from certain items connected with the pay and clothing of the constables. No substantial change has been made in method or system.

Vote agreed to.

20. £65,424, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

21. £723,000, to complete the sum for Customs.

22. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,961, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Inland Revenue Department."

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I have a question to ask on this Vote; but not anticipating that we should reach this Vote to-night I did not bring my papers with me. My question is with regard to permanent servants of the Crown holding Directorships of Public Companies. As to the future, the Government have laid down a rule which is proper so far as it goes; but I wish they had adopted the rule of the Colonial Office, which is more stringent, and which has been recommended by the Commissioners. I wish to raise a question as regards officers of the Inland Revenue who, in contravention of the spirit of the existing rule, have accepted these posts. I believe that a rule preventing officers from accepting posts which require their attendance between 10 and 6 o'clock has for many years been in force in the Treasury Department. On previous occasions I have called attention to the case of Sir Alfred Slade, Receiver General of the Inland Revenue, who is a Director of several companies. I am told he is a Director of a Land Company and also of the Union Steamship Company — a Company carrying out very extensive operations. Surely this is an abuse of the position of Receiver General of the Inland Revenue. I understand also that he has been associated with South African Gold Companies — with one which, having been bolstered up by the use of his name for a few weeks, in the end went altogether to smash. This circumstance has caused some of the financial newspapers to use very harsh and unpleasant language concerning him. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £500, being part of the Receiver General's salary, in the hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be induced to make some statement which will bring this scandal to an end.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,461, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member was good enough to give me notice that he was going to raise this question, and I immediately communicated with Sir Alfred Slade, asking him as to the facts. I have to-day received a letter

from Sir Alfred Slade, who states that he is a Director of one small Land Company. That is the only company he is connected with, and his connection with it will very shortly cease. Probably, therefore, the Committee will feel that Sir A. Slade has done everything he could to carry out the regulation and to meet the hon. Gentleman's view.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: The hon. Member's explanation is quite satisfactory. I am aware that Sir A. Slade is no longer connected with the Union Steamship Company. In the circumstances, I will withdraw my Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

23. £258,800, War Office.

24. £56,700, Supplementary, Works, Buildings, and Repairs.

CLASS V.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £116,698 (including a Supplementary sum of £7,650), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1890, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I hope Her Majesty's Government will not press this Vote now. There are some most important questions to be raised on it, and I trust it will be postponed. If the Government take the Consular Vote I shall not object.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am afraid the remaining Votes must be taken at an inconvenient hour, whether to-day or to-morrow. However, I at once concur in the request of the hon. Member. We will go on with the Consular Vote.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

25. £86,094, to complete the sum for Consular Services.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I desire to say a few words on the subject of Nyassaland and Zanzibar. I wish, if I can, to elicit some information from the Under Secretary upon points which have already come under discussion. Her Majesty's Government have in the past given satisfactory assurances, and I want to ask if they can now repeat them. I trust the Government will be able to give an assurance that they are doing all they can to maintain the open navigation of the Zambesi up to the commercial settlement in the district known as Nyassaland. Can they give the House any information as to the state of affairs generally in Nyassaland, and can they assure the House that they are fully maintaining the attitude they have hitherto taken up in regard to possible Portuguese aggressions in that country? Something which looks very like annexation seems to be going on on the part of the Portuguese; and although Her Majesty's Government have declared that they cannot undertake anything in the nature of an expedition into the interior, I hope they will view with jealousy any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to assert territorial sovereignty. I must say I was disappointed at the answer made by the Under Secretary to-day to my inquiry in regard to the telegram published in this country two days ago giving information as to the proclamation issued in Lisbon, giving sanction to a Portuguese expedition to Pondo's Territory. It was spoken of as a mission, partly ecclesiastical, but steps I understand were to be taken for purposes of colonisation. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that no annexations will be sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government? With regard to Zanzibar, it would be very satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman could give the House some information as to what will be our future policy in regard to the large interests which we have in that country. I should also like to know whether any steps have been taken with a view to securing compensation to British subjects, who, through no fault of their own, have suffered very severely from recent occurrences upon the coast. I understand that the blockade is now to be considered as at an end. I should

also like to know what steps are to be taken by the German and English Governments with a view to the future regulation of the slave traffic and the future adjustment of affairs on the South-Eastern Coast of Africa. I also desire to know if there is any prospect of an early assembling of the Conference, which it was suggested Belgium should summon, to consider the question of the Slave Trade, particularly with regard to South-East Africa?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): With regard to the navigation of the Zambesi and the position of British subjects on Lake Nyassa, Her Majesty's Government adhere fully to the declarations that have been made on the subject. They are not unobservant of the course of events in that region, and they intend to watch and safeguard all the rights which British subjects have acquired in that region. I was unable to-day to answer the question put to me with regard to the erection of a Portuguese mission station as reported in some newspapers, but I fully admit that this is a matter which will require careful watching. With regard to Zanzibar, we have good reason for expecting some permanent improvement to follow on the great exertions made by England and Germany. Of course, I cannot announce what it is proposed to do, but I can say that good results are anticipated. I believe that the Conference will assemble at Brussels on the 15th of October. Probably, the arrangements we may make will be influenced by the results of that Conference.

MR. MOLLOY (King's County, Birr): I desire to know, Sir, whether all the Papers, complaints, and Memorials which have been received regarding the conduct of the Consular Court of Siam will be submitted to the new Minister who is going out to Siam, with a request that he will examine into the complaints of British residents there and get rid of one of the worst scandals in our Consular Service? I believe it is alleged that the conduct of the British Consul there has been such as to force British residents to go to the American and French Consulates in order to get necessary business transacted.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I should not like it to go forth that the Consul at Bangkok is an officer not deserving of public confidence. He is a gentleman of long standing, who has passed upwards of 20 years at that place. The new Minister to the Court of Siam is on his way out, and he will undoubtedly look into the complaints, and if the constitution of the Consular Court requires alteration he will have an immediate opportunity of reporting to the Secretary of State to that effect.

MR. MOLLOY: What I asked was—Will the Memorials and other Papers forwarded during the last two or three years be placed before the new Minister to Siam?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I have no doubt that all the matters in question will be gone into by him.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: There are a good many questions which ought to be raised on this Vote, but I admit it is quite impossible to discuss them at this hour of the night. Now, this Vote includes the salary for the Consul General at Borneo. I have seen an advertisement in the newspapers regarding the Central Borneo Company, and I shall be glad if the right hon. Gentleman can give us some information as to the terms on which that Company has been granted a Charter by the Government. Also, I should like to know if the Government are pursuing the policy of granting new Territorial Charters to new companies without first consulting Parliament? It seems to me an extraordinary and unconstitutional course to grant these new Charters giving territorial rights without first consulting Parliament. It may be suggested that a precedent for the granting of this Charter is to be found in the one given to the Hudson's Bay Company in the days of Charles II., but I venture to suggest that nothing of that kind

would be suffered in these days. Under the new Charters which are being granted on the African coast, great responsibilities are thrown upon this country. There is the West African Company, the East African Company, and the Niger Company——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I do not think this question is relevant to the Vote under discussion.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Very well, Sir; then I will content myself with simply asking—Has a Charter been granted to a new Central Borneo Company, and, if so, what is the nature of it, what are its terms, is the Charter completed, or is it only being negotiated, and by whom is it being negotiated?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The company alluded to is the same company as the North Borneo Company, which is a company of a good many years' standing, and the only change made in the time of the present Government has been that strict regulations have been framed for the management of its affairs, and requiring that an account shall be rendered to the Government of all transactions of a public nature. The colony of Labuan has been placed under the charge of this company, but its administrative affairs will still be revised by the Colonial Office.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: Will the right hon. Baronet assure the House that the Government will take steps to prevent the Portuguese Government from extending their sovereignty or suzerainty to the South or West of the Zambesi?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: That would be rather a strong declaration to make. The policy of the Government has been explained again and again, and it is that they will not recognise any nominal sovereignty where no duties of sovereignty or protectorate have been performed.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I wish to ask one more question, and that is, what is being done in the case of the Oil River Territory?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: An inquiry is being made into the affairs of the Oil River District by a competent official, and when his Report is sent in the Government will be able to state what is necessary to be done for the better administration of this region. I can assure the House that nothing will be done without full consideration of all the interests concerned.

Vote agreed to.

26. £12,630 (including a Supplementary sum of £6,000), to complete the sum for the Slave Trade Services.

27. £955, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).

28. £17,728, to complete the sum for the Colonies, Grants in Aid.

MR. W. McARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell): There are many questions of interest to colonial people which ought to be discussed in this House, but under the present system of dealing with Supply it is impossible to debate them. I now want to make an appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury, and that is to give the Committee an assurance that we shall next year have a chance of discussing in this House the affairs of the 270 odd millions of people who live outside the British Islands, but who are under our flag. We have not had an opportunity of doing so for the past three Sessions.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I think the appeal of the hon. Gentleman a reasonable one. It is our intention next Session to reverse the order of Votes, so that those which have been fully discussed shall be placed at the end, and those which have not had the same full discussion at the beginning.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I think that this would be a reasonable arrangement, and I trust it will be carried into effect, and thus give us a reasonable

chance of discussing this very important Vote.

Vote agreed to.

29. £48,257, to complete the sum for South Africa and St. Helena.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: At any other time this question would be treated as of enormous importance. It is, however, hopeless to expect the House to discuss it now, and I will, therefore, only ask one or two questions. I want to know whether any steps are being taken to prevent gross injustice to the natives of India in this part of Africa, for I believe a policy is being deliberately pursued of preventing these industrious, clever, and enterprising natives of India entering into competition with white traders. I believe that both in Swaziland and in the Transvaal the Asiatics are not now allowed to trade.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The Transvaal does not come under this Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Then there is another serious question. The expenses of the Government of Bechuanaland have this year run up from £48,000 to £70,000. Is that increase to be a permanent one, and is the burden to go on increasing year by year?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): Her Majesty's Government have made representations to the Government of the Transvaal in regard to any disabilities which natives of India may now suffer there. The increase of the charges in Bechuanaland has been caused by the necessity of increasing the police force; and I may inform the Committee that since that increase has taken place the general condition of Bechuanaland is much more satisfactory than it was before, and free-booting has practically ceased.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I do not think it right that the expense of increasing the police force should fall on the British taxpayer. This territory was taken over for the benefit of the Cape, and we derive no advantage from it.

Vote agreed to.

30. £21,300, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

31. £1,000, to complete the sum for Cyprus, Grant in Aid.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I wish to know whether the Government have yet seen their way to do something towards relieving the burdens upon the people of Cyprus? These people have not only suffered terribly from locusts and from bad harvests, but they are overweighted with taxation, and they are comparing their position under the present system of administration with that under Turkish rule, greatly to the disadvantage of the existing state of affairs. Indeed, many of them are leaving the island for the mainland, and I wish to ask whether the representations which have been recently made by Cypriotes have been considered, and, if so, what is the result?

*BARON H. DE WORMS: The representations made by the Cypriot deputation which has had several interviews with the Secretary of State, and one with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, have been carefully considered, and are still receiving the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government. I may point out with regard to the repeated allegation that taxation is heavier now in Cyprus than under Turkish rule, that that statement is not correct, but that it has its orgin in a misrepresentation arising from the fact that under Turkish rule the taxation was imposed but not levied, whereas under English rule the collection of taxes has necessarily been more rigidly carried out. Much has already been done to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of the Island, and in this direction the levying of the tithes in kind instead of in money has already been adopted in some districts, and it is contemplated to extend

this system. This suggested change finds much favour with the Cypriots, as it prevents their being exposed to the loss consequent upon a realisation of produce at times of great agricultural depression. The deputation invited the attention of Her Majesty's Government to a proposal for the establishment of an agricultural or land bank. This proposal was most carefully considered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, while fully recognising the importance of such an institution as a means of rescuing the inhabitants from the clutches of the usurers who now prey upon them, and also of facilitating advances on agricultural holdings at a fair and reasonable rate of interest, pointed out that it would be impossible for the Government to give a guarantee to any such institution, while they might be willing to allocate to it the whole or a portion of the locust tax. At the same time, he expressed a hope that such an institution might find favour with local or other capitalists who might be willing to promote its foundation, and thereby materially assist the agricultural population. I may point out, in answer to the general allegation that Cyprus is in a worse condition under English than under Turkish rule, that the following are among the advantages which have accrued to the Cypriots under our administration:—the gain to wine-growers by the abolition of tithes on grapes and of the *teskerch* system; the advantage to the general public by the abolition of tithes on many kinds of fruits and vegetables; the abolition of tithe farming; the changes in the military service system; the removal of export duties; the abolition of *roosoomat* duties; the removal of the liability to personal labour; and the improvement of the judicial system, which is fully recognised by the Cypriots themselves.

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

SUGAR CONVENTION BILL (No. 194.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

Baron H. De Worms

JUDICIAL RENTS (IRELAND) BILL
(No. 368.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [13th August] read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL (No. 382.)

Lords Amendments considered.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I think some of the Amendments inserted in the other House constitute a rather large order, and it is a serious thing to ask the House to consider them at this hour of the morning. It seems to me that this legislation will infringe the rights of the colonies. It is sought to be provided that people in the colonies offending under this Bill shall be brought to the Central Criminal Court for trial. Why, this is the very thing that the American Colonies revolted against. Surely this question requires further consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I think the operation of the Bill will be exactly contrary to what the hon. Member suggests. As the Bill left this House it applied absolutely to all the Colonies, and it was thought it might be regarded as interfering with the self-governing Colonies. Hence power was given to Her Majesty to suspend the operation of the Bill in the event of a Colony making provision for dealing with offences of this nature. As to the trial of cases at the Central Criminal Court, the Bill only provides that where a person from the Colonies charged under the Act happens to be in England there shall be power to try the case at the Central Criminal Court. It is not intended that offenders shall be specially brought over here for trial.

Amendments agreed to.

Clause 6.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I have an Amendment to move on this clause, and I understand the Government do not object to it. It is to insert words to the effect that the provisions of the Criminal Law Procedure (Ireland) Act shall not apply to trials arising under this Act.

Amendment proposed, Clause 6, Subsection 4, to insert—

"The provisions of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, shall not apply to any trial under the provisions of this Act,"

Amendment agreed to.

Lords' Amendments, as amended, agreed to.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [this day] reported.

CLASS II.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £26,271, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1890, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. A. O'CONNOR: When this Vote was under discussion I asked the Chief Secretary's attention to the serious disadvantages under which the Irish fishing industry labours as compared with the Scotch fisheries, especially in regard to trawling, the Irish fishermen having been denied the facilities which are enjoyed by Scotland. I regret that in his reply the Chief Secretary took no notice of my statements. I endeavoured to put the case before him as fairly as possible, and I must repeat that I am surprised he did not take the least notice of the representations I made. I do not know whether it is necessary that one should assume a tone of asperity in order to secure attention at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. I will now ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he sees any reason for refusing us the facilities which Scotland possesses. I spoke especially of the experiments which had been made in the Firth of Forth.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is aware that after he spoke on this Vote the Debate took a somewhat different turn, and that fact will probably account for my omission to reply to him. It was an inadvertent omission, and there was certainly no discourtesy intended on my part. I am quite aware that the Irish Fishery Board is not in precisely the same position as the Scotch Fishery Board in respect to steam trawling. The matter, however, is one rather for the Treasury than for the Irish Government. It has suggested itself to me that instead of having these experiments carried out on a small and perhaps inadequate scale partly in Scotland, partly in Ireland, and partly in England, by independent authorities, it would be far better to have a single scheme, carried on for the general benefit of the United Kingdom. But this raises a large question.

Resolution and the following eight Resolutions, agreed to.

On Resolution 10,

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): In consequence of the reply made by the Home Secretary when this Vote was under discussion, I should like to quote some figures from the Report of the Chief Commissioner on the question of the increase of population and of crime. The Home Secretary alleged that in speaking of the increase of crime I had not taken into account the increase of population. But what does this Report show? It shows that between 1887 and 1888 the population of the Metropolis increased 2 per cent, while felonies committed within the Metropolitan area increased 10 per cent in the same period. I am, therefore, surprised that the Home Secretary should close his eyes to open and palpable facts instead of recognising them and applying appropriate remedies.

Resolution and the two following Resolutions agreed to.

SUPPLY CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [20th August] reported.

CLASS III.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £73,214, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: When this Vote was under discussion I asked the Chief Secretary for information as to the purchase by 16 tenants in the County of Galway of their holdings. The purchase price was at the rate of 32½ years' rent, and the explanation given was that a certain amount of grass land had been added to each of the holdings. Now, I want to know what were the rents formerly paid, what are to be the annual instalments, and what is the acreage added to each farm; also to whom the Irish Land Commission paid the money?

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member will put a question down on the Paper I will get him the information.

Mr. FLYNN: I should like to know why do not the Government, in appointing the Land Commissions, nominate some representatives of the farmers, instead of merely landlords and landlords' agents. Will the Government promise in future appointments to nominate practical farmers—even from the North of Ireland?

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is under a misapprehension on this matter if he thinks the tenant farmers are unrepresented. It has been the effort of the Government to appoint as Sub-Commissioners men who are thoroughly acquainted with agricultural matters, and of known impartiality.

Resolution agreed to.

Class II.

"That a sum not exceeding £4,478 be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for the salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other expenses."

Resolution agreed to.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN) PREVENTION BILL (No. 380.)

Lords' Amendment considered.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, East): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what course the Government propose to take with reference to this Bill. As it left this House it was a valuable measure, but their Lordships have inserted Amendments which open up such important questions that I think it would be impossible adequately to discuss them this Session. After the progress which has been made to-night with the business of the House, I think it would be better if the Government would consent to adhere to the Bill as it was sent up from this House, and would disagree with the Lords' Amendments.

*Mr. W. H. SMITH: As the right hon. Gentleman is well aware, this is not a Government measure in any respect. It was promoted by the noble Lord the Member for Paddington, and I think that as it left this House it was an exceedingly valuable one. The Amendments which have been made by their Lordships certainly do raise a number of questions which require very careful consideration in this House, and, under the circumstances, I am quite prepared to concur in the suggestion that we should dissent from the Lords' Amendments in the hope that the Bill as it went up from this House may be allowed to become law in the course of the present Session. Otherwise it will be quite impossible to pass it this Session.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: There is one point to which I should like to draw the attention of the Government, and that is the desirability of giving this House some power to discuss separately Amendments which are made by the Lords in Bills passed by this House, instead of merely being called upon to decide whether we agree or disagree with their Lordships' Amendments *en bloc.*

Motion made, and Question, "That this House dissent from the Lords' Amendments," put, and agreed to.

Lords' Amendments disagreed to.

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed,"—Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, and Mr. Jackson:—To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN PREVENTION)]] (No. 380.)

Reason for disagreeing with the Lords' Amendments, reported, and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1882 (BUCHANAN INSTITUTION.

Order [9th August] that the Copy of the Scheme for the Management of the Endowment in the Burgh of Glasgow and County of Lanark, known as Buchanan's Institution, do lie upon the Table, read, and discharged.

Ordered, That the Scheme be withdrawn.—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Three o'clock.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 3.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [AUGUST 31.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 23rd August, 1889.

OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL (No. 232.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with an Amendment: The said Amendment considered (on motion), and agreed to.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN) PREVENTION BILL, *now* BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES) PREVENTION BILL (No. 192)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments disagreed to, together with a reason for such disagreement: The said reason to be printed, and to be considered on Monday next. (No. 237.)

POST OFFICE SITES BILL (No. 230.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on Monday next.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 234.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, the object of the Bill to which I now ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading is to encourage commerce and industry in Ireland. When the Government came into Office in 1886 they lost no time in initiating their policy of doing all that lay in their power to promote commerce and industry in Ireland. They appointed a Royal Commission, which in its first Report dealt with the question of arterial drainage, and in its second Report with fisheries and railways. The proceedings of this Committee were followed by the introduction in 1888 of three Bills for the drainage of the Bann, the Barrow, and the Shannon. Unfortunately, from circumstances and influences which we were unable to control, we were unable to proceed with those Bills in that year. In May of the present year the Chief Secretary again introduced four Bills to deal with arterial drainage, one dealing with the River Bann, another with the Barrow, another with the Shannon, and another with the Suck, and at the same time he introduced a Bill to facilitate the promotion of Light Railways and to assist the means of railway communication in Ireland. Unfortunately, it has been found necessary, for reasons to which I will not now allude, to drop all the Bills connected with the question of drainage, and the only Bill which will be presented for consideration by this House is that of which I now have the honour to move the Second Reading, namely—a Bill to facilitate the promotion of Light Railways. Under the Tramways Act of 1883, upon which the present Bill is founded, Light Railways were promoted on the presentment of the Grand Jury by baronial guarantee out of the county cess of a fixed dividend not exceeding 5 per cent on the entire paid-up capital, the Treasury guaranteeing the repayment of a sum not exceeding half the amount so paid, and not exceeding 2 per cent of the paid-up capital. Payments under that Act

of 1883 were limited to a total sum of £40,000 per annum, and out of that £40,000 £22,000 has been already dealt with, leaving an annual unappropriated sum, the interest of which is £18,000 a year. The present Bill alters the provisions of the Tramways Act in one respect especially, namely, that it provides a direct guarantee between the State and the promoters of the railway, whereas under the Tramways Act the guarantee was indirect. The Bill provides that either by a free grant or loan, or both, or by a lump sum, or by an annual payment, the Treasury is empowered to assist in the promotion of Light Railways. The scope of the Bill is limited to the poorer districts in which it is found absolutely necessary that State aid should be granted. Your Lordships will find in the second clause of the Bill that the Lord Lieutenant by an Order in Council is to declare that certain districts being in an impoverished state are unable to provide adequate communication themselves, and therefore the aid of the State is to be called in, and an Order in Council will then be made for that purpose. The Bill applies not only to Railway Companies constructing Light Railways as additions to existing lines, but also authorises assistance to be given to promoters who may promote Light Railways to be constructed and carried out and maintained by Railway Companies. Thirdly, it provides assistance in the case of ordinary promoters who wish to establish lines such as those to which I have alluded. The Treasury are empowered under the Bill to make an agreement with the promoters for the construction, maintenance, and working of the line upon such terms and conditions as the Treasury shall think fit. My Lords, with reference to the policy of granting State aid to undertakings such as these, perhaps your Lordships will allow me to read one paragraph at the end of the Second Report of the Royal Commission. They say:—

"We have felt it our duty to recommend that the State should undertake far larger responsibilities in connection with public works in Ireland than would be considered proper in other parts of the United Kingdom; but our investigations have convinced us that private capital will not at the present time be forthcoming for the execution of such undertakings without the help of the State, and that unless this be given it cannot be expected that the works we propose, all of which are of importance, will be executed."

That, I think, justifies the demand which will be made upon the taxpayers of the country to assist the Irish railways to the extent to which I have adverted. The total amount which may be so given is limited to a capital sum of £600,000, which at 3 per cent would give an annual sum of £18,000. But I may remind your Lordships that this £18,000 a year is in addition to the unappropriated residue which I have just now stated to your Lordships of the money which was authorised under the Act of 1883. It is not contended that these Light Railways will, or are likely to be, remunerative; but where that is not the case, Her Majesty's Government feel that it is especially desirable that State aid should be called in. In the West of Ireland, and in what are known as the congested districts of Ireland, there is a poor population along the shore engaged in the collection of seaweed which is valuable as manure; they cultivate their small holdings, and to a certain extent engage in the pursuits of fishery, but they do this entirely cut off from the rest of the world; and the Government feel, and I think your Lordships will feel, that any measure which will facilitate communication between those districts and places where the people can find a proper market for the fruits of their industry is one which is deserving of support. The details of the measure, being largely financial, may perhaps be considered as belonging to what is known as a Money Bill, and therefore I will not trouble your Lordships with them. This Bill, as I have said, met with a certain amount of delay and opposition, but that opposition has not been of a character to induce the Government to forbear from pressing it upon the attention of Parliament. On the contrary, it is agreeable to remember that Members representing Ireland in the other House of Parliament were nearly unanimous in favour of the proposals contained in the Bill. Whatever differences of opinion may exist on this subject, and whatever may be the Government under which the Irish people may in future have to live, it is evident that no Government can afford to ignore the necessity of encouraging commerce and industry in Ireland, and of doing all in their power to assist materially

with money those who are in poorer circumstances than we are in England. For myself, and I believe I may also speak for my Colleagues, I hope that this measure will be considered as only an instalment of the policy of encouraging the enterprise and promoting the material prosperity of the people of Ireland, and will be the means of restoring peace and happiness to the inhabitants of that country. My Lords, I beg to move the Second Reading of the Bill.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

LEASEHOLDERS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 231.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CADOGAN: This is a Bill to amend the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1888, under the following circumstances:—By Section 1 of that Act lessees and their assignees were admitted to the privileges of the Land Act of 1881, but the assignee of a lease could only avail himself of these privileges providing the assignment of the lease to him was one which was valid in law, and, where the lease could only be assigned with the landlord's consent, the assignment without that consent would not be valid, and the assignee under such an assignment could not have a judicial rent given. To remedy this state of things the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1888 was passed, providing that assignees under leases containing an agreement which restrained or prohibited the assignment should not be excluded from the above-mentioned benefits. It was, however, at the time overlooked that an old Act, the 7th of George IV., cap. 29, made an assignment of a lease without the landlord's consent given in a particular manner invalid where the leases, if made after the 1st June, 1826, did not expressly authorise the assignment, and that, although this Act was repealed as to future leases by the 2nd William IV., cap. 4, it remained in force as to leases made between the 1st June, 1826, and the 1st May, 1832. The result was to exclude certain persons holding under leases made during that period of six years from having the benefit of the Act of 1881, which has been extended to other leaseholders under leases prohibiting alienation without the landlord's consent by the Act of 1888. To remedy this, this Bill was introduced into the other House of Parliament, where it met with support from Members on both sides of the House. I now ask your Lordships to give it a Second Reading.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENTS IN BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL (No. 236.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CADOGAN: Last Session a Bill was introduced for a similar purpose which became law in 51 and 52 Vict., extending both to England and Ireland. When in the House of Lords a clause was moved at the instance of the Government providing that the Act should not apply to Ireland. It was found that the general circumstances of bankruptcy in Ireland were so dissimilar to those in England that it was absolutely necessary to exclude Ireland. The present Bill is so drafted as to meet the circumstances of the Bankruptcy Courts in Ireland, and therefore to extend the Bill of last Session with the necessary modifications to that country. I ask your Lordships to give it a Second Reading.

LORD HERSCHELL: Can the noble Lord inform me whether the fourth Subsection of Clause 4 is a repetition of what is in the English Act. I do not recollect that that is the law in England, but very likely it may have passed last Session.

EARL CADOGAN: I am informed that the provisions of this Bill are drafted so as to meet all the requirements of the Bankruptcy Law in Ireland. The Bill does not follow entirely the lines of the English Bill; on the contrary, it was found necessary to make a special Bill in order to meet the special requirements of the Bankruptcy Courts in Ireland.

LORD HERSCHELL: Of course, if there had been the same provisions in the law for England, there would be an object in making the law for the two

countries uniform, and I should not have troubled the House with any observations; but it does strike one as curious that when a man becomes bankrupt or a company is wound up, if a landlord or any other person has distrained upon the goods within three months before the winding up or the bankruptcy, the preferential debts (which include parochial rates or Income Tax for a year) shall be a charge not only on the goods and effects distrained, but on the proceeds of them. The effect of that would be that if the landlord had paid himself his rent within three months by a distress, then that money in his hands becomes charged with the Income Tax or parochial rates of the tenant for a year. That does seem a little strange.

EARL CADOGAN: I am informed by the Irish Law Officers that the Bill was not altered in any essential particular, and therefore I conclude that that was in the English Act; but I will make inquiries, and let the noble and learned Lord know in Committee.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) (No. 2) BILL. (No. 235.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."

*LORD DENMAN: The notice which appears on the Paper in my name is to move that the Bill be read a second time this day three months. I would like to explain that that notice is incorrect, because the notice which I handed in, and which I intended to move, was that it be read a second time this day six months. It is sometimes supposed that if Parliament were adjourned until February no Bill could be then taken up at the point which it reached previously to the adjournment; but that is a mistake. If Parliament were to be adjourned until another year any Bill only postponed could be proceeded with. I should like to remind your Lordships of the 59th Standing Order. I am convinced that even in Committee this House has full power to sift and to alter a Money Bill, and that it is not at all impossible that any alteration made by this House may be accepted in another place. The Order is this—

"Upon Report made by the Lord Chamberlain, from the Committee of the Whole House, concerning the Bill for raising £310,000, by an imposition on wines and other liquors, that in regard the said Bill being very long, and consisting of many paragraphs, came from the House of Commons so near the time of Adjournment, he was commanded to report it as the opinion of the Committee, that it might be entered into the Journal Book of this House that there may be no such argument hereafter used in this House, as was upon this Bill (of shortness of time for the passing of Bills), to precipitate the passing thereof; but that due consideration may be had hereafter, according to the course of Parliaments, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, agreed with the Report made from the Committee, and ordered, that this Order be entered on the Roll of the Standing Orders of this House."

We have now got to a system of adjourning before 5 o'clock, and it does seem to me that it is a very extraordinary innovation. It is doing away with an old Standing Order for beginning at 5 and commencing Debate at 5.15. These Standing Orders were well-considered, and certainly worked extremely well. I certainly do protest against Bills being brought in so late in the Session, and with regard to this particular Bill I conceive that it is altogether on an unsound foundation. I venture to say that it was hurried through the House under a misapprehension altogether. The noble Earl, formerly Secretary for the Colonies and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, said that he did not mind sacrificing part of his vacation; but he was told that his vacation could not begin until this Bill was passed. The electors are not a body so to be depended upon as the householders paying scot and lot. The old elections were a scene of confusion, but a Clerk of the Peace told me that the new County Council Elections were worse than any General Election. I cannot conceive that it is my duty to consent to a Bill for wasting the public money upon building an expensive hall which is intended for a body, subject at any time to a repeal of the Act which founded that Body. In fact, the whole system is on its trial, and you may depend upon it that this money is not wanted. There is plenty of room for the County Council already; their quorum is not a large one. If your

Lordships read the history of the Revolution in Sweden you will see how the Administrator was superseded by Gustavus Vasa, and how the hereditary system was established. The Standing Order goes back to the time of Charles II., and it is a good one. Really so late a period of the Session as this is not the time to pass Votes of public money. It is in the power of any two of us now to stop this Bill for one day. If I had a Teller the other side would have to be told as well, and then it would appear that there were not 30 Members in the House, and in accordance with the new Standing Order the matter would have to stand over. It only requires a malignant oppositionist to prove the fallacy of that regulation. I do most earnestly hope that this Bill will not be carried before February of next year, and I beg to move that it be read a second time this day six months.

Amendment moved to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On Question that ("now") stand part of the Motion, resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

GENERAL POLICE AND IMPROVEMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1862, AMENDMENT BILL (No. 228.)

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

COTTON CLOTH FACTORIES BILL (No. 227.)

House in Committee (according to order): Bill reported without amendment, and to be read 3ª on Monday next.

REGULATION OF RAILWAYS (No. 2) BILL (No. 229.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Then Order of the Day for considering Standing Order No. XXXIX. read, and discharged: Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next.

COINAGE (LIGHT GOLD) BILL (No. 233.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on Monday next.

PARTNERSHIP BILL (No. 188.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD HERSCHELL: My Lords, this is a measure which has passed the other House, its object being to codify the Law of Partnership. The Bill was introduced at the instance of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. It was carefully drawn, and considered and revised by a Select Committee of the other House, but it did not reach your Lordships' House until the month of August. I was asked to move its Second Reading, with a view to its being carried, if possible, this Session; but I said that, as far as I was concerned, I could not urge the House to attempt to pass the measure during the present Session, because it appeared to me to be impossible at this late period to give to it that attention without which I do not think it would be right to pass a Bill of this character. I have always been an advocate for dealing in the manner in which this Bill deals with the Law of Partnership with different branches of our law; but, at the same time, I believe that if any such codification is to be at all successful it can only be so if the utmost care and deliberation are used, so as to make the result of the labours of Parliament as perfect as possible, and any hasty or immature legislation would be only likely to retard the cause of codification as well as to do actual mischief. I am quite aware that great attention has been given to this subject in the other House. At the same time, we who have had to do with matters of this description know that, however much care is exercised, the more a measure of this description is criticised and revised the more likely it is to be found in the result to meet the desires of those who advocate the legislation. I trust that this measure in the coming Session may receive the attention and

consideration of your Lordships in the way it deserves; but I am quite sure that it ought to be most carefully considered by those who have experience both in commercial matters and in the law relating to this subject. My object in making these observations, and in moving the Second Reading of the Bill, is to explain why it has been found impossible to pass it into law, or attempt to pass it through your Lordships' House in the present Session, and also to invite the criticism of the public, and more especially of the legal profession upon the Bill in the shape in which it has emerged from the Select Committee of the other House. I am quite sure that such criticism is likely to be valuable when your Lordships come to consider the Bill on a future occasion. I beg to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am afraid I cannot speak with the same degree of fervour about the codification of the various branches of the law as my noble and learned Friend does; but whenever such measures are likely to be successful, I think it can only be when they are brought in under the responsibility of the Government for the time being. I think this is the first and a very ambitious attempt made by those not charged with the responsibility of the Government to codify the law. I do not propose to express any opinion whatever as to the skill with which this measure has been prepared, simply because I have had no opportunity of considering it. My noble and learned Friend quite recognised the fact, and told your Lordships that with a Bill of this sort it would be impossible to carry it through without the most careful consideration. I need not remind your Lordships that the Law of Partnership is delicate and intricate and difficult, and the attempt to codify it, if it is to be successful, must be the result of very long and laborious consideration. Therefore, whether such a Bill as this ought to be permitted to be in private hands, or not to be either accepted by, or promoted by, the Government itself, is a question which may require consideration hereafter. All I would at present say is that in consenting, as I shall, to the Second Reading of this Bill, it is only upon the ground that some Bill of the sort may be considered desirable to promote. I remember hearing a great Parliamentary authority in the other House (Mr. Gladstone) saying that the only thing that the House committed itself to by reading a Bill a second time was that there should be some Bill of the sort, and in no way adopting any of the provisions of the Bill in question. In that spirit, and in that spirit alone, I think it is that your Lordships may safely read this Bill a second time when you learn that it is to proceed no further this Session; but whether it does or does not sufficiently codify the law in the sense in which it is desirable that it should be codified, I hope your Lordships will keep your judgment quite free when the question comes for consideration hereafter, because, as I have said, it is far too difficult and intricate a question of law for your Lordships to commit yourselves to one way or the other without very careful consideration. In the meantime, with the harmless declaration, if that is all it amounts to, that some codification of the Law of Partnership is a desirable thing—if that is all your Lordships commit yourselves to by reading this Bill a second time, I do not propose to oppose the Motion made by the noble and learned Lord.

LORD HERSCHELL: I would like to say just one word by way of reply to what has fallen from the noble and learned Lord. He is under an error in supposing that this is the first attempt made by those not in Office to carry out any codification of of the law. The only successful piece of codification of the English Law that I know of was a Bill introduced by a private Member in the other House for the codification of the law relating to bills of exchange and negotiable instruments. That has been a great success, I say, without hesitation, and it has been treated as a model, indeed almost adopted in its terms, by other Legislatures. I am not myself prepared to subscribe to the doctrine that codification ought only to be undertaken by the Government of the day, although I freely recognise that they have facilities which no private Member can have, and if they are willing to undertake the

work no one would be more heartily glad than myself.

Bill read 2ª (according to order): then Bill (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till Monday next, at Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 23rd August, 1889.

QUESTIONS.

IRELAND—ROYAL UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland if he can state the total honours gained at the Royal University Examinations 1889 by the Univerity Colleges of St. Stephen's Green and Blackrock; the total honours gained by the Queen's Colleges of Galway and Cork at the same examinations; and the total cost to the State of each College?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, University of Dublin): I have not yet received a Report, and must ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone the question until Monday.

RATHDRUM BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the Report of the meeting of the Board of Guardians at Rathdrum, County Wicklow, on Wednesday, the 14th inst., when it was stated that the number of inmates was 202; that the salaries of the officials amounted to the sum of £1,691 per annum; and whether he will urge the Local Government Board to insist on a reduction of the staff and expenditure at this Union?

MR. MADDEN: The Report referred to has not come before the Local Government Board. The Official Minutes show that the Guardians discussed the question of salaries on the 14th inst., but nothing further was done. There are about 208 paupers in the workhouse, and the salaries of the workhouse officers (without taking into account the salaries of extern officers) amount to about £540 per annum. The Local Government Board see no reason to adopt the course suggested in the last paragraph.

TELEGRAPHS TO HACKETSTOWN.

MR. BYRNE: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has received a Memorial from the inhabitants of Hacketstown and district praying for the establishment of a telegraph office at that place; and, whether he will grant the request therein, and order the extension of telegraph system to Hacketstown?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigtonshire), replying for the POSTMASTER GENERAL, said: The Memorial referred to was for the extension of the telegraphs to Kiltegan and Hacketstown. Arrangements are now in progress for establishing a telegraph office at Kiltegan and this will bring the telegraph much nearer to Hacketstown. It is not practicable, under present circumstances, to open an office at Hacketstown.

EVICTIONS AT CASTLEKEVIN.

MR. BYRNE: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the Report in the *Wicklow People*, of the 17th August instant, of the evictions on the estate of Charles Frizell, J.P., at Castlekevin, County Wicklow, wherein it is stated that, not only were several tenants evicted, and some of the houses levelled to the ground, but in the case of Mrs. Carroll, in spite of her remonstrations, the evictors, threw out her furniture through the door and windows, literally smashing up everything; whether he will see that compensation be paid for this destruction of property; and, whether he will give orders that at all future evictions the furniture and personal property of the tenant will not be destroyed?

MR. MADDEN: I understand that four evictions only were carried out. Two very old fabrics, built about 100 years ago, were levelled. Neither the furniture of Mrs. Carroll nor of any of the other tenants was smashed. Mrs. Carroll, it appears, had been treated most generously by the landlord. About four years ago he forgave her up to date all the arrears of rent due (some seven

years). She had then a judicial rent fixed; but she has not since made any payment at all.

TELEGRAPH OFFICE AT ROUNDWOOD.

MR. BYRNE: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has received pressing representations from all classes of the inhabitants of Roundwood (Togher), County Wicklow, of the very great necessity that exists for a telegraph office being established there; and whether he can see his way to grant what is asked for?

SIR H. MAXWELL: In pursuance of a promise made in answer to a previous question the Postmaster General caused inquiry to be made respecting an extension of the telegraphs to Roundwood, and the hon. Member was informed by letter on the 31st January last that the Post Office could not make the extension except under guarantee. Since that date the Postmaster General has not received any communication or representation on the subject and it now rests with those who are interested to furnish the guarantee.

USE OF NATIONAL SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

MR. BYRNE: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether it is true that the Grand L. O. L. 1798, hold their meetings in a class room of (and the only entrance being through) the National School at Donoughmore, County Wicklow; whether this is against the rules which govern the use of National school buildings in Ireland; and whether he will take steps to prevent the use of these schools or any part thereof by the Orange Lodge?

MR. MADDEN: The Commissioners of National Education report that from inquiries made through their Head Inspector it appears that no meeting connected with the Orange Society has been held in the National schoolhouse of Donoughmore, or in the apartments adjoining it during the present year, and they have an assurance from the manager of the school that no such meeting will be held there.

POST OFFICE AT RATHDANGAN.

MR. BYRNE: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has received a memorial from the principal inhabitants of Rathdangan, County Wicklow, and neighbourhood, signed by the clergy of the district, a magistrate, poor law guardians, traders, residents, farmers, and the police superintendent, applying for a post office to be established at that place; and whether, inasmuch as Rathdangan is a populous village with considerable correspondence, the centre of a large district four miles from Kiltegan, the nearest post office, and having regard to the inconvenience which the present arrangements have caused, he will grant and order that a post office be established at Rathdangan as soon as possible?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I am informed that the Postmaster General has received a Memorial from the principal inhabitants of Rathdangan, County Wicklow, and the neighbourhood, praying for the establishment of a Post office at that place. It has received careful consideration, but the postmaster General regrets that the amount of correspondence to be benefited is found to be insufficient to warrant the expense which would be incurred in complying with the Memorialists' wishes.

THE LAND COMMISSIONERS.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he can state what arrangements the Land Commissioners propose to make for the hearing of fair rent applications in the County Cork during the coming legal year; whether, during the past year, the Sub-Commission working in the County Cork has had 25 Poor Law Unions in its circuit as against an average of 17 Poor Law Unions in the case of other Sub-Commissions; what percentage of the total number of fair rent applications, lodged from the County Cork since the 1st September, 1887, have been disposed of per month during the past 12 months; and, what percentage of the total number of such applications from the rest of Ireland have been disposed of per month during the same period?

MR. MADDEN: I have not yet been able to obtain a Report.

MR. M. HEALY: When will the hon. and learned Member be able to obtain one?

MR. MADDEN: Probably by Monday if the hon. Gentleman will put the question down again.

THE MURDER OF INSPECTOR MARTIN.

MR. BLANE: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland if the Rev. James M'Fadden, P.P. Bunbeg, County Donegal, with other prisoners for trial, on change of venue to Queen's County, will have the benefit of a trial by Common Jury as is usually given prisoners for trial in England when charged with like offences; and, if not, will he explain for what reason?

MR. MADDEN: I am informed that the trial will take place before a Special Jury, which is regarded in law as a higher tribunal than a Common Jury. As the case is pending I cannot make any statement in reference to it.

MR. M. HEALY: Will it be the same jury as a similar case would be tried by in England?

MR. MADDEN: It will be a Special Jury.

THE REGISTRATION ACTS—THE LODGER FRANCHISE.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Attorney General is the lodger franchise designed to permit sons living with their fathers, and employed in their business, to be registered as Parliamentary voters?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): If a man occupies as a lodger rooms of sufficient yearly value to entitle him to a vote, it is no objection that the rooms happen to be in his father's house, or that he is employed in his father's business.

THE 4TH HUSSARS.

MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is now in a position to explain why the 4th Hussars were turned out of the Island Bridge Barracks, Dublin, to make room for the 5th Dragoon Guards; and if he will see that the married men of the 4th Hussars are compensated for the serious expense they have been put to by this change of quarters?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincoln, Horncastle): The explanation of these moves is rather complicated for the answer to a question; but I will hand to my hon. Friend a copy of a letter from the general officer commanding in Ireland, in which the reasons for what has been done are fully stated.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he can state what was the highest number of Sub-Commissioners appointed by the Irish Land Commission and holding office at the same time during the years 1882 and 1883; what is the number of Sub-Commissioners now appointed; what number of Sub-Commissioners the Treasury has authorised the appointment of; and whether, now that the Judicial Rents (Ireland) Bill is dropped, he will make, before Parliament rises, a statement as to whether any additional Sub-Commissioners are to be appointed, and generally as to the measures which the Government propose to take for expediting the hearing of fair rent applications by the Irish Land Commission?

*MR. MADDEN: At the commencement of 1882 there were 12 Sub-Commissions, each consisting of one legal and two lay members. The number was increased in April to 16 such Sub-Commissions, and further increased in September to 17 such Sub-Commissions. In January, 1883, the number of Sub-Commissions similarly instituted was increased to 28. There are at present 30 Sub-Commissions, consisting of two lay members each, all working under nine legal members. This appears to be the number at present sanctioned by the Treasury. As hon. Gentlemen opposite have made it impossible for the Government to pass the Judicial Rents Bill, the Government have no alternative legislation to propose this Session. They will consider how far it would be expedient in the public interest to increase the present number of Sub-Commissions, and the Land Commission will do all they can to expedite the hearing of cases.

MR. M. HEALY: What is the total number of Sub-Commissioners acting now?

*MR. MADDEN: The total number is 69. There are 30 sets of Sub-Commissions at work, with two lay Commissioners to each, the whole being under the control of nine legal Commissioners.

MR. M. HEALY: Is it the fact that during the years 1882 and 1883 there were no less than 85 Sub-Commissioners appointed?

*MR. MADDEN: From the information supplied to me it appears that in January, 1883, there were 84 Sub-Commissioners. There were 28 Sub-Commissions at work, each of which had two lay Commissioners and one legal Commissioner. There are now 30 Sub-Commissions, although the total number of Sub-Commissioners is only 69.

MR. M. HEALY: Is the right hon. and learned Gentleman aware that the Chief Secretary has stated that there are only 10 Courts now sitting?

*MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; I was not aware of that. It is true that there are only nine legal Sub-Commissioners; but as I have explained, there are 69 Sub-Commissioners working in 30 Sub-Commissions.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): Are there more than 10 Commissioners sitting now throughout the country?

*MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir, there are 30.

ANTRIM PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. TUITE (West Meath, N.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he will give the name of the Roman Catholic Magistrate who attends at Antrim Petty Sessions; at what place and in what Petty Sessions district does he reside, and what distance is his residence from the town of Antrim; and whether he will state how many times during the last 12 months this Magistrate attended Petty Sessions in the town of Antrim?

*MR. MADDEN: It appears that it is not usual to state the religious denomination to which a particular Magistrate belongs. The gentleman referred to resides, it is believed, in the Petty Sessions District of Crumlin. Antrim appears to be his post town. I have not received information as to the distance of his residence from it, but presumably it cannot be far. The reports of the attendances of Magistrates at Petty Sessions are furnished yearly to the Lord Chancellor's Secretary's office after 31st August. The information for the current year has not, therefore, been yet received there. During the previous year this Magistrate attended once.

COOLIE EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA TO THE COLONIES.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in British Guiana, Trinidad, and other West Indian Colonies where Cooly emigrants from India reside, any special arrangements are or can be made for the separate education of the children of those emigrants?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): In Trinidad there are a few separate voluntary schools for Coolies which are assisted by the Government; in British Guiana and the other West Indian Colonies there is no provision for their separate education. In British Guiana the law requires that each plantation on which there are at least 30 children shall maintain an efficient school, and these are, no doubt, chiefly attended by the children of Coolie immigrants. In the other Colonies the number of immigrants is so small that it would be hardly possible to make provision for their separate education.

IRELAND—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE WITNESSES NALLY AND MULLETT.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he can now say if the prisoners James Mullett and Patrick Nally were visited by Mr. Thompson, Mr. Shannon, Mr. Walker, or any other agent on behalf of the *Times*, some time before their removal, as witnesses for the *Times* at the Royal Commission; whether each prisoner was brought into the presence of such agent without having been told the name of the agent or the object of his visit; whether this agent promised Mullett and Nally that each

"would have his liberty, and would be put into a good position besides, if he consented to serve the *Times*;"

whether he told Nally that his parents were

"growing very old, and that they desired to see him before they died,"

and that Nally replied that

"they (his parents) would rather see him a corpse than to know of him swearing falsely against anyone;"

whether he is aware that the agent for the *Times* afterwards, in February last, went to Mrs. Mullett, wife of James Mullett, and asked her to use her in-

fluence with her husband, whom he had seen,

"to swear what would be beneficial for the *Times*, that it would be of great benefit to her and to him, and that his (Mullett's) imprisonment would then cease at once;"

and whether, considering the nature of these allegations, he will grant an independent inquiry by a Committee of Members of this House into all the circumstances in connection with these visits of agents of the *Times* to persons undergoing terms of imprisonment?

MR. MADDEN: The subject of the visits paid to these convicts has been already fully threshed out in this House, and I do not see that there is anything to add to the replies then given.

THE LAGAN NAVIGATION COMPANY.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Board of Works have received intimation of the dismissal, by the Lagan Navigation Company, of two lock-keepers on the Ulster Canal, named Isaiah M'Quay and John Wall, after services of 29 and 49 years respectively, on the ground of old age and incapacity; and, whether the Board of Works will make any provision in the shape of pension or allowance to enable these men to maintain themselves without becoming chargeable on the poor rates?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I have a little difficulty in answering this question. An hon. Member has given me a letter which, I understand, comes from one of these men, distinctly stating that he has been dismissed; but, on the other hand, I have received a telegram informing me that he is still in the service of the Lagan Navigation Company. I will make further inquiry.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I have received a letter from one of these men, in which he states that he was dismissed in March last. It is very odd that the men themselves should say that they have been dismissed, and that the Board of Works should say they have not.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): These two men were appointed by the Board of Works. Does it follow that they are not entitled to pensions because they are able to take service in their old age under the Lagan Navigation Company?

MR. JACKSON: The pension question is somewhat abstruse, and I cannot answer the query of the hon. Gentleman unless I know the precise details. I will endeavour to get at the truth of these conflicting statements. It is not the Board of Works which is concerned, but the Lagan Navigation Company.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Wall states in his letter that he has been in the service of the Company for 49 years, and that he received a letter from the Board of Works informing him that after March his services would be no longer required. Since then he has made two applications for the reconsideration of his case, but even the receipt of his communications have not been acknowledged.

MR. JACKSON: I presume the question which arises is whether he has been taken over by the Lagan Navigation Company. He is probably right in stating that he has ceased to be employed by the Board of Works; but he is now employed by the Lagan Company.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: If a man is retired in the Army, and is employed in some other capacity, does it follow that he does not get his pension?

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Will the Secretary to the Treasury refresh his memory by what took place before the Committee on the Lagan Navigation Bill? That Committee was distinctly under the impression that no vested interest in regard to a pension would be destroyed or injured by the transfer of the Canal from the Board of Works to the company.

MR. JACKSON: I still adhere to the statement which was made before the Committee, and there is no desire to depart from it.

THE MARITIME CONFERENCE.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can give the House any further information as to the Maritime Conference proposed to be held at Washington; and whether he can now state the names of the Representatives of this country at that Conference?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): Her Majesty's Govern-

ment have accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to send Representatives to the International Maritime Conference to be held at Washington in October. The delegates selected to represent this country are:—Mr. Charles Hall, Q.C., M.P., two Representatives selected by the Admiralty, namely, Admiral Sir R. Molyneux, K.C.B., and Admiral Bowden Smith, and four Representatives selected by the Board of Trade, namely, Admiral Sir George Nares, K.C.B., Mr. Thomas Gray, C.B., Assistant Secretary of the Marine Department, Captain H. Wyatt (of the Peninsular and Oriental Service) and Captain Kendal (of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company), who has a large experience of navigation in narrow and crowded waters. The delegates sent by Great Britain will not have power to bind Her Majesty's Government. Any proposals which the British delegates may make, and any action which the Conference may adopt or recommend, will, in the usual course, be *ad referendum* only for the consideration of the Governments represented. When the Conference assembles, the British delegates will indicate the reserves which Her Majesty's Government think it their duty to make with regard to certain subjects which appear in the latter portion of the programme.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): Has the right hon. Gentleman considered the desirability of appointing among the Representatives some captain who has had special experience of the Atlantic service?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I did my best to obtain the services of some gentleman who had been employed in the way suggested by the hon. Member, and I invited, among others, a gentleman whose name is well-known to him. I was, however, unable to obtain the services of anyone who had been accustomed to that class of navigation. Captain Wyatt has, I believe, had great experience of ocean navigation.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Will the Conference be entitled to consider the question of crimes at sea?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: That is entirely beyond the province of the Conference.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why, after his recent experience in crossing the ocean, was not the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) appointed?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IRELAND—POOR LAW UNIONS AND THE PROBATE FUNDS.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the next payment to Irish Poor Law Unions will be made out of the Probate Funds; and, what will be the probable amount?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland) Act provides that—

> "All sums paid in respect of the probate duty grant to the local taxation (Ireland) account shall, until otherwise provided by Parliament, be annually distributed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

The last payment to the Unions was made last May, and the next payment will be made about the same time next year. If the Probate Duty this year yields about the same as last year, the grant to the Unions would come to about £92,500. As a matter of fact, the yield for the four months ended July 31 has been better than last year. The proportion of it payable to the unions amounts to about £33,000 for those four months. But, of course, it is impossible to say whether this improvement will be maintained during the rest of the year.

PROSECUTION OF SERGEANT BYERS.

MR. BLANE: I beg to ask the Solicitor for Ireland if his attention has been called to the prosecution by the Crown of Sergeant Byers, charged at the Lurgan Petty Sessions recently with having fired several shots at three fishermen named John Campbell, James Robinson, and John Robinson; can he explain why District Inspector Bigley, whilst conducting the prosecution, refused the assistance of Mr. J. B. Menary, the solicitor for the fishermen, present in Court, and finally entered the witness-box to give evidence for the accused; has his attention been called to the evidence that the statement of complaint made to Head Constable Green was given by the Police Authorities to the solicitor for the accused, and by him used against complainants; whether Mr.

Divisional Commissioner Cullen was present at those proceedings; and, if so, what steps will the Government take in the matter?

MR. MADDEN: I have not had sufficient notice of this question and must ask the hon. Member to postpone it.

POLICE BIDDING AT MARKETS.

MR. O'KEEFFE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland, having regard to his admission that members of the Irish Constabulary were engaged in the purchase of cattle, by competition or otherwise, at fairs in Ireland, if he would direct his attention to a statement of law contained at page 123, 4th edition, *Bateman's Law of Sale*—

"That biddings must be obtained without fraud and not by means of puffers, white bonnets, or decoy ducks, under a secret understanding that they shall not be bound by their bids;"

and, if, in view of this dictum and of the implied application of the "Auctions Act, 1847" (page 137, same work), he will direct the discontinuance of this practice?

MR. MADDEN: The hon. and learned Member is mistaken in supposing that the bidding on the part of the constabulary is of the character described in the text book from which he quotes, or that there are any grounds for questioning the legality of the proceeding.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the facts regarding the employment of Sergeant Dallas, R.I.C. and a number of other Irish policemen, as cattle buyers at fairs and markets in Ireland; and, whether the Treasury sanction this employment of public funds for these purposes; and, if so, from what source will these funds be provided?

MR. T. M. HEALY: Was the Treasury consulted by the Irish Government before the Irish police were instructed to bid at fairs for cattle; and, if so, has the right hon. Gentleman sanctioned the practice of Government officials bidding for cattle; and who decides on the fairs which the police bidders are to attend, or the owners whose cattle they are to bid for?

MR. GOSCHEN: No public money, so far as I am aware, has been used for this purpose, and no Treasury sanction has been asked for. I have no knowledge whatever of these transactions.

In reply to a further question by Mr. T. M. HEALY,

MR. GOSCHEN said: All I can say is, I have not been asked for money; I have not been consulted about money, and I am not aware that any money has passed. I can assure the hon. and learned Member that I have given him all the information in my power.

MR. FLYNN: In view of the statement that the bids of the police are *bonâ fide*, will the Treasury sanction the payment of any money that may be expended? I ask this question in the future tense.

MR. GOSCHEN: I have given the hon. Member all the information in my possession. The Treasury has not been consulted, and as I have no knowledge I am unable to give any information.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The matter is a serious one, and demands an explicit answer. The House has been told in effect that *bonâ fide* bids have been made by the police in Ireland for landlords' cattle, and Members are entitled to know who supplied the money, and whether it came from the Treasury.

MR. GOSCHEN: I can only assure the hon. Member that I have not been asked for the money, nor consulted about it, and that I am not even aware that any money has passed. I gave the hon. Gentleman all the information in my power. I was quite unaware until I heard the question put yesterday that anything of the kind had occurred. I do not know what the answer of the Irish Executive may be.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman or the Solicitor General if it is open to any party in Ireland to employ the police as agents for the purchase of cattle or for any other purpose.

*MR. MADDEN: I do not think the hon. Gentleman quite apprehends the nature of the case. It is alleged that intimidation exists of such a character as to prevent bidding at sales. The bidding of the police is of a *bonâ fide* character, the object being to obtain evidence for the prosecution, if possible, of the persons guilty of intimidation.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): In view of the answer of the Solicitor General and seeing that the Treasury

have not been consulted as to providing the money, are any of these *bonâ fide* sales to be followed by cash payments in the event of cattle being knocked down to the police? Will the money be paid out of the Secret Service Fund or some other fund of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has no knowledge?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I have no hesitation in saying that it will not be paid out of the Secret Service Fund. I am not aware out of what fund the money will be paid, but if the hon. Member will put a question upon the Paper, I will inquire.

MR. T. M. HEALY: When the police make bids are they provided with money to pay for the cattle if their bids are accepted?

MR. MADDEN: If the hon. and learned Gentleman will give notice of the question I will inquire.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The question is on the Paper, and has already been asked. Are the bids bogus bids, or when the police attend these fairs have they money in their pockets to pay, seeing that their bids are an enhancement of the landgrabbers wares?

MR. MADDEN: That is a totally different question, and the hon. and learned Member must put it down.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): Under what authority do the police act as cattle jobbers?

MR. MADDEN: They are not employed as cattle jobbers.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE TREASURY MINUTE ON CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS.

MR. JOHN KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, under the provisions of paragraph 35 of the Treasury Minute on Civil Establishments of the 10th instant, clerks at present employed in six-hour offices will be placed on the same footing, when such offices are converted into seven-hour offices, as their colleagues now serving in seven-hour offices; and, whether, for example, two men of say nine years' service, one now serving in a six-hour office and the other in a seven-hour office, will, under the new scheme, receive equal salaries?

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): In view of the fact that Lower Division clerks appointed to seven-hour offices are, under their original terms of service, entitled to an additional £15 per annum beyond the salary attaching to a clerkship in a six-hour office, and that their right to the same is clearly admitted in the Report of the Ridley Commission, a relaxation of Condition 2 of Section 35 of the Treasury Minute of 10th August will be allowed in the case of Lower Division clerks in six-hour offices.

MR. GOSCHEN: The transition from one system to another must always be attended by some anomalies and inequalities. We believe the position of all Lower Division clerks to be improved by the terms given in the Minute; but we consider that the higher scale proposed for all these clerks should be accompanied by certain conditions, one of which would secure a universal system of seven hours. Some Lower Division clerks gain rather more than others by the change, but this may be unavoidable, and is not necessarily inequitable, if there is some advantage offered to all. Still, as I said yesterday, the Minute conveys the broad outlines of the scheme, which will be worked out in detail in the Order in Council, and may necessitate some special adjustments.

MR. JOHN KELLY: Will the two years mentioned in line 5, of paragraph 35, of the Treasury Minute take effect from the date of the last increment granted under the Playfair Scheme to each clerk who entered the service under that scheme?

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think it is desirable to anticipate the detailed arrangements which are in progress.

MR. JOHN KELLY: Will the right hon. Gentleman make provision in the proposed Order in Council, giving effect to the Treasury Minute, so that clerks, not being Lower Division Clerks, employed in the Law Courts and other nomination Departments, whose initial salaries are £200 and the maximum less than £250, may be placed on the same footing, as regards promotion and the increased maximum salary, as the first grade of the Second Division?

MR. GOSCHEN: The proposals contained in the Treasury Minute to which the hon. Member alludes refer to the Lower Division of the Civil Service, and I am not at present prepared to pledge myself as to what will be done in the

case of established clerks in offices where there are no Lower Division clerks.

COUPLING APPLIANCES.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state when the Return as to Coupling Appliances will be completed and presented; and, whether the Return will include the Coupling Appliances in use on wagons belonging to private owners?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: All the Returns have not yet been received; but it must be borne in mind that great and unusual demands have recently been made upon the clerical staff of the Railway Companies. The Companies have been asked to give any information at their disposal as regards the wagons belonging to private owners.

IRELAND—BALLYCOTTON PIER.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if any steps have yet been taken to carry out the recommendations of Mr. Wolfe Barry in regard to Ballycotton Pier, County Cork; and, whether it is a fact that a contract has been completed for the entire removal of the old pier in accordance with Mr. Barry's Report to the Treasury?

MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir; a contract has been entered into for the execution of the works recommended by Mr. Barry.

CASE OF MICHAEL WALSH.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland who was the official responsible for stripping and shearing Mr. Michael Walsh, the bail prisoner, in Cork Gaol 15 minutes after his arrival; and, if this person was a subordinate officer, who is the official responsible for such person's ignorance of his duties and of the prison rules?

*MR. MADDEN: The General Prisons Board report that the officer responsible for the cutting of the prisoner's hair is Warder George Matson. The prisoner was not stripped. He accepted the bail clothing pending a supply of linen from his own home. Every prison officer is responsible for his own acts.

MR. T. M. HEALY: When was this man—Matson—first appointed, and what has been his experience?

*MR. MADDEN: The hon. and learned Gentleman merely asked for the name of the warder. I have no details in regard to him.

CORK GAOL.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland what notice the Prisons Board propose to take of the conduct of the Deputy Governor of Cork Gaol, on the 16th instant, in refusing to permit the Mayor and two other members of the Committee of Visiting Justices to receive a statement in private from the prisoner James O'Brien?

*MR. MADDEN: I am informed that the Deputy Governor of Cork Prison has been informed that he misinterpreted the rule as to private interviews of members of Visiting Committees with prisoners, and has been instructed how to act in future in such cases. The Board do not consider his misconstruction of the rule was intentional, and they therefore do not propose to censure him. The Board are about to issue a Circular Memorandum to Governors on the subject.

MR. M. HEALY: I did not allege that there was any misconstruction of the rules; what I alleged was that there was gross negligence and ignorance. I would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether the Deputy Governor, having been admitted to be guilty of such conduct, the Board propose to reprimand him in any way?

*MR. MADDEN: I think it would be a very dangerous doctrine to lay down that a misconstruction of a document, when that misconstruction is perfectly honest, is to call for a severe censure.

MR. M. HEALY: Is it not the fact that in the plainest terms the rule directs that the Visiting Justices are to be entitled to see a prisoner in private?

*MR. MADDEN: The rule is to that effect, but it appears that in this case the instructions were misunderstood.

MR. M. HEALY: I beg to give notice that I will call attention to this subject on the Prisons Vote.

POST OFFICE OFFICIALS AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether Mr. A. Wilde, an

employé in the Savings Bank Department of the Post Office, has been obliged by the Post Office Authorities to resign the post of honorary secretary of the West Essex Liberal Association; whether, in reply to the representations of Mr. Morris, Chairman of that Association, Mr. Langton, on behalf of the Postmaster General, wrote, on 29th July last, that—

"The Department has no knowledge of other Post Office servants being actively engaged as members of political organisations,"

and that every such case that has come under the observation of the Postmaster General

"Has been treated in strict accordance with the rule which is now being applied in the case fo Mr. Wilde";

whether, in accordance with the rule thus laid down, he has taken any steps in the case of Mr. W. Smith, another *employé* in the Savings Bank Department, who, at a meeting at Wanstead on the 7th August, is reported to have been presented by the hon. Member for the Romford Division of Essex with a gold medal, in recognition of his services as one of the principal Conservative organisers in that district; whether, if he has not yet taken any action, he will make inquiries into this case, and others of a similar kind which may be brought before him, in which Post Office officials are active members of Conservative Associations; and, whether he will take into consideration the propriety of removing restrictions placed on Post Office officials taking active part in political organisations?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The reply to the first two paragraghs of the hon. Member's question is in the affirmative. As regards Mr. W. Smith, I have to inform the hon. Member that the statement made in his question is the first intimation which has reached the Postmaster General with regard to the incident mentioned, and that he will make inquiries on the subject. There is no intention of altering the Rule relating to these matters.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

MR. JAMES STUART: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the Despatch, addressed by Lord Knutsford on 30th November, 1888, to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, refusing to discuss the alleged increase of disease which was stated to have taken place in that Colony on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts there, and stating, as the reason for so refusing, that while—

"An increase of disease might be expected to follow as an immediate consequence of repeal. . . . . Ultimately, though only after a sufficient time has elapsed, it is to be hoped that the moral effects in the direction of discouraging prostitution will largely counterbalance the initial increase of disease;"

and whether he will call the attention of the Government of India to Lord Knutsford's Despatches on this subject addressed to the Governor of the Straits Settlements and to other Colonial Governors, with the view of acquainting the Government of India with the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government in the Crown Colonies in respect of this matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The Secretary of State is acquainted with the Despatch of Lord Knutsford alluded to in the question. The policy of Her Majesty's Government in India, in respect of the Contagious Diseases Acts, is contained in the Despatch of 17th May, 1888, laid upon the Table, and has by means of that Despatch been communicated to the Government of India.

IRELAND—DERRY GAOL.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether complaints have reached him as to the condition of the Water Supply to the City of Derry; whether the Derry Gaol is supplied with the same quality; whether the collecting basin was visited over 10 years ago by the members of the Corporation owing to the number of complaints made at the time; whether Mr. Foster, one of the body, expressed himself in these words, "that the top-dressing in the collecting basin was sufficient to cover six acres of grass land;" whether anything has been done to cleanse this since; and whether the Government will take steps to force the Derry Corporation to give the citizens a purer supply of water?

MR. MADDEN: No complaints have reached the Government in the matter of the Londonderry city water supply.

The prison is supplied with the same water as the city. The Executive sanitary officer is not aware that the collecting basin was visited, as alleged in the third paragraph, nor has he any knowledge of the statement alleged to have been made by Mr. Foster. It appears that every attention is given to prevent in any way contamination of the water, and samples of it are regularly analysed by the city analyst, who reports the results to the Corporation quarterly. In his last Report of analysis made he states that the water in the basins showed a very satisfactory degree of purity, and the quality in the various reservoirs compared very favourably with that of the public supply in many of the large towns. The Prisons Board report that all water used for culinary and drinking purposes in the prison is thoroughly filtered before use.

MR. O'HANLON: From which of the three basins which exist was the sample taken?

MR. MADDEN: I am afraid that my information is not sufficiently minute to enable me to answer that question.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Did Dr. O'Farrell, in his recent visit to the prison, make any inquiry as to the water supply? because there is no reference to it in his Report.

MR. MADDEN: I am not aware.

THE BELMULLET UNION.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the circumstances of the Poor Law election, held in March last, in the Binghamstown North Division of the Belmullet Union, on which occasion the opposing candidates were Mr. Peter O'Malley and Mr. W. G. Murphy, and the result of the election was that Mr. Murphy was declared to be returned by a majority of one; whether he is aware that, at the usual fortnightly Petty Sessions held in Belmullet, on Saturday the 10th instant, before Captain Perry, R.M., Mr. Horne, R.M., and Mr. Walsh, J.P., a charge was brought against Mr. Murphy for "suppressing, forging, and destroying" voting papers during the progress of the election in question; that in two cases it was shown that Mr. Murphy had called at the houses of two electors, and that he had in one instance illegally filled in, signed, and taken away the blank voting paper which had been handed to him, and that in the other he had taken away a second unfilled voting paper, and that after hearing the evidence the Magistrates unanimously convicted Mr. Murphy, and fined him £2 and costs, or in default of payment one month's imprisonment in Castlebar Gaol; a third case which stood against Mr. Murphy being withdrawn after an announcement by the Magistrates that they were unanimous on the two cases already heard; and whether seeing that Mr. Murphy's majority was only one in the election in March, and that he has been found guilty of resorting to illegal practices to secure that majority, it is the intention of the Local Government Board to allow him to retain his seat at the Belmullet Poor Law Board?

MR. MADDEN: My attention has been called by the question of the hon. Member to the circumstances of the election referred to. I am informed that the facts are as stated in the second paragraph of the question, with the exception that it was not proved that Mr. Murphy had filled in and signed any voting paper. The offence of which Mr. Murphy was convicted is not one which disqualifies him from being elected to or sitting at the Board of Guardians, and, as neither of the voting papers in question was recorded for any candidate, the majority was not proved to have been affected by what occurred. The Local Government Board would not, as they are advised, have any legal grounds for preventing Mr. Murphy from retaining his seat at the Board.

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION FOR EASTON MAGNA.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether he has received a letter from Mr. S. W. Taylor, County Councillor for the Hallaton Division of Leicestershire, stating that he was a candidate at the School Board election for Easton Magna in July last; that he then applied to Mr. Joseph King, assistant overseer, for a list of persons whose names appeared in the occupiers column of the rate book; that he drew Mr. King's attention to the omission of certain occupiers; that Mr. King promised to rectify these errors; that on the polling day, not only these persons were

found to be still omitted from the rate book, but 16 other persons whose names appeared on the list furnished by Mr. King to Mr. Taylor were also found to be omitted from the rate book, and disqualified as electors, and that the assistant overseer has since then acknowledged these persons to have qualifications by putting them on the Parliamentary and County Council Lists just published; and, what steps he will take to inquire into and deal with these alleged irregularities?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Local Government Board have received a communication from Mr. Taylor with reference to the School Board election at Easton Magna, and the Board have communicated with the collector of poor-rates on the subject of Mr. Taylor's complaint. The Board have forwarded a copy of the collector's explanation to Mr. Taylor, and have informed him that if he furnishes them with certain additional information they will further consider the matter.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: Can the First Lord of the Treasury fix the day for taking the Indian Budget?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I can make no definite statement till Supply is concluded; but I hope to take the Indian Budget either on Monday or Tuesday—certainly not later than Tuesday.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: May I ask whether, looking at the fact that the Dublin Hospital Board Bill has not yet been distributed, the Government propose to deal with it this Session?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I believe that the Bill is in the Vote Office, and unless it is opposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, I believe it will be possible to pass the Bill. Of course we are in the hands of the House, and at this period of the Session it will be impossible to pass anything that is seriously opposed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Perhaps I may be allowed to point out that the Bill cannot be read by people in Dublin before to-morrow.

MR. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not a fact, in the first place, that an engagement has been made to carry this Bill if possible; and, secondly, that the persons interested in it have had the principles and the details of it before them for several months?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I believe that the right hon. Gentleman is quite accurate. I hope there will be no opposition of the character to which I referred. I think that all interests are sufficiently considered and protected.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell): Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to take the Western Australia Bill which is first on the Order Book for Monday?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir; it will certainly not be possible.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): Has the right hon. Gentleman had time to consider the expression of opinion given by the Corporation of Manchester as to the Technical Instruction Bill. Does that make any difference in his intention as to the passing of the Bill?

LORD CRANBORNE (Lancashire N.E., Darwen): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not a fact that this representation has only been passed by a small Committee, and has been promptly disavowed by the corporation at large?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: My time, unfortunately, is much occupied, and I have not been able to read the papers with that care which the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) has bestowed upon them. I have not seen the representation to which he refers, nor do I know anything as to the circumstances mentioned by the noble Lord. I believe that it is an undoubted fact that every authority on technical education in this House is in favour of the Bill, and the right hon. Gentleman on that Bench who had charge of education presses us to go forward with the Bill.

MR. HAYDEN: May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will undertake that the Suck Drainage Bill shall be introduced next Session?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir; we are not in a position to give any pledges with respect to next Session.

MR. SEXTON: Will the sitting to-morrow be subject to the rules governing a Wednesday sitting? Is it intended to go on with Supply until it is closed? The right hon. Gentleman will probably

bear in mind that the sittings of the House this week have been very heavy.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am, of course, in the hands of the House. I think it will be allowed that I have hitherto endeavoured to meet the convenience of hon. Members on both sides of the House. I hope that it may be possible to close the Votes in Supply this evening and to take the Report of Supply to-morrow as the first Order of the Day. I do not wish to put any strain upon the health or endurance of hon. Members, but they will see that if we are not able to close Supply to-night the Session must be prolonged, and I hope that hon. Members will not be anxious to lengthen the Session in order to escape some little personal inconvenience to-night. The stage of Report will afford an opportunity for making any remarks which may be thought necessary on any point not threshed out this evening. I can only appeal to hon. Members to assist the Government and themselves by facilitating business in the way that I have indicated. With regard to the sitting to-morrow, my own belief is that the House will not sit beyond four or five o'clock. The Technical Instruction Bill will not be taken to-morrow. I may point out that if the House were to sit on Saturday under the application of the Wednesday rule, it would be possible for one or two Members to set at nought the general desire of the House by continuing discussion after half-past five o'clock, with the result of prolonging the Session by another day at least. These are the considerations which induced me to put upon the Paper the motion which stands in my name.

MR. SEXTON: My hon. Friends are most willing to respond to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman. They wish, however, to initiate a discussion upon the recent action of the Irish Bishops with respect to the education question. I should therefore like to know whether an opportunity will be afforded them on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill if the question is not raised in Supply.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: That, I think, would be a very fair arrangement. The right hon. Gentleman will have the opportunity which he desires on the Report of Supply to-morrow, as well as on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. I may point out that if any Votes in Supply are postponed until to-morrow, they can only be reported on Monday, and the Appropriation Bill will then have to be introduced on Monday, instead of to-morrow, with the result of prolonging the Session.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS (SCOTLAND).

Return ordered—

"Showing the number of persons of each sex apprehended in a state of intoxication on Sundays in each burgh and county in Scotland during the months of February and June 1889, such Return to give (*a*) the nature of the crime or offence for which apprehended; and (*b*) the hour of such apprehension, in form as follows:—

Crime or offence for which arrested.

8 a.m. to 2 p.m.	3rd Feb., 1889.
2 p.m. to 7 p.m.	
7 p.m. to 12 p.m.	
12 p.m. to 8 a.m.	
Men.	
Women.	
Total.	
8 a.m. to 2 p.m.	10th Feb., 1889.
2 p.m. to 7 p.m.	
7 p.m. to 12 p.m.	
12 p.m. to 8 a.m.	
Men.	
Women.	
Total.	
8 a.m. to 2 p.m.	17th Feb., 1889.
2 p.m. to 7 p.m.	
7 p.m. to 12 p.m.	
12 p.m. to 8 a.m.	
Men.	
Women.	
Total.	

—(*Mr. Provand.*)

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

"That they do communicate Copies of the First and Second Reports from the Select Committee, appointed by their Lordships in the present Session of Parliament, on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as desired by this House."

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act (1862) Amendment Bill; Amendments to Amendments to Local Government (Scotland) Bill, without Amendment; Amendment to Amendments to Official Secrets Bill, without Amendment.

PAYMASTER GENERAL BILL (No. 348.)

Lords' Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Proceedings on Supply and Ways and Means, this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order 'Sittings of the House,' and the Proceedings on Ways and Means may be begun, though opposed, after Twelve o'clock."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MR. CHANNING: I think we have a right to complain of the conduct of the Government in respect of the Technical Instruction Bill. Some little time ago the First Lord of the Treasury intimated that no controversial measure would be introduced at the close of the Session. The Government are now attempting to force through the House in the very last week of the Session a Bill which the Order Book shows to be warmly disputed in its several clauses and provisions by hon. Members on this side of the House. I think we ought not to have this measure forced upon us, and be compelled to discuss it at the fag end of the Session, as the Amendments of which Notice has been given are well deserving of careful consideration. Some of them come from the Chairman of one of the most important School Boards in England, and one which has interested itself in carrying out various schemes of technical education.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss the merits of the measure upon the Motion now before the House.

MR. CHANNING: Then I will not go further into the matter now. I will simply say that this is a highly controversial Bill, and that it is only right that it should be postponed until next Session.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. PICTON: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman has proposed this Motion with the object of securing the time for the advancement of more measures than ought to be proceeded with at so late a period of the Session. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that all the authorities on technical instruction—[*Cries of* "Order!"]———

*MR. SPEAKER: It does not appear to me that it is competent for the hon. Member to raise a discussion on the Technical Instruction Bill on the Motion before the House. The Motion is simply for the appropriation of Saturday, and the Technical Instruction Bill will not be affected by the Motion. It, is therefore, not in order to discuss the Bill.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: In the event of Supply being closed to-night, and the Report stage taken to-morrow, can the discussion of the Indian Budget be fixed for Tuesday?

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I shall only agree to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman on the condition that no further contentious business whatever will be proceeded with this Session. Scotch Members have certainly done their part in facilitating the progress of Supply. Early this morning a whole legion of Scotch Votes were passed at one fell swoop. I think that we are quite entitled to insist that we should not be kept in town to discuss any contentious Bill whatever.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. and learned Member is asking me to give a pledge which I cannot give. What is contentious business? Is it business to which a considerable minority are opposed, or business to which some six or eight Members may entertain objection? The House has had experience of my desire to give opportunity for the full expression of feelings and complete satisfaction to all the ingredients of this House. But I must decline to make any such promise as the hon. and learned Member asks. There has been no engagement inconsistent with the declaration I have made. Sir, with reference to the hope which the hon. Member for Northampton asks me to express, I wish to say that I have every hope that if we have concluded Supply, as he suggests, we may fix the Indian Budget at the latest for Tuesday next.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I have paid a visit to the Vote Office and I find that the Dublin Hospital Board Bill has not been delivered. If the Bill comes on to-night I shall oppose it.

Question put and agreed to.

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House do sit to-morrow, and that as soon as Government Business is disposed of Mr Speaker do adjourn the House without putting any Question."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY: This Motion is entirely objectionable. Such a thing as "Government business" is unknown to the Constitution. The right hon. Gentleman has given a guarantee that after the particular business is ended he would himself move the adjournment of the House. It is a most revolutionary thing to propose that the Speaker should of his own cognisance decide what is public business; and it is getting the House into a state in which it ought not to be placed. I move the omission of all the words after "to-morrow."

Amendment proposed, to leave out all the words after the word "To-morrow" to the end of the Question.—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I think the hon. and learned Member is slightly mistaken in supposing that the terms of the Motion are at all unusual. I have often been asked to undertake to move the adjournment of the House after Government business is disposed of. But I think it is a little difficult to carry out an engagement of that kind, because Gentlemen may wish to press forward particular Bills. If the hon. and learned Gentleman wishes that the form should run in the words which he has indicated, I do not wish to prevent Bills being discussed if it is the pleasure of the House to discuss them. But I believe when Saturdays have been taken in previous Sessions there has been a great desire expressed on all sides that the sitting should be dedicated to the consideration of Government and pressing business only and nothing else. If the hon. Member wishes to press his Amendment I have no objection, but I do not think it is the feeling of the House that he should do so.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will press it if there is no objection.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That this House do sit to-morrow, and that as soon as Government business is disposed of, Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without putting any Question.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.

1. £57,271, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Two months ago the Solicitor General for Ireland made a promise to furnish information and papers with respect to the position of Mr. Edward Murphy, who is in receipt of £1,000 a year, and whose appointment we believe to be illegal. As yet I have not seen the papers.

*MR. MADDEN: This salary does not appear in the Votes. Mr. Murphy is paid, I believe, out of the fees. But I will at once obtain for the hon. and learned Member all the information I can.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the salary is not included in this Vote, but will come on next year, I will not press the matter further. When will the Papers be presented?

*MR. MADDEN: As soon as possible.

Vote agreed to.

2. £98,624, to complete the sum for the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I have to complain of the late period of the Session at which this Vote is brought forward, and also of the excessive cost of the Dublin police, which is just twice as large as that of the police in English towns of a population as great or as greater than that of Dublin. In the English towns the Corporations have absolute control over their respective police forces, whereas in Dublin the Corporation has no control whatever over its police. I hope that some relief will be given to Dublin

in respect of this matter. The total cost of the Dublin Metropolitan Police is about £150,000, and one-third of it is borne by the ratepayers, whereas in Belfast and Cork and other towns the charge falls upon the Imperial Exchequer. In Manchester, which has a population of 374,000, the total cost of the police amounts to only £77,773, or very little more than one-half of the cost of the police in Dublin. In the case of English towns the Treasury pays one-half of the cost of the police, but in the case of Dublin the Treasury pays two-thirds of the cost. Notwithstanding this fact Manchester, with a population of 30,000 more than Dublin, only pays £36,000 a year for police, while Dublin pays £50,000. In Birmingham the population is 400,000, 50,000 more than that in Dublin. The total cost of the police in Birmingham is only £49,387, and the net cost to the inhabitants of the city only £22,800 or considerably less than one-half of the cost to the inhabitants of Dublin of their police. The population of Leeds is 309,000; the gross cost of the police £37,000, net cost to the inhabitants £17,200. I do not desire to detain the Committee, but I must call attention to the fact that in each of these English cities the Local Authorities have absolute control of the Police Force, while in Dublin the Local Authorities, although they pay so much, have no control over the police. Again, the rate payable on the rateable property in Dublin in respect of the police is fixed by Act of Parliament at 8d. in the £1. I find that in no town in Great Britain, with the exception of Blackburn, where there was last year excessive rating owing to certain rioting, is the rate so high. In the Metropolitan Police district the rate amounts to 4-88d. in the £1; in Manchester to 3¾d. in the £1; and in some towns it is as low as 2d. in the £1. I find a still more startling difference when comparing the cost of the police per inhabited house. In Dublin the rate amounts to £3 10s. per house, in Manchester to £8, and in Birmingham to 12s. 1d. It costs seven times as much to police the inhabited houses of Dublin as of Leeds. In Dublin, too, the carriage tax yields £5,600 per annuum. £8 per annum is charged upon every tramcar as against £2 charged in London. The scale of carriage licenses is fixed by the Act of 1854, but I maintain that a charge of £8 upon a job carriage is very excessive indeed. In addition I should like to direct attention to the totally unnecessary and most offensive regulation in relation to the licensing of job carriges—namely, the obligation to attach a huge plate to the harness denoting the character of the carriage. There is no such rule in operation anywhere else as far as I know. Possibly it is some inducement to people to hire a job carriage if it is not labelled a job carriage. Anyhow, the restriction is quite unnecessary, and the Commissioners of Police would be well advised in abolishing it. It appears that the Commissioners of Police have ample power to reduce the scale of licenses in Dublin, and having regard to the enormous difference between the Dublin scale and that which prevails in London. I hope the Treasury will assent to the reduction of the scale to a rational level. I know that relief cannot well be given in respect to the police without legislation. The subject is crying out for legislation, and I hope the Government will see their way to provide the very necessary relief.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The practical suggestions made by my hon. Friend are such as deserve prompt attention at the hands of the Irish Administration. I agree with my hon. Friend that the Dublin Metropolitan Police is comparatively well managed. I do not believe the members of that Force are promoted by reason of the way they attack the public, but I am inclined to think the reasonable disposition which animates that Force is due in great measure to the fact that the Police Magistrates in Dublin are independent of the Government. Elsewhere Magistrates are dependent upon the Government, but in Dublin, as the right hon. Gentleman well knows, a Magistrate made a rule extremely unpalatable to the Government, namely, that a prisoner under the Crimes Act should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. The observations of my hon. Friend, while I agree with them, lead me to regret that we have not in other parts of Ireland a magistracy as independent as the magistracy of Dublin. Of course I must add that the value of an independent magistracy

is greatly governed by the circumstances of the fitness of the original selection. Now, there is a matter which cries urgently for reform. It has occupied more than once the attention of the Municipal Council of Dublin. By reason of the tax of 8d. in the £1 to which my learned Friend has referred, Dublin has been prevented from endeavouring to carry out a main drainage scheme which might bring about a decrease in the mortality of the city, We never can carry out a scheme of that kind unless we get some relief of taxation. It is very much to be deplored that the Police Force in Dublin costs from two to four times as much as that in the great cities of England. Why should the Police Force in Dublin cost so much? The community in Dublin is as orderly as any to be found in any of the great cities of the world. I think the police themselves will testify to that fact. What, then, is the reason that the relative cost of the Police Force is so great? I can find no reason except that the citizens of Dublin have not the power that the citizens of other places have—the power to determine the extent and cost of the local Police Force. I apprehend that the whole of this 8d. in £1 might be saved and devoted to some more urgent purpose. We have also to surrender a sum amounting to £20,000 a year, payable into the civic purse in relief of local expenditure. I wish to tell the right hon. Gentleman from what I have lately heard on the subject, my opinion is that there is a great and growing disposition to resist the continuance of the system. There was last year a tendency on the part of the Corporation to proceed to an extreme as other Corporations have done, a proceeding which, constituted as my mind is on such matters, I for one should extremely regret to see rendered unavoidable. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, as he is generally believed to be on the verge of some proposal as to local government in Ireland, whether he could not offer us now, or, if that is not possible, at an early date next year, an indication of what his intention with regard to the Dublin Metropolitan Police will be. We are now contributing £50,000 a year towards the maintenance of the police, but have no power of control and no means of exercising influence upon them or effectively criticising their action such as are exercised by the Watch Committees of boroughs in the United Kingdom. At the present time, whenever the Corporation require the services of a constable for any special purpose for a year, a week, or a day, they have to apply to Dublin Castle for permission to employ a member of the Force, and they have to pay for his services as though we had not contributed a penny towards the maintenance of the Force. I ask is that a system which any body of intelligent persons, who consider they have any right to freedom, are likely to submit to much longer? The citizens of Dublin have some self-respect, and I do not think they are likely to continue submissive to a system which would be scorned by any Municipality in Scotland or England. The feeling now prevailing is one likely to develop into a widespread refusal to pay rates. And if the Corporation should be driven to that point, even though a Judge might fill up a presentment and forward it to the proper quarter, the people would refuse to pay. As I say, I should be unwilling to push things to such a pass; therefore, I trust that in any scheme for Irish Local Government the right hon. Gentleman may prepare the citizens of Dublin will be allowed to have some share in regulating the cost of the police and in controlling the Force.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have noticed with satisfaction that both the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Gentleman opposite have spoken with approval of the management of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and I can only say that I accept with pleasure the testimony which the right hon. Gentleman has given as to the efficiency of the Force. The right hon. Gentleman's criticism applied partly to the cost of the Force and partly to the authority which regulates it. It is true that in a large number of English and Scotch towns the ordinary practice is for the State to pay half the cost and for the locality to control the police, but there is one exception very pertinent to the case of Dublin, and that is the case of the Metropolis. Here, also, the locality pays half, but the control is entirely an Imperial control, and all the grievance—if grievance there be—which is ex-

pressed by the citizens of Dublin, of whom the right hon. Gentleman is the mouthpiece, might be brought forward with equal force by the people of London. But there is this difference between the case of the Metropolis of England and that of Dublin, that whilst in London the locality pays half the total cost of the Force, in Dublin the contribution of the locality, I believe, is not much more than one-fourth.

MR. SEXTON: About one-third.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: So that relatively to the total cost of the police the position of the ratepayers in the English Metropolis is far less favourable than that of the ratepayers in the Irish Metropolis. I am informed that the area which is protected by the Dublin Metropolitan Police is larger in proportion to the population than is usual in similar cases in England or Scotland. The cost of the police is consequently greater. Another cause of the comparatively large cost of the Dublin Police is the great discrepancy between the rateable and the actual value of property in Dublin. The proportion is smaller than in, say, Manchester or Leeds.

MR. SEXTON: It depends upon the quarter of the city.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There may be differences no doubt; but this accounts in part for the apparent discrepancy between the wealth of the community and the tax they have to pay for the police protection. But there is a third matter very material to this question of comparison of cost between Dublin and English towns. I must also point out that the Dublin Police enjoy the advantages of a much larger superannuation charge than is assigned to the English Police, and in my judgment the Dublin system is the better of the two, because in order to obtain a really efficient Police Force they must be treated liberally in the matter of superannuation. If all these circumstances are taken into account I think it will be found that the discrepancy on which the right hon. Gentleman has commented between the cost of the police in Dublin and elsewhere is not so great as it appears. Then the Government are urged to make some alteration in the amount of the carriage tax. It is heavy in Dublin, and no doubt the charge on tramcars is larger in Dublin than in other cities about which I have been able to obtain information, but it will be evident to hon. Members that it would be impossible for any reduction to be made in the taxation of Dublin tramcars, unless a corresponding reduction were made in the taxation of other descriptions of vehicles. Although it is not improbable that the Treasury may find difficulties in making an alteration in the taxation in this respect, I will undertake that the Government will give the matter their consideration before next Session. The right hon. Gentleman may rest assured that the cost of the Dublin Metropolitan Police will not escape the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and that if they can do anything to alleviate local burdens in this respect they will be most happy to take the necessary steps to carry out that object.

MR. MURPHY: I would point out that the reduction of the carriage tax is a matter in the discretion of the Dublin Commissioners of Police under the Act of Parliament. I mentioned the tramcars as an illustration of the heavy tax, the charge being £8 per car in Dublin, whereas it is only £2 per car in London. They do not pay it as tram cars but as stage carriages; and every stage carriage, though only used for jobbing purposes and sent out occasionally, has to pay the same amount. As to the comparisons drawn by the right hon. Gentleman on the question of the police, I did not myself go so fully into that part of the case as I might have done. I did not wish to weary the House, but I would point out that in the town of Leeds, which is of about the same area as Dublin, the cost of the police per acre is £1 12s. 7¼d., whilst in Dublin it is £6 16s. 0d. That will show that the Dublin Police expenses are not consequent upon the extent of the area. There is an enormous excess in the cost of the police in Dublin as compared with that in every other large city.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman has not touched on the question of Local Government in Ireland. I presume he has been busy for some time past with that question, and I would ask him if he has at all considered the question of the control of the police in relation to it. I would ask him if he is disposed to consider the propriety of placing the Dublin Metropolitan Police so far as its finance is concerned in the position in which it would have been

placed by the general regulations which were proposed in the Bill brought in for the purpose of associating with the Commissioners of Police certain representatives of the ratepayers, Watch Committees or otherwise?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be premature to discuss the provisions of the scheme, and the right hon. Gentleman can hardly ask me to give a pledge as to the method we will adopt in dealing with the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Sir, a good feeling prevails with regard to the Dublin Police, and the reason is that Mr. Halloran does not order them to baton the people. If an Irish Member happens to be released from prison and arrives at a railway station, Mr. Halloran does not order the police to bludgeon the people. It is remarkable how quiet a crowd is when properly handled, and the police are so well managed that they and the people get on very well together. The case is altogether different in the country. There the police draw their batons, and they are officered in a way which produces this bloodletting and bloodthirstiness. On one occasion the police had to draw their batons in Dublin, but they did not follow the people up, and dodge them round corners, and hit every head as it came up. The officers of the Dublin police have risen from the ranks, and may have come from among the people, and since they have got rid of the horse soldiers things have gone better in Dublin. Now when you ask, a constable in Dublin tells you the way civilly. The Dublin Metropolitan Police are a respectable body of men. When they have come into collision with the people, it has been in consequence of the bad policy of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): In speaking of the general principle of local control of the police, the right hon. Gentleman defended one anomaly by citing London, where there has never been a separate civic authority until the establishing of the London County Council. The right hon. Gentleman forgets that, if there is one question which is more strongly advocated than another, it is that the Metropolitan Police shall be brought under the control of the representatives of the citizens and ratepayers. There can be very little doubt that in due time that reform will be effected. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman's argument against the local control of the Dublin Police breaks down on the very first examination. I endorse what has been said by the hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to the demeanour of the Dublin Police when brought in contact with the people; and the right hon. Gentleman ought not to be above taking to heart the lesson afforded by the contrast between the relations of the Dublin Police to the people and the relations of the country police to the people.

Vote agreed to.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £91,065, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, for the Expenses of the General Prisons Board in Ireland, and of the Prisons under their control; and of the Registration of Habitual Criminals."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford): Mr. Courtney, we shall, on the earliest opportunity next Session, join issue with the Government with the object of reversing their policy in reference to the treatment of political offenders in Ireland—a policy which is contrary to the practice of every other country, which is against the better precedents of this country, and which is dishonourable to the name of this country. But I propose to dwell mainly on the new Prison Rules promulgated by the Chief Secretary at the beginning of the Session to show the effect of those rules and to refer to the treatment of political offenders and of common criminals. The subject was raised early in the Session upon the Second Reading of a Bill providing that prisoners under the Crimes Act should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. The country's attention had been recently aroused by Mr. O'Brien's refusal to wear prison clothes—a resistance which, in my opinion, was noble and patriotic. The Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister spoke in the same strain of that action—Lord Salisbury referring to it as the tragic nudity. When the discussion on the second reading of the Bill came on the Government found it necessary to make concessions. There were indications that Members of their own side were dissatisfied and that even the Cabinet

were not unanimous. It is a remarkable fact that during the past two or three years no Member of the Cabinet other than the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister has spoken on the subject of prison treatment. The President of the Board of Trade, who is an authority on Irish matters, has been silent; and although he is a responsible Member of the Party, I cannot doubt for my part that it is a policy which in the main does not meet with his approval. It appears to me that the key to the policy of the Chief Secretary is to be found in the speech which he delivered to the Liberal Unionists of Dublin that he would not permit Mr. W. O'Brien to ruin his constitution for the purpose of injuring the Government. The Chief Secretary's object has been to maintain just that degree of severity and indignity in the Prison Rules which is compatible with the safety of the Government. He has determined to jettison just so much of the Prison Rules as is necessary to save the rest of his valuable cargo of coercion. The three points on which he has determined to yield are prison dress, clipping the hair, and the exercise of the prisoners with ordinary criminals. In refusing to recognise any distinction between political offenders and ordinary criminals the right hon. Gentleman has been compelled to introduce a totally new principle into his Prison Rules, and to make a distinction between wealthy prisoners and poor prisoners. Such a principle is utterly subversive of prison discipline. There are eleven points of difference which distinguish the treatment of criminals from that of first-class misdemeanants. Three of them are matters of indignity —prison dress, clipping the hair, and exercising with other criminals. The other eight are matters of severity and hardship—the plank-bed, prison fare, deprivation of occupation for the mind, deprivation of the visits of friends, deprivation of correspondence, and a few other matters of the same kind. The right hon. Gentleman has dealt with the three points, involving indignity, but he has left all the other points untouched. I believe that the deprivation of mental employment inflicts far greater pain than hard labour. I am convinced that no educated man can stand that treatment long without injury to both his health and mind. I have always held, compared with these inflictions, that the insistence upon the wearing of prison clothing was a comparatively unimportant matter, though, where the enforcement of it was intended to emphasise the contention that there is no distinction between political and ordinary offenders, I think it was right to resist, and the hon. Member for Cork took the proper course. With the exception of the three points on which the Chief Secretary has made concessions, the treatment of political offenders remains the same substantially as that of ordinary criminals. I have always protested against a distinction being made between Irish Members of this House and other persons convicted under the Crimes Act, and I believe Irish Members are themselves of that view. And I further maintain as a sound principle that there should be no distinction between the rich and the poor. But now that distinction is being introduced for the first time into Irish prisons by the Chief Secretary. I can best illustrate the effect of the new rules by a case which occurred recently. Four persons were incarcerated in Derry Gaol for some of the most serious frauds that mercantile men can be guilty of. They had effected a number of insurances on inebriates, and then plied them with temptations to drink so as to hasten their end that they might get the insurance money. These prisoners were asked whether they would wear their own garments; and I find in a newspaper in the North of Ireland a record by one of the prisoners of his experiences under these new rules. Here is a passage from the letter of this Belfast forger:—

"When the new rule was applied to us in Derry Gaol we were individually interrogated by an official as to whether we preferred to wear our own clothes or the prison clothes, and whether or not we desired to wear our beards and hair long. When one comes to think of it it seems surprising that it should have been left for so many years to the sagacious Mr. Balfour to concede these desirable items of prison rules. It is impossible to describe the sensation of degradation which a man of my position feels on being mutilated of beard and moustache and dressed in prison garb. . . . The very fact of one's being allowed to wear one's own clothing necessarily gives the feeling, that, though among gaol birds, he is not of them; and on the other hand, it must and will produce a feeling of respectful deference on the part of the warders, which was almost impossible under the old system."

I can scarcely imagine that the Chief Secretary appreciates the compliment to his sagacity paid by this Belfast forger. These forgers were not called upon to exercise with the other criminals, but, strange to say, Father Stephens and Mr. Kelly, who were also relieved from taking exercise with the ordinary criminals, were compelled to take exercise with the Belfast forgers. They objected, and they were deprived for some days of their exercise. An interesting statement of the effect of these new rules is to be found in Mr. Joyce's evidence given before Lord Aberdare's Committee. It is to this effect:—

"In one prison I went to quite recently a prisoner, who had committed a serious crime under the ordinary law, applied to have his own clothes left to him. He was allowed to wear them, and he appeared in a knickerbocker suit. He was put to exercise with other prisoners, and it was the occasion of remarks being made, as the prisoners talking and pointing to it entailed several of them being punished."

Let me quote another case illustrating the effect of the new rules. At Tullamore Gaol five persons were incarcerated under the Coercion Act, three being Members of Parliament. Under the new rules they are relieved from the obligation of taking exercise with other criminals, and they were allowed to take exercise together. But on this becoming known in Dublin Castle, orders were sent by the Prisons Board that these gentlemen were not to take exercise together but separately, and in absolute silence. I ask the Chief Secretary whether that met with his approval? I do not propose to deal at length with the case of Mr. Conybeare. I will leave that to my hon. Friend (Mr. M'Arthur). Mr. Conybeare was convicted and sentenced as a first-class misdemeanant, while the hon. Member for South Armagh, for exactly the same offence, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment as a common criminal. The reason for the distinction does not appear. Assuming Mr. Conybeare was rightly convicted—in my opinion, he was unjustly convicted—then it would be just that he should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. But it would appear that his treatment as a first-class misdemeanant has been made as serious as possible. He was put into a common criminal's cell. In English gaols first-class misdemeanants are allowed comfortable rooms, which on some occasions they are allowed to furnish. I am told that Mr. Conybeare can only receive one visitor a day for a quarter of an hour. In England a first-class misdemeanant may really hold a *levée* of friends. In the well-known case of Colonel Baker two rooms were allowed the prisoner, Mr. Stead edited his paper in gaol, and Mr. Yates was allowed to have his friends and continue his literary labours. I ask the Chief Secretary whether he approves of these restrictions which have been placed upon the treatment of first-class misdemeanants in Ireland under the new rules. I am told that in Derry Gaol there is no suitable room where Mr. Conybeare could be confined as a first-class misdemeanant, and, therefore, it was necessary to put him into an ordinary cell. If that is the case, no doubt that is the place where he has contracted the loathsome disease from which he is suffering. Why was Mr. Conybeare not released at once, and why did not the Chief Secretary at once direct an inquiry into the circumstances? I should have thought after this evidence of the condition of Derry Gaol, that he would have at once released Mr. Conybeare in order that he might receive professional treatment outside. That would have been the generous course, if the Chief Secretary can be expected to act generously with regard to prisoners convicted under the Coercion Act. It was the impression of the House, and certainly of the country, that Lord Aberdare's Committee ought to inquire into the whole question of the treatment of political prisoners. So far as I can recollect, there was to be no limitation. Lord Aberdare seemed greatly surprised when he found the Instruction expressly limited to the two questions of prison dress and clipping the hair. Thus limited the inquiry has proved almost a farce. A better Chairman than Lord Aberdare could not have been selected, and I am sure every one regrets the severe illness from which he is suffering. I do not say anything against the constitution of the Committee. My conviction is that if Lord Aberdare had been allowed to inquire and report upon the subject, he would have recommended that prisoners under the Coercion Act of 1887 should be treated as political prisoners. Now the Committee, as it was, practically

condemned root and branch all the new regulations, and they unanimously reported against the extension of the rules to England. In the evidence given before that Committee there was an overwhelming weight of authority against the introduction of the new principle of making a distinction between the rich and the poor prisoners. Sir Edward Ducaine, who gave evidence on the subject, said the new rule which would lead to the

"Creation of a class who affect a superiority over the rest would have a very bad influence over the prisoners and over the warders. The present system of administration would be impossible if there were a mixed body of prisoners of whom some should be in prison dress and others in private clothes."

The Governor of Mountjoy Prison, in Ireland, said:—

"The new rule would have a bad effect on warders, and influence them, and especially new officers, when they see that some persons are dealt with differently from others, to treat them differently also, and not to be strict in enforcing the rules."

The Committee were evidently placed in a position of great difficulty by their limited instructions. They did not like to recommend the repeal of the new rule because that would have been to restore the prison garb to political offenders; but they recommended that it should not be applied to persons guilty of serious crimes, and it is clear that they did not intend to include among serious crimes political offences, breaches against the Vaccination Laws, and matters of that kind. They recommended that persons convicted of offences of that kind should be imprisoned in separate prisons. The Committee also condemned in the most emphatic manner the treatment of the hon. Member for Kerry. I myself regard his treatment as illegal under the existing rules. I ask the Chief Secretary what course he is going to take with regard to the officers who were responsible for the treatment of the hon. Member for Kerry? It seems to me that the Chief Secretary stands condemned by his own Committee of a very hasty adoption of an unsound principle, namely, a distinction for the first time between the rich and poor in gaol. On the other hand, these new rules are wholly insufficient to meet the demands of those who have urged that the treatment of political prisoners should be different from that of ordinary criminals. The political prisoners continue, as before, subject to all the severities of the gaol. I have no doubt that the Chief Secretary will hold that these matters are not worthy of much consideration and attention. But I may remind him that some of the greatest men who have sat in this House have protested against the treatment of political prisoners after the fashion of the present day—the plank bed and the deprivation of reading and writing. Lord Brougham, O'Connell, Joseph Hume, and a great many others have protested against persons convicted of political offences being treated in this manner. I will only quote one precedent, that of the late notorious Richard Pigott, who in the year 1868 was convicted in respect of a series of articles in the paper which he edited and which were of a most treasonable character. Mr. Richard Pigott was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Objection was raised to his treatment in this House, and the then Chief Secretary, Lord Mayo, who was an Irishman, and therefore amenable to Irish opinion, directed that Richard Pigott should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. Lord Mayo said—

"I have taken on myself as an officer of the Government, and on my own authority, to authorise a very large departure from the rules of the Prison Board. In that respect I have, perhaps, assumed an authority which did not altogether belong to me. I felt so strongly that the Regulation Orders of the Prison Board were not intended for the treatment of persons convicted of this class of offence that I felt it my duty to authorise a departure from the rules. In doing so I believe I only fulfilled my duty."

Lord Mayo dealt in the same manner with another case, that of the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnstone), who was convicted of attending an illegal meeting, and who was sent to prison as a common criminal. He was offered his release if he would undertake not to attend any other illegal meeting. He very nobly held that he would compromise others if he accepted the condition, and he elected to go, and went to prison. Lord Mayo directed that he should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. But it appeared that he was not allowed to receive his friends except in the presence of a warder, but Lord Mayo directed that in future he

should receive his friends without the presence of warders. I could bring forward a number of other cases of the treatment of persons convicted of political offences. There is one point on which I should like to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. It is on a subject with which I have already dealt to some extent—namely, the deprivation of materials for reading and writing. The right hon. Gentleman is himself, to some extent I believe, a literary man, and I think he must appreciate what it must be for literary men to be shut up for long weeks and months without any means of occupying the mind by reading or writing. I would ask him whether this ever occurs to the right hon. Gentleman when he looks upon the blanks among his opponents on the Benches opposite and recollects that most of them are literary men? Does it ever occur to the right hon. Gentleman what mental torture it must be to such men to be kept for weeks and months without the means of reading and writing? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware how many great literary works have been written in gaol by political prisoners? I believe I am right in saying that Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his *History of England* in gaol, that Bunyan wrote a great part of his *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Mirabeau most of his works in gaol. There are also many other works which were written in gaol by men in the position of political prisoners. On this point alone I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he should make a new regulation. For my part, I have never been able to think of this matter without a burning sense of humiliation and shame. I know I am only a phlegmatic Englishman, infected with much of the pococurantism of London society and political lobbies. If I feel strongly on this subject, what must be the feelings of hot-blooded young Irishmen in every part of the world? I would ask is it wise, is it statesmanlike, to rouse the passions and indignation of a whole generation of Irishmen in every part of the world? I commend this matter to the consideration of the Government. In conclusion, I have to ask the Chief Secretary what he proposes to do respecting Lord Aberdare's Report. Does he, in the teeth of the Report of this Committee of his own appointing, intend to maintain the unsound principle of class distinction between rich and poor in the Irish gaols? Are we to have the scandal of Members of this House and numerous other persons convicted of purely political offences being treated any longer as common criminals in the Irish gaols—men whose motives are as pure and honourable as those of the right hon. Gentleman himself. [*Ironical Home Rule laughter.*] I have never doubted for a moment that the motives of the right hon. Gentleman are honourable and pure. I would appeal to him not to refrain from doing what is right by an obstinate regard for his own past declarations. It is too often the duty of a statesman to have to make concessions. I can only say that for my part I shall welcome, applaud, and rejoice in any change of policy in this respect, and, provided it be carried out in a generous spirit and without unreasonable reservation, I shall be the last to taunt the Chief Secretary or his Government for any change of opinion. I can assure him that his prison policy has done, and is doing, more than any act of the Government to alienate vast numbers of people from the cause which the right hon. Gentleman has at heart, and that it is viewed by large numbers of people, including Members of his own Party, with disgust and shame and as dishonouring the good fame of this country in the eyes of the civilised world.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is much in what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman on which upon another occasion I should have been tempted to dilate in a controversial spirit, but I will try to confine myself on the present occasion to the barest survey of the arguments which the right hon. Gentleman has presented to the Committee, and will omit all reference to the case of the hon. Member for Camborne, to which it is proposed to refer at a later period of the Debate. The great bulk of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman related to the general theory of prison treatment in Ireland, and criticism on the action which the present Government has taken with regard to the recent alteration in the Irish prison rules. The right hon. Gentleman must not be surprised at there being some divergence in the con-

clusions at which we have arrived, because the premisses from which we start are absolutely different. The right hon. Gentleman appears to think I ought to agree with him that all prisoners under the Crimes Act are political prisoners in the same sense that General Boulanger would be if he went over to France, or any person tried for treasonable writings would be in this country. Now, I entirely traverse that contention of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman has taken great pains to amass precedents, but I think it would have been worth all the quotations in the world if the right hon. Gentleman had devoted his mind to the real problem before him. The right hon. Gentleman lays it down that Members of this House convicted under the Crimes Act, let us say for encouraging tenants to break the law, are political offenders, and also that these gentlemen desire to draw no distinction between themselves and any other prisoner convicted under the Crimes Act. The right hon. Gentleman is therefore of opinion that a tenant who, in obedience to this illegal conspiracy, barricades his house and resists the police and pours boiling water on the bailiffs is guilty of a political offence. [Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE indicated dissent.] The right hon. Gentleman did not say that; but what I complain of is that the right hon. Gentleman does not see to what his premisses lead him. The right hon. Gentleman lays it down that this was the action of politicians, and that those who follow those politicians ought to be treated in the same way. The inevitable conclusion, the conclusion from which the right hon. Gentleman cannot possibly escape, is that those persons who knock in the ribs of policemen and pour boiling water on bailiffs should be treated——

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have never contended that persons who use force against the police or pour boiling water should be treated as political offenders.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have never stated that the right hon. Gentleman said it; but my contention is that if the right hon. Gentleman knew how to argue from his own premisses, he would have to point that out. The right hon. Gentleman has laid it down that one must judge of the guilt of an action by the motive. The right hon. Gentleman and hon. Members opposite below the Gangway say that those tenants who forcibly resist eviction are acting from the noblest of all motives, the defence of their homes. Therefore, I presume, they should be treated in the most lenient manner as political prisoners and first-class misdemeanants. The right hon. Gentleman has not said that, but he will show greater ingenuity than he has displayed in his speech if he is able to get up and show any flaw in this reasoning. Hon. Members below the Gangway who think that they ought to be treated as first-class misdemeanants must think that those whom they try to persuade to follow a particular course of illegal action should not be treated with less leniency than they claim for themselves.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: May I point out to the right hon. Gentleman that a vast number of persons convicted under the Crimes Act have done nothing worse than attend some political meeting or publish a newspaper? I have not attempted to draw the line.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the right hon. Gentleman had attempted to draw the line, he would have seen how utterly futile is the position he has taken up. My point is that it is absolutely impossible to draw the line between the two classes of offenders. Just let the Committee note the inference which we must draw from the interruption of the right hon. Gentleman. If a Member of this House recommends boycotting, or tells tenants to defend their houses, and is convicted in consequence, according to the right hon. Gentleman he is not a political prisoner.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I did not say that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will not suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should interrupt me again, because I do not think the Committee has received much instruction from his last interruption; but I think he will admit I have now supplied him with some grounds for thinking that before coming down to this House again and recommending, on his responsibility as an ex-Minister of the Crown, that a particular kind of distinction should be drawn between different classes of prisoners, he had better take a little more trouble to study the points on which he pronounces so glibly. The right hon. Gentleman complains of the course taken by the

Government with regard to certain relaxations of the rules applying to prison dress. He says the Government have abolished that which is degrading in punishment and left that which is disagreeable. Well, that is precisely what we intended to do. I have long been of opinion that to heap degradation and indignities on prisoners is not the proper way of punishing them. In my judgment, the example which I have set in Ireland would undoubtedly be followed in England if it once became clear that any large number of prisoners here did feel the present prison dress to be "a degradation and an indignity," to use the words of the right hon. Gentleman. I maintain that the whole theory of attempting to punish by inflicting indignity is utterly wrong. As a matter of fact, until the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) first resisted the prison dress, it was not usual to regard it as degrading and insulting. But as soon as one finds that punishment beyond that which a Court of Law intends to inflict is inflicted by one's prison rules, it is time to consider how far those rules ought to be modified. The right hon. Gentleman has complained that I have drawn a distinction between rich and poor. I deny it altogether. If I have drawn any distinction at all, it has been between cleanliness and uncleanliness. But the old rule did draw a distinction between rich and poor. It has never been contested that to the poor the prison dress is not an affront, but a privilege; it was originally given to poor prisoners as a benefit. On the hardened criminal it certainly does not inflict any degradation, but it does do so on just the class of prisoners who are not hardened criminals. By the old rule, therefore, a distinction is drawn between the rich and the poor in favour of the latter. Then the right hon. Gentleman was very angry because these prison regulations that inflict inconvenience upon prisoners have not been modified. Well, I did not propose to modify them. The right hon. Gentleman complains that prisoners are deprived of the company of their friends and of books and papers, and argues that such deprivation inflicts upon them injuries which may affect both mind and body. Well, Sir, if that is a reason for altering the regulations, it is a reason for altering them not in favour of Crimes Act prisoners only, but in favour of all prisoners. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to recommend that a rule which destroys, as he says, both the mind and body of men should be relaxed for one set of prisoners, but remain applicable to all others? I admit that if it did destroy mind and body it ought not to be kept in force against Crimes Act prisoners. But neither ought it to be kept in force against any prisoner. I cannot understand this humanity by halves, this charity which directs its gaze exclusively upon one particular section of the criminal class. I fear I must unwillingly come to the conclusion that a good deal of politics is mixed up with the philanthropy of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I did not deal with common criminals. I own there is a great deal to be said for relaxation with regard to them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is very unfortunate, but the right hon. Gentleman's interruptions show that he never understands the argument I am addressing to him. He told us that this particular kind of imprisonment was injurious to the bodies and the minds of prisoners. Why is it injurious to the bodies and minds of only one class of prisoners? I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything else in answer to the general attack of the right hon. Gentleman. Imprisonment is intended to be disagreeable, although the fact is sometimes forgotten. The whole object of imprisonment is that it should be disagreeable. A punishment is useless if it is not deterrent, and it cannot be deterrent if it is made thoroughly agreeable to the person on whom it is inflicted. Therefore, in my judgment, prison discipline should be disagreeable. I quite agree that its character should not be such as to render it likely that it would inflict any permanent injury upon a prisoner; but there is not the slightest rerson for believing that Irish prison treatment is likely to inflict such injury upon those subjected to it. I have, on the contrary, come to the conclusion that if Irish prison treatment differs at all from English prison treatment, it differs in the direction of leniency only.

*MR. W. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell): I do not intend to enter

upon the whole field of prison treatment. I wish to call attention to the case of my hon. Friend the Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare), now in Derry Gaol, and in doing so I should like to acknowledge very gratefully the personal courtesy which the Chief Secretary has extended to me at one or two interviews. If the right hon. Gentleman will allow me, without impertinence, to make a suggestion to him, I would say that if he could display inside this House as much courtesy to hon. Members as he displays outside, business would often be greatly facilitated. The hon. Member for Camborne has, I fear, been often held up as a mark for obloquy by the Party opposite; but hon. Gentlemen must recollect that my hon. Friend is not an utter outcast. He is, after all, a Member of this House and the Representative of a very large constituency, and in many parts of the West of England there is an extraordinary sentiment of personal devotion to him. The case of the hon. Member is extremely hard, for his punishment is quite disproportionate to the offence committed by him, and now even exceeds in severity the sentence of the Court that convicted him. Of course, I say nothing of the offence committed by the hon. Member for Camborne nor of the sentence which was passed upon him for that offence. That has nothing to do with the subject we are considering to-night. I will only say that, in my opinion, and in that of many thousands of people in this country, Mr. Conybeare, whatever may have been the technical or legal offence which he committed, has not been guilty of any moral offence whatever, and certainly no offence worthy of being visited by such severe treatment as has been meted out to him in Derry Gaol. Mr. Conybeare has been sent to gaol as a first-class misdemeanant, and I ask the Chief Secretary whether there is any adequate or proper provision in Derry Gaol for persons sentenced in that way. The accommodation given to Mr. Conybeare is exactly such accommodation as is accorded to every other prisoner not sentenced as a first-class misdemeanant. Mr. Conybeare has been suffering repeatedly from cold and rheumatism brought on, probably, by the condition of the gaol and by the condition of the cell in which he is confined. For days and days together the Member for Camborne has been deprived of exercise in gaol because the Prisons Board have refused to put up any shelter to enable prisoners to take exercise, especially in wet weather. Seeing that there are gaols in which these shelters exist, it is a most monstrous shame and a perfect scandal that prisoners sentenced as first-class misdemeanants, Members of this House, sentenced for what we regard as quasi-political offences, should be sent to a gaol in which none of these provisions exist. Mr. Conybeare, too, has been denied the opportunity of contributing to a technical journal an article which he has written on a technical subject—on Mining Royalties—a subject totally unconnected with Irish politics or English politics. There may be a rule of the Prisons Board that political prisoners should be denied the opportunity of writing on political subjects, but there can be no earthly sense in declining to permit a prisoner who is allowed to write letters to his friends to send articles to journals written on subjects which have not the remotest connection with politics or with the cause of his imprisonment. Mr. Conybeare has also been hardly treated, in regard to the visitors whom he is allowed to see. Mr. Conybeare has been allowed to receive one visitor a day for about a quarter of an hour. These visitors are received in a sort of outhouse, where they have to await the arrival of the hon. Member. The visitor is placed at one end of the apartment and the hon. Member at the other, and a warder is present during the interview, so that for all practical purposes the privilege which the law allows a first-class misdemeanant of seeing his friends in his cell is taken away from the hon. Member for Camborne by the absurd precautions which the Prisons Board have thought fit to surround the privilege with. All these things are bad enough. But I now come to a matter which I confess I mention with the greatest possible reluctance. Last Friday I received information that my hon. Colleague was suffering from a particularly disgusting and loathsome form of disease contracted in Derry Gaol, and I asked the Chief Secretary a question upon the subject. When I mention the name of the disease, which I shall only do once, I am quite sure hon. Members

opposite, as well as hon. Gentlemen around me, will feel it was utterly impossible for me to remain silent with that information in my possession, and they will agree with me that I was bound the other night to go so far even as to incur the censure of the Chair in the endeavour to bring to the knowledge of the House and the country the state in which the hon. Member for Camborne is kept by the General Prisons Board in Ireland. The doctor of Derry Gaol reports that the hon. Member for Camborne is suffering from the frightful disease called crab lice, which is probably of all diseases the most loathsome, disgusting, and degrading, and is never found except under circumstances and conditions of life in which I sincerely hope no Member of this House will ever find himself. The prison doctor reports that the disease from which the hon. Member is suffering must have been contracted in Derry Gaol.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Where, then?

*MR. M'ARTHUR: I ask the right hon. Gentleman to explain his hypothesis as to where Mr. Conybeare contracted the disease. The doctor reports that my hon. Friend has this complaint. My hon. Friend has been in Derry Gaol for nearly two months, denied all contact with the outside world, except through the medium of the friends whom he sees at a distance for a quarter of an hour, once every 24 hours. The doctor has told the hon. Member that there is no doubt that this disease was contracted in gaol, and that he cannot give Mr. Conybeare any security or guarantee that there will be no recurrence of the complaint until he can ascertain its origin and find out where it is he has contracted it. It is utterly impossible that the ailment could have been contracted by my hon. Friend outside the walls of Derry Gaol. The doctor and dozens of people have seen the hon. Member during the last two months, and it is only last Friday that symptoms of this horrible complaint manifested themselves upon him. Before my hon. Friend went to Ireland he was carefully examined by his own doctor, by the hon. Member for Ilkeston (Sir W. Foster), and by the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Kenny). We have the opinion of all these gentlemen that there was nothing the matter with the hon. Gentleman when he entered the prison at Derry. Two months afterwards these symptoms began to appear, and I understand that the extraordinary suggestion is made that the complaint may have been communicated through the linen and other articles washed outside the walls of Derry Gaol. If that is going to be the right hon. Gentleman's reply, I could only say that a more extraordinary explanation was never put before the House. Mr. Conybeare's laundry work is entrusted to the care of the proprietor of one of the largest hotels in the City of Londonderry. It seems to me perfectly ridiculous and trifling with the gravity of the matter to suggest that the disease could have been communicated to my hon. Friend in that manner. I am bound to say also that the doctor of Derry Gaol has told my hon. Friend that he did not see how the disease could have been communicated to him from outside the walls of the prison. There are only three possible sources of contagion. First of all, the offices of the gaol. Then, it is possible the contagion may have reached my hon. Friend through the water which is supplied every day for his bath in the prison. In the third place, it is possible that the hon. Member may have contracted the disease in the chapel by contact with some of the other prisoners. Mr. Conybeare is not in any way privileged in chapel. He would not wish to be so, but associates himself on terms of perfect equality with all the other prisoners. Has inquiry been made into the state of the cell, and as to what prisoner occupied the cell previous to Mr. Conybeare? Further, has an honest attempt been made to trace the source of this terrible malady? The Member for Camborne has not asked the right hon. Gentleman to release him. He makes no appeal to the right hon. Gentleman for pity or consideration; but he does ask what I believe would be given without hesitation to any prisoner in an English gaol attacked by this horrible disease under similar circumstances—namely, that he may be transferred to some other gaol where he may be certain that this abominable affliction will not happen again. Is there any earthly reason why this should not be done? The right hon. Gentleman's purpose is served so

long as the Member for Camborne cannot make speeches in this House and go about the country denouncing his policy. Mr. Conybeare has been confined for two months in an ordinary cell in a gaol which he represents is in a filthy condition. He is suffering from a rheumatic affection and from a loathsome and disgusting disease, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will not at once order that the Member for Camborne should be removed from Derry Gaol to one where he may serve the rest of his sentence under decent and cleanly conditions? In the name of the constituents of my hon. Friend I should like to ask the Chief Secretary further, whether, seeing what Mr. Conybeare has passed through since he has been in gaol, seeing that he has suffered more than the right hon. Gentleman could have imagined that he would suffer, and taking into consideration the fact that these illnesses have come upon the hon. Member when he is in a gaol for which the Chief Secretary is responsible, he will not give instructions for the release of Mr. Conybeare? It is not upon the suggestion of the hon. Member that I make this appeal. The only request I have to make from Mr. Conybeare is that he should be removed to another gaol. I cannot see any reason against that course, and I am willing to believe the right hon. Gentleman does not wish to inflict physical torture as well as confinement upon his prisoners. I hope that in that chivalrous spirit which was attributed to him by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) he will ameliorate the condition of the Member for Camborne, and justify what seems to us the somewhat extravagant laudation which has been bestowed upon him by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps it is as well I should reply at once to the various questions which have been put to me by the hon. Member. I have nothing to complain of in the tone of the hon. Gentleman's speech. One phrase, I think, he has made use of unadvisedly, but that I will not comment upon. The first criticism of the hon. Member relates to the cell in which the hon. Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare) was placed, and he appears to be under the impression it is the habitual practice to provide special cells for first-class misdemeanants. That is not the case. I believe there are some few prisons in which there are special cells for that class of offender, but it is not the usual custom, and in the great majority of English prisons there is no attempt made to keep up the different kinds of accommodation. But in any case, the cell which the hon. Member for Camborne occupies is better than the ordinary run, as it has a wooden floor, and is as to light, ventilation, and prospect a far better cell than any other in the prison. The next point is that the hon. Member is suffering from rheumatism and from deprivation of exercise owing to there being no shed in the prison yard. I believe it is not medically correct to say that the hon. Member suffers from rheumatism, but that he has got slight lumbago. He has declined to be treated by the doctor for that ailment, either in or out of hospital, and either by external or internal remedies. With regard to the exercise, it is perfectly true that during part of the period of the hon. Member's imprisonment the weather has been wet, and that prisoners have suffered the same deprivation as other subjects of Her Majesty, and cannot take outdoor exercise without a certain amount of inconvenience. In some prisons there are sheds. I believe that in one prison in Belfast there is a shed of that kind, but that in England there is no prison at all where there is any shed of the kind, and the Prisons Board have seen grave objections to placing a shed in any prison yard except where the structural conditions of the yard make it convenient to put up such a shed. If a shed is put up in a prison not specially constructed for it the amount of space is unduly circumscribed. If a lean-to is made it facilitates the escape of prisoners, and if a shed is put up in the centre of the yard the ventilation of the lower cells is probably interfered with. I am, therefore, not prepared to be a party to urging the Prisons Board in Ireland to do what the English Prisons Board have never thought of doing. The hon. Member criticised the conduct of the Prisons Board in refusing to allow an article written by the hon. Member for Camborne to be sent to a scientific periodical. I believe that in doing so the Prisons Board acted according to the

rule which governs such matters both in England and Ireland. I believe that neither in England or Ireland are prisoners allowed to write to the newspapers.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Are they not allowed to edit newspapers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe they are not allowed. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I can only say what I believe to be the ordinary rule.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I undertake to say that my statement is correct: that Mr. Stead was allowed to edit the *Pall Mall Gazette* when he was in prison, and Mr. Yates was allowed to edit *The World* when he was in prison.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman referred to Mr. Stead. I believe that first-class misdemeanants are allowed to carry on their ordinary avocations; but I think it will not be asserted that the ordinary avocation of the hon. Member for Camborne is that of writing articles for scientific journals. I now come to the last part of the case raised by the hon. Gentleman opposite—namely, that relating to the skin affection from which the hon. Member for Camborne has suffered. I am glad to think that, so far as I have heard, the hon. Member is now cured. The point is whether that affection is due to the uncleanly condition of the prison or not. The hon. Gentleman has asked who was the previous occupant of the cell. I believe—I do not speak with absolute confidence—that Father M'Fadden was the previous occupant of the cell [*A laugh*, and *Cries of* "Shame."] I am merely replying to the hon. Gentleman.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): We object to the indecent laughter of Ambrose.

MR. SEXTON: He played for it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: At all events, the previous occupants of the cell were first-class misdemeanants.

MR. AMBROSE (Middlesex, Harrow): I beg to say, Mr. Courtney, that the imputation upon me is utterly unfounded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The previous occupants of the cell were, I believe, first-class misdemeanants. The most scrupulous inquiry has been made, and no trace of the origin of the affection has been discovered, nor is it thought that any prisoner in that gaol is now suffering, or ever has suffered, from the same malady. The question, therefore, arises, was there any difference in the treatment of the hon. Member for Camborne which could suggest a special origin for the malady? The reason that the hypothesis of the washing has been brought forward is that the Member for Camborne alone has his bedding and linen washed outside the prison. Apart from making any sort of imputation against the keeper of the hotel where the washing is done, it is a conceivable, although not at all a probable, hypothesis that the disease may have been brought in in the bedding or linen washed outside the prison. The most scrupulous examination has not shown any other possible origin for it, and therefore we must rest content with the hypothesis I have suggested to the House. I do not think the medical examination has much bearing one way or the other. The hon. Gentleman went on to say—"Do you not think that the Member for Camborne has a right to be transferred to another prison where he cannot suffer from a recurrence of the malady." With the general proposition laid down by the hon. Member I entirely agree, and if I thought there was the slightest chance of the repetition of the calamity which has occurred to the hon. Member for Camborne I would not hesitate for 24 hours to order his removal to another prison; but I would point out that the examination which has been made does not disclose any ground for believing that the gaol is defective in point of cleanliness or sanitary arrangements. On the hypothesis that the disease was caught in the chapel of the prison, there will be no better security against risk in any other prison. I do not, however, think that any fears on the subject need be entertained. If the origin of the disease should be clearly traced, that will be a matter for consideration; or if it is found that the apprehension of a recurrence of it seriously affects the health of the hon. Member for Camborne, if it is likely to prey upon his mind, then I would certainly waive the consideration that I individually do not think the hon. Member runs any risk in Derry Gaol, and the Prisons Board would undoubtedly direct his removal to

another prison. I am glad the hon. Gentleman has not dwelt upon the supposed insanitary condition of Derry Gaol, and therefore no reply on that head is so far called for. I do not think there need be any fear that the hon. Member for Camborne will suffer from the general conditions of the prison; indeed, as a matter of fact, his weight has gone up since he has been in prison; and according to the Reports of the medical officer of the gaol his general health appears to be entirely satisfactory.

*Mr. W. M'ARTHUR: The right hon. Gentleman has intimated that if the fear of a recurrence of the disease is felt to press on the mind of the hon. Member for Camborne then the right hon. Gentleman will take steps for the removal of the prisoner; and I can assure him that the fear of the recurrence of this loathsome disease does press on the mind of the hon. Member, as it would press upon the mind of any decent man under such circumstances. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to imagine the feelings of a man sitting in the cell where he contracted the disease, with all the surroundings connected with the disease, with nobody able to tell him how the disease was contracted, all he knows being that he did not bring it in with him. I think the right hon. Gentleman will see that it is impossible for a man to prevent his mind from dwelling upon the subject, and to banish the constant fear of the return of the symptoms. I would urge upon the right hon. Gentleman to go a step further, and order the transfer to be made at once, if indeed he does not see his way to a release of the prisoner, which I am sure would not be an unpopular thing to do.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I presume the hon. Member speaks on the authority of private letters from the hon. Member for Camborne when he states that the idea that he might again catch the disease is preying on his mind. Of course, that is the point on which I said, if I were satisfied, I would take care that the hon. Member should be removed, and taking the statement of the hon. Member as evidence on the point I will not go back from what I said just now.

Mr. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I wish to call attention to the case of Mr. J. Powell, now in Limerick Gaol, as one of extreme urgency. According to information I have received within the last hour Mr. Powell's health is in such a condition that immediate action is necessary. Mr. Powell has been three times committed to prison, and I endeavoured to point out a few days ago that the effect of his imprisonment has been that he has lost the sight of one eye. I am aware that I might be precluded by the Rules of Order from bringing all the circumstances attending the conviction of this gentleman before the Committee, and I will only refer to his prison treatment. Mr. Powell is undergoing a sentence of three months' imprisonment, in default of giving bail for good behaviour, in respect to something that appeared in his newspaper. At the trial the Crown failed to connect Mr. Powell directly with the publication in his paper, because at the time it appeared Mr. Powell was away from all duties connected with the paper suffering from ill-health, he having just been released from another term of imprisonment, and he was practically not responsible for what appeared in the paper. When I have read the telegram I have just received, I do not know that I have much further to say. The telegram comes from Mr. Sheil, who is acting as editor, and is as follows:—"Powell has congestion of the lungs, and is in the hospital spitting blood." Now I will only further ask a plain and pertinent question of the Chief Secretary. Does he mean that the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed upon Mr. Powell should be really a sentence of death? I very much fear that even the immediate release of the prisoner will not save his life. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that the sentence passed for no crime whatever should carry the death penalty?

Mr. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): I regret to intervene in what seems to be a new phase of the discussion, but I did not think that the case of Mr. Conybeare was disposed of. The right hon. Gentleman has been good enough to say that he will willingly order the removal of the hon. Member to another prison, but many of us feel that after what has taken place, after

the imprisonment he has now undergone, and the miseries he has suffered in the prison where he now is, the occasion is fitting for ordering Mr. Conybeare to be released altogether. I am sure that such a release would not be opposed in any part of the House, and I am sure it would meet with approval in the country generally, and would be particularly pleasing to the hon. Member's constituents. I think the Chief Secretary might very fairly see his way to take advantage of the opportunity and direct the release of the prisoner.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): A somewhat more important question is raised in reference to Derry Gaol than even the unmerited sufferings and the mental torture inflicted upon the hon. Member for Camborne—namely, the sanitary condition of the gaol. The right hon. Gentleman is correct in saying that the hon. Member for St. Austell did not raise this point, but the right hon. Gentleman must not be surprised that we intend to raise this question very seriously when we have the facts before us that two strong men went into the gaol and died of typhoid within a day or two of their release. I am speaking of the Falcarragh prisoners. As a matter of fact an inquest is being held, and I do not know that the right hon. Gentleman can predict the result, though he may be able to get the verdict of the jury quashed. There is strong evidence to show that these unfortunate men have been victims of the insanitary condition of Derry Gaol. In addition it is known that three prisoners recently released from the gaol are seriously ill. Under these circumstances many of us think that the proper course is not only to remove the hon. Member for Camborne, but every other prisoner from the gaol to some other place of confinement, the sanitary condition of which cannot be called in question. Of course the right hon. Gentleman is able to look on the tortures inflicted upon prisoners with a very optimistic view, and hear of these sufferings with considerable equanimity. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman was very happy in his reference to the state of things in English prisons. The Chief Secretary began by stating that editors were not permitted in English prisons to practise their profession or edit their newspapers. Now, I visited Mr. Stead during his imprisonment and I found him not confined to one cell, but having two cells for his convenience. I do not know why he should have been confined at all, for what he did was in the interest of the public. But Mr. Stead on the occasion subjected me to a long interview and within a few days the substance of it appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member appears to have taken my observations in the opposite sense to that in which I made them. What I stated was, that the existing rules permitted first-class misdemeanants to exercise their ordinary trade or avocation, and, therefore, editors were allowed to send communications to the Press. That is not the ordinary avocation of the hon. Member for Camborne, and, therefore, he was not allowed to send these communications.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I perfectly understood what the right hon. Gentleman said, and it was not what he says now. He began with the broad and distinct statement that in England editors were not allowed to edit their newspapers from prison, and then in consequence of an interruption from my right hon. Friend, he corrected that statement, and now he wants to bundle together the original statement and subsequent correction. But the right hon. Gentleman has not even yet escaped from the dilemma in which he placed himself. He says that editors are allowed to edit their papers as their ordinary avocation. The right hon. Gentleman has imprisoned editors in Ireland; but have they been allowed to edit their newspapers in prison? The hon. Member for the College Division of Dublin was not allowed to edit the two newspapers in which he was interested when he was sent to Tullamore Gaol, nor, indeed, although he was a first-class misdemeanant, was he allowed to see those newspapers. Yet the right hon. Gentleman declares that in comparison between England and Ireland the rules in Ireland differ on the side of leniency. I should like to know whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland would permit my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien), in case his paid Magistrates and servants should subject the hon. Member to another term of imprisonment, to edit

his paper during his confinement. Mr. Powell is now in prison. Has he been allowed to follow his avocation and edit his newspaper? My hon. Friend has just called attention to this case, and it appears that the health of the prisoner has been ruined by his confinement. I would advise hon. Gentlemen opposite not to draw too strictly the line of division between political and other offenders. By and by it may affect the proceedings of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) whose speeches, as we think, led to riot and disorder, in which the streets of Belfast ran with blood. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), whom I respect for his sincerity though I think he is fanatically mistaken in his opinions, suffered a term of imprisonment, was he treated as an ordinary offender? The difference of treatment beween the political offender and the ordinary offender is recognised by every civilised mind except those of the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues, and in every civilised country. I do not know that I even except Russia. In the days of the Third Napoleon, and when the Paris Press was daily filled with diatribes attacking the Imperial rule and dynasty, M. Rochefort and his associates were recognised as political offenders. In his characteristic manner the right hon. Gentleman endeavours to meet our arguments by declaring that distinctions cannot be made between offenders who commit acts of violence and offenders who by their speeches incite the people to those acts. But I say this is a dishonest style of argument. My hon. Friends have been sent to prison and subjected to the treatment of ordinary criminals for speeches such as that of my hon. Friend the Member for Clare, in which the people were urged to shun outrage and violence as they would shun poison. Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to treat as political offenders all those whom he imprisons for speeches that do not contain incitements to disorder? The adoption of the Plan of Campaign does not mean the commission of acts of violence, and the Plan of Campaign has effected a peaceful settlement on many estates without a blow being struck. The right hon. Gentleman professes surprise at the objection raised to the wearing of the prison dress, and says that the use of the dress is not for purposes of degradation, but as a matter of fact this question of dress is one of the most ancient in regard to prison treatment of political offenders. So long ago as 1848 John Mitchell objected to the wearing of it, and Lord Aberdare's Commission laid it down that it was a degradation which political prisoners ought to be spared. How would the right hon. Gentleman himself like to wear it should the whirligig of politics bring round the time when the democratic feeling of the people give them the opportunity of dealing with their political opponents. The right hon. Gentleman accuses the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford of being humanitarian by halves. Such language comes ill from the Minister under whose administration John Mandeville was done to death. The right hon. Gentleman says that imprisonment is not meant to be agreeable. By way of justifying the treatment to which he submits prisoners under the Coercion Act, says that imprisonment is meant to be disagreeable, and would not be deterrent if it were made "thoroughly agreeable." But that is no reason why it should be made a species of torture by means of solitary confinement for 22 hours out of every 24 hours. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford spoke of the Chief Secretary as a literary man, and in so doing I am afraid he was somewhat too complimentary to the right hon. Gentleman's amateurish literary accomplishments. I do not know what claim the right hon. Gentleman has to the title, and I certainly trust that my craft will never be discredited by counting the right hon. Gentleman among its professors. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman is a writer and reader of books, and I would ask him to put it to himself whether we should overlook the fact that imprisonment without the opportunity of reading or writing must be to a man like Mr. O'Brien, or to any person who is accustomed to reading and writing, far more trying than to any ordinary hod-man who never opens a book. I confess that my indignation and disgust of the right hon. Gentleman are such that I do not dare to use here the language which I have applied to him, and shall continue to apply to him, outside this House. What

does this treatment of his amount to? As I have said, it amounts to torture. A man who would deprive a political enemy accustomed to literary pursuits of materials for reading and writing, and leave him for 22 hours out of the 24 with nothing but his own brooding fancy to dwell on, is guilty of just as brutal an anachronism as the man who nowadays would hold that hanging is the only adequate punishment for sheep stealing. The right hon. Gentleman may sit there and smile and sneer, but all these things will be brought up against him by-and-by. They have sunk deep down into the hearts of the people both in England and Ireland. If there ever had been a chance —which I am glad to think there never has been—of the opinion of Ireland wavering in its loyalty to the principles of nationalism and self government that chance the Chief Secretary has effectually destroyed. He has stimulated a thousandfold by his policy of brutality in prison treatment the nationalistic aspirations of the people; in fact, in the course he has taken I am not sure that he has not done more to advance our cause than our own most potent advocacy. I have never addressed a meeting either of Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen at which the bare mention of the right hon. Gentleman's conduct in regard to the prison treatment of his political prisoners has not provoked a manifestation of disgust, which, if he could have witnessed it, would, I think, have given some cause for alarm even to his strained self-conceit. When the history of the right hon. Gentleman's administration comes to be written many acts will be pointed out which will show to the full the sorrow which the misguided views of one man can inflict upon a whole country, and I am sure that when this painful chapter of Irish history passes away—and the only thing which stands between it and its final disappearance is the General Election—the right hon. Gentleman himself will look back with disgust at the mean and disreputable part he has played in torturing his political opponents.

*MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I have not, so far, intruded in any of the three Debates we have had on Irish subjects this week, but one or two things have been said by the Chief Secretary for Ireland this evening which, I think, call for some expression of opinion from English Members. I quite agree that it is difficult, especially in one in a high position in the Government, to regard as political offenders those whom he feels it his duty to order to be prosecuted and whom it is his responsibility to retain in custody. But I think the judgment of the country only goes one way in this matter. I doubt very much, even if you had a large audience of Conservative working men, whether the bulk of them would not determine that every one of the prisoners who have been prosecuted and who have been put in gaol under the Crimes Act fairly fall within the category of political prisoners; and I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that when he puts it that the treatment of first-class misdemeanants in this country has not been a treatment entirely different from that awarded to other prisoners—when he puts it that first-class misdemeanants, certainly until 1878, had not the opportunity of getting furniture in their cells, of being waited on, of having superior kinds of food, and almost unlimited visiting—he is greatly in error. I can only assume that those who have advised him on these matters have utterly misled him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not quite sure that I apprehend the exact scope of the hon. Member's observations, but I think he must have misunderstood me. What I said in that part of my speech to which he is referring was that in English prisons there are no special cells for first-class misdemeanants. I never said whether they could or could not take in their own furniture. I spoke of the actual fabric of the cells as being not specially different from those of the other prisoners.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: There was, no doubt, about the year 1878 some alteration made in the treatment of first-class misdemeanants. But nearly all the old prisons have special rooms which are allotted to first-class misdemeanants, and these are still entitled to many concessions and advantages. I am sure that what I state is the fact, for I have had occasion over and over again to make inquiry into the matter. No doubt some of these old prisons have disappeared during the past 10 years, and the disposition to afford special

privileges to first-class misdemeanants has diminished. It is clear that some of the persons imprisoned under the Crimes Act, including Members of Parliament, have been entitled to indulgences in prison which they have not received. The right hon. Gentleman disagrees with me, and I am exceedingly loth that there should be a clashing of fact between him and myself. I agree that in a strife of this kind, where feelings are so much excited, language is used on the one side and the other calculated to provoke a great deal of irritability, and to make those who are in authority strain their powers; but any one in the position of the right hon. Gentleman, in a country which boasts of taking the lead in liberty and civilisation, is bound to exercise his authority with some approach to tenderness, and the English people believe that the right hon. Gentleman has not done that. They think that he has failed in his duty in this respect in regard to men who are his political equals, and who have committed offences which were not offences until the right hon. Gentleman made them so. Again, the right hon. Gentleman disagrees with me, but here I use the language of Judges of his own Courts in Ireland, who have declared that new offences are created under the Crimes Act. And now for a moment I will endeavour to defend the phrase, "political prisoner," which has been so much used in this Debate. It is true it is difficult to draw a distinction in the case of political and social reforms, and say that a certain portion of the advocacy is political and a part not political. In the case of Mazzini and Garibaldi the Government treated them as criminals; but the more enlightened public opinion of the world regarded them as political prisoners. So it will be with the Irish Members of Parliament whom the Chief Secretary is sending to prison. The right hon. Gentleman says he can make no difference between Members of Parliament and private individuals. That is all very well; but it may well be borne in mind that the Member of Parliament has been elected to represent his constituents and speak on their behalf, and his words may well be left to be tried by the public opinion of the time. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that he and his Party are strong enough to strike down the movement which he condemns, and other Chief Secretaries have thought so before him. The right hon. Gentleman can create crime and drive men into hostility to the law, but he cannot break a nation. The continuance of the right hon. Gentleman's policy will only provoke more bitterness, for he cannot expect Irishmen to be drawn towards him by the imprisonment of those whom they trust. It would be well if the right hon. Gentleman could realise that that which he deems his strength—the constant employment of the police in upholding the law—is really his weakness.

MR. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): I did not intend, some days ago, to speak at all on this Prisons Vote; but after the speech which has just been made by the hon. Member for North Tipperary, who has made several attempts to draw the attention of the House to the case of Mr. Powell, it would ill become me who happened to be a fellow prisoner of his in Tullamore Gaol not to exercise the ordinary courtesies of humanity and endeavour to draw the attention of the Government to the case of a Member who is now being done to death for a paltry political offence. Mr. Powell is now undergoing his third imprisonment under the Crimes Act. He has lost the sight of one eye, and the sight of the other eye is declared to be in danger. Mr. Powell is a newspaper proprietor, and after his second release he sought to recruit his health by change of air, leaving his paper in other hands. Controversial letters between two correspondents as to whether a certain specific act was a case of land-grabbing were inserted in the paper without comment; and for this the absent Mr. Powell was convicted again. The hon. Member for North Tipperary has just received a telegram, "To Mr. P. J. O'Brien. Powell has conjestion of the lungs and is spitting blood. Ask a question." "Ask a question," says the telegram. Questions on this and other subjects have been asked over and over again, and either no answer or only insults have been returned. I have seen Mr. Powell in prison on two occasions, and I am sure that a more inoffensive man does not exist. With regard to the vile and brutal treatment which has been offered to him at the instigation of the

Chief Secretary, I will tell the right hon. Gentleman now, as I told him when the Coercion Act was passing, that though he has caused me to be imprisoned I will do the same things again as those for which I was prosecuted, in the same places, and will defy him to do his worst. We do not ask for leniency, but for bare justice. The acts of brutality and barbarity perpetrated by prison officials would not be thought of were it not known by the officials that they are dealing with political prisoners. The condition of Derry Gaol has been referred to this evening. The hon. Member for Camborne has the advantage of careful watching by Members of this House who take an interest in him. I will, however, draw attention to the state of the gaol in the interests of the more obscure persons who may be imprisoned in it. Dr. O'Farrell says in his Report—

"The cells are not so large as in many other prisons. The female cells are all boarded, but the majority of the male cells are flagged, and there is no separate provision for first-class misdemeanants."

Surely the right hon. Gentleman ought to have known the class of gaol to which he was sending Mr. Conybeare. I will refer the right hon. Gentleman to my own case by way of parallel. I had been only three days in Tralee Gaol when, because there were not boarded cells there for all the male prisoners, I was transferred to a gaol where the cells were flagged. In regard to the persons who have suffered death in that fatal trap, Derry Gaol, I would remark that it is the duty of the prison doctor, if he believes that imprisonment is endangering the life of a criminal, to make an immediate representation to the Lord Lieutenant that the prisoner may be discharged. If the laws of ordinary human feeling prevailed in Ireland in official circles, that feeling would never tolerate this, that a man sent for a few months or weeks to prison for a paltry offence should be allowed through the brutality of the prison doctor to be done to death. It is the duty of the prison doctor, if he really believes the treatment a prisoner is undergoing under a short sentence of imprisonment is endangering the life of that prisoner to make immediate representation, in Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant, in England to the Home Secretary, so that the prisoner may be discharged, because the law recognises that you ought not to inflict a sentence of death under a nominal sentence of a few months' imprisonment. The Chief Secretary made a very slight reference, and I thought he was very guarded in doing so, to the evidence taken before Lord Aberdare's Commission. When the statistics of crime were being prepared by the Government which preceded this, they included them under three heads, offences against the person, against property, and against the public peace. Now, I venture to insist that the instincts of humanity in every country, and under any Government, make a distinction between the treatment of offences against persons and property, and offences against the public peace. Private individuals are supposed to be far less able to protect themselves, and the presumption is that offences against the public peace are more or less in the nature of political offences, and are, by general assent, treated as less heinous offences. If this distinction were made in regard to Irish committals it would be found that all the persons committed in Ireland whose treatment is now in question would come under the class of offenders against the public peace, and where there is what I may call an epidemic of offences against the public peace, every reasonable man who reads history and studies the actions of men must acknowledge there must be something radically wrong, some deep cause of irritation at work to produce this epidemic. The community recognising that, says that though punishment must be awarded to the offenders, that punishment must be distinct in degree from that inflicted on criminals who, from mere sordid motives, commit offences against the persons and property of individuals. I must say in regard to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, in treating the recommendations made by Lord Aberdare's Commission, that there was much with which I could not agree. I do not quite agree with him that this is a question as between the rich and the poor, and I am sorry that he was led away by what I may call the clap-trap arguments of prison officials. Officials under any conditions will always give their evidence against anything that will

impose additional trouble on themselves. The Chief Secretary often talks of the equality of treatment of prisoners in England and Ireland. I have had the advantage of experience of treatment in both, and I saw in prison here some 1,500 prisoners; none of whom had their beards clipped or their moustaches taken off, although I, having the misfortune to be an Irish representative, was subjected to this indignity in my own country. Another instance of inequality is in the facilities allowed for reading. In England the ordinary burglar or pickpocket can have an exchange of books from the prison library almost when he likes; in Ireland a man must be in prison for two months before he can have a book at all, and then he must wait six weeks for a change, and after that for a month. From my experience of prison libraries there is nothing in them of such a dangerous and revolutionary character that you might not throw open the whole library at once to a man who has time to read the whole. It is a disgraceful, discreditable incident in Irish prison administration that when you have in your prisons, rightly or wrongly, a class of men who presumably are in the habit of reading when outside, that you do not by a simple minute from Dublin Castle let these men have facilities for reading whenever that does not interfere with their work. You might restrict the class of literature, restrict the books to those of a non-contentious character, and eliminate everything that might lead to political excitement, but it is a stigma that attaches particularly to the present Administration that while they have within their prison walls men, many of whom get their living from communing with books, and who, generally speaking, are all in the habit of reading, that they should deny these men access to such books as the prison library contains. The Chief Secretary talks about equal treatment to those guilty of such offences as breaking a policeman's ribs and so on, and those who incite to such offences, but let us face facts, let us go over the committals made by his Magistrates, and from what classes do we find his prisoners are drawn? Among them there are many priests, Members of Parliament, Members of Town Councils, and others who occupy public positions, and it may be said that these have some opportunity of having their cases brought before the public, but there are many men from the middle classes, shopkeepers, farmers, and others who have been sent to prison charged with some paltry offence that brings them within the meshes of the Coercion Act, or of the Statute of Edward. More pitiful is the case of these men, many of them having reached middle life and with grey hairs, many of them as venerable in appearance as the First Lord of the Treasury, and who, innocent of crime and without knowledge of the restraints of prison discipline, are subjected to the treatment of criminals, and who, unable to evade the vigilant eye of the warder as the practised burglar or ordinary pickpocket can, are subjected to additional punishment for breaches of prison discipline they unwillingly commit. I say it is cruel and disgraceful to subject these men to ordinary criminal discipline. From time to time in newspapers and in Debate here we raise the question of the treatment of leading men of the Nationalist cause, but meanwhile think of the hundreds, I may say thousands of men, who have silently suffered or who are silently suffering in Irish prisons, as well trained, and whose instincts are as far from being criminal as are those of the men whose cases we discuss from time to time, and of ourselves who discuss them.

MR. FLYNN: I think all impartial men outside the heat of political controversy must agree that no reproach stains more deeply the administration of Irish prisons by the Chief Secretary than the treatment of prisoners under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act for the past two years. The right hon. Gentleman with an ingenuity we all admire, but with which we are getting a little surfeited, entirely blinked the real issue before the Committee. First, let me repudiate as warmly as I can the idea that in urging differential treatment of prisoners under the Act I have mentioned, Irish Members are actuated by any selfish or personal considerations. Our arguments are as much addressed to the case of the humblest man who has committed a technical breach of the law, and is guiltless of any moral offence, as to the case of any Member of this House or

public man that has been cited. I have long ceased to expect from the right hon. Gentleman any generous thought or sentiment towards his political opponents; but I think we might have been spared the introduction of this embittered spirit into prison administration. I assert that ordinary criminals pass through their term of imprisonment in many cases with relatively and absolutely less suffering than prisoners under the Coercion Act. The right hon. Gentleman obscures the question entirely when he talks of assaults on the police, of breaking a policeman's ribs. I confess I have never heard of the case—the vast majority of the prisoners from within my constituency are confined for offences that did not exist before the passing of the Act, and are offences that have geographical limitations. A large majority of the prisoners from my constituency are tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and members of the working classes, who have gone to prison simply for the offence of attending an ordinary meeting of the National League in a suppressed district, at which a perfectly harmless resolution was passed as utterly devoid of any moral offence as can be conceived. Some 20 persons assembled after mass in the room where the League meetings were held, and passed a resolution of thanks to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and the democracy of England for their efforts in favour of the Irish National cause. This was the only business transacted, and for this men have been sentenced to terms of from three to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. I say that such a thing is monstrous. I say if ever there was a case for exceptional treatment it was in this case of men guiltless of the slightest moral offence. The Chief Secretary says he cannot understand "humanity by halves." No; but we can understand brutality by whole. The right hon. Gentleman says prison treatment was never intended to be anything but disagreeable, and in that we agree. But is not detention disagreeable to men innocent of moral offence, and need you add torture to the punishment? To these shopkeepers of Kanturk association with ordinary criminals for exercise and confinement in cells six feet by five, is either vacuity of mind or treatment equal to physical torture, and worse than whipping would be. Only men who have undergone this treatment can realise what it is. The Chief Secretary should have been very slow to touch on the question of prison doctors. I am reluctant to make charges, and do not do so heedlessly; but is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the change that has come over the system of medical inspection since the Coercion Act was passed? Is he aware that prison doctors are required to enter every morning in a book, with fear and trepidation, dreading a reprimand from the General Prisons Board, every instance of the slightest indulgence in the treatment of a prisoner? I have no doubt that the unfortunate man M'Gee, discharged in a dying condition, was not released earlier, as he would have been had the doctor intervened as a doctor should, knowing the condition of the prisoner, because of the instructions and restrictions of the General Prisons Board. That is so in the majority of the cases in Ireland. Many prison doctors have served a considerable time under the Prisons Board, in a short time they will become entitled to pensions, and therefore they cannot afford to fall out with the Prisons Board. The right hon. Gentleman operates on the Board, and the Board in turn operates on these Medical Officers, and the best illustration of the system is that of a man playing on the ivory notes of a piano and evoking melody from the instrument. A short time ago a Circular was issued to the Medical Officers of Irish prisons requiring them to report to the office in Dublin Castle of the Prisons Board every amelioration of treatment extended to any prison. Such a Circular was never heard of before, and its intention was nothing more nor less than to intimidate the doctors. I say that these things are discreditable to the right hon. Gentleman. Indeed, the meanness and cruelty of the Prisons Board administration will be remembered after the Mitchelstown murders and other brutalities of the Irish police have been forgotten, and they will be numbered among the deepest and darkest stains that have characterised any political administration.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I have been intensely moved by the revelations we have had the last night or two as to the position of things

in Ireland. I feel deeply—more deeply than I can well express in words—what is passing in Ireland to-day, because while our Irish friends are suffering greatly we are being degraded. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary is not only causing a great deal of unnecessary suffering, but it is causing a great deal of unnecessary degradation in England; and it is because I wish to wash my hands from the degradation of the right hon. Gentleman's policy that I beg to say a word or two. I was greatly shocked by the statement of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. P. O'Brien) as to the treatment he received some time ago in Ireland. I do not think anyone could listen to that statement without feeling ashamed that a Member of this House should be subjected to the outrage which the hon. Member, with such modesty and with such beautiful and touching eloquence, detailed yesterday. Now, first of all, I think that failure is written upon the Chief Secretary's policy.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must direct his observations to the present Vote.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I was coming to that. If the right hon. Gentleman thinks his policy of imprisoning the Irish Members and the Irish people for the class of crimes for which the Crimes Act was created is going to succeed he is greatly mistaken. Failure, I say, is written all over his policy. He may fill the prisons again and again; he may put this country to double expense; and yet he will have failure written upon his policy. I think there is another word written upon his policy. [THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!] This prison system, Mr. Courtney, never has converted a country—[THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!]—never has spread——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must address himself to the administration of the prisons. The question before the Committee is not that of the Chief Secretary's policy.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I quite recognise that. It is because I believe that the prison policy of the right hon. Gentleman is both a failure—[THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!] Then I will not pursue that point. It is because I believe the country is being put to enormous expense to carry out this system that I ask you to listen to me for a minute or two. I do not think we are quite responsible for the prison policy which the right hon. Gentleman is carrying out. I do not think the electors of this country have ever given their assent to it. They have never been appealed to——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I must direct the hon. Member's attention to the question. It is not a general question of policy, but of the administration and organisation of the prisons in Ireland.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: Quite so, Mr. Courtney; but allow me to say that the prison system is part of the right hon. Gentleman's policy, and it is to that part of his policy I am trying to address myself to. It is because I think the prison policy of the right hon. Gentleman is tyrannical and costly that I am here to protest against it. The present system of government is costly and cruel. All government that is opposed to the will of the people must be costly and cruel, and the prison system of the right hon. Gentleman appears to me——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! Unless the hon. Member deals specifically with the Vote I shall require him to resume his seat. His generalities do not touch the Vote in any degree.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I will come to the Vote. If the policy of the right hon. Gentleman means that the prisons are to be filled with my Irish friends, the Representatives of the Irish people, it is a policy which we English Members ought to resent, and which I do resent. I have noticed in the past that all this prison treatment of men in connection with great principles has failed. Those who imprisoned John Bunyan, no doubt, believed they were degrading him; but I think that John Bunyan stands higher in the estimation of the people than the men who imprisoned him. And I venture to think the men the right hon. Gentleman is imprisoning stand higher in the estimation of the people than the Chief Secretary, because the names of the men being imprisoned are associated with a struggle for the liberty of the people, and no imprisonment they may suffer will ever degrade them, because the people believe they are suffering in a righteous cause. Therefore, I think I am justified

in saying that this system is a failure, and that it will not last very long. Anything that tends to make the people think lightly of the administration of law we ought to set ourselves against. I believe the Chief Secretary is bringing law and order into contempt. [The CHAIRMAN: Order, order!] If you imprison men for doing what they think is in the interest of the country, I say you bring law and order into contempt. I sympathise with our Irish friends in connection with the sufferings they are now enduring. I believe those sufferings will not last long. Some 12 months ago I had the misfortune, or the good fortune, to pay a visit to Londonderry Gaol, for the purpose of seeing a remarkable man inside that prison—Father M'Fadden. The interview made me feel he was a man that any country might be proud of. When I shook hands with him I felt it was an honour to do so. One has not a feeling of that sort when he comes across a criminal. I think the imprisonment of my hon. Friend the Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare) is a thing we ought to resent, and I hope the country will resent it. I venture to assert that the imprisonment of an English or an Irish Member costs the Government 100,000 supporters in the country.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): In 1888 I happened to be imprisoned in Derry Gaol. The allegation made on behalf of the prison officials is that the hon. Member for Camborne contracted the loathsome disease from which he has suffered through the washing of his linen outside the gaol. This very disease was prevalent when I was there. In the part of the gaol I was in two men suffered from it. One of them was very badly affected by it. I remember the man taking off his coat, rolling up his shirt sleeve, and showing me the disease on his arm. I was afraid of being attacked by it, and I was astonished when the prison doctor did not order the man to hospital, and have him isolated from the rest of the prisoners. The man was not a single hour in hospital. I have noticed time after time that prisoners in Derry Gaol have been afflicted with disease, and yet the prison doctor, Sir William Miller, would not send the sufferers to hospital. Is not such a state of things monstrous in the extreme? Sir William Miller is the Mayor of Derry, and Chairman of the Orange and Conservative Party in the City of Derry. We can well understand, therefore, he has no fine feelings towards the hon. Member for Camborne. The Irish prison officials do not carry into official life their professions outside. Frequently I have seen many prisoners paraded in the prison yards who ought certainly to have been ordered to hospital. They were not ordered to hospital, and the reason is not hard to find. The fewer men there are in hospital, the fewer times the doctor has to attend; he will not be called up at unseasonable hours if he can possibly avoid it. The prison warders are inferior officials to the Medical Officer, and they know that Sir William Miller does not want men in hospital. I have seen warders beating and throttling prisoners, and can bring witnesses to bear out my statement. There is not the slightest use in making complaints to the Visiting Committee of the gaol. The Chairman of the Committee or Board was formerly a Member of this House—Sir Hervey Bruce, the rejected of the district of Coleraine. He now acts as a sort of visiting official of Londonderry Prison, and he it is who intervenes in every single item of prison discipline. It was he who deprived the hon. Member for Camborne of newspapers for six days, and subjected him to several other annoyances. I suppose he thought he would please the Chief Secretary thereby. I hold that the treatment of prisoners in Londonderry Gaol is savage and brutal. In my opinion, the money now voted for the Medical Officer of this gaol is entirely thrown away. The closets at Londonderry Prison are in such a horrible state that I cannot describe to the Committee, in such a state as is sure to bring about typhoid or other fever. I drew the attention of Sir William Miller to their bad state, and asked him to use his influence to have them repaired. The doors of the closets were in several cases broken down. Some slight attempt was made to remedy the evils, but in such a clumsy manner that there was really no improvement, and even this was only brought about by an amount of circumlocution and filling up and passing of papers as would have sufficed for settling the designs for a new building. It is manifest to me, as

it must be to anyone who knows the interior of Londonderry Prison, that the hon. Member for Camborne contracted his disease within the prison. The hon. Member was confined in the ward occupied by short-term prisoners, who, from their life and surroundings, are subject to certain diseases. I am certain that the hon. Member has fallen a victim to the indifference of the prison doctors about the separation of prisoners by putting those who are suffering from disease in the hospital. When I was in the prison I remember often seeing a fine-looking man taking exercise; I never spoke to him, but one day in passing three or four other prisoners, one of them said, "So-and-so is dead." I was astonished, because I thought he had been very suddenly cut off, and the prisoner went on to say that he had that morning helped to put the corpse into the coffin. He was one of the Donegal prisoners committed at the same time as myself. He was ill, and was not taken into the hospital but left to lie in his cell. He was not removed to the hospital until he was in a dying state. Prisoners are not put into the hospital until they are past hope of recovery, and they are released, as was the case recently, in an almost dying state. This is a great scandal, that men under a short term of imprisonment really receive sentence of death. I do not hesitate to say that the hon. Member for Camborne is in danger of his life. I know from my experience that it is almost impossible for prisoners detained in Londonderry Prison to keep their health, and I now when disease breaks out how little hope there is of recovery during their term of imprisonment. The Chief Secretary says that the rate of sickness within the prison is less than it is outside; but though the sickness is estimated from the prisoners in the hospital, sick prisoners are by an abominable system of cruelty kept in the stoneyard breaking stones when they ought to be in hospital. If an inquiry were instituted I could bring scores of witnesses to testify to this system of cruelty. Londonderry Prison has the reputation of being a safe holdfast for political prisoners, and the Government are ready to accept anything that is said by the officials there, and it is supposed that whatever faults are committed the Prisons Board never go astray. I have seen prisoners in a weak state of health provoked into a struggle with a strong warder, when the warder considered a man was shamming. I remember one Sunday morning on leaving chapel at the entrance to one of the stoneyards a warder rushed over to a man—I believe it was this man who subsequently died—and throttled him, asking him would he repeat what he had said? The man made no resistance, and I could not understand the conduct of the warder; but I afterwards learned that it was the habit of warders to assault prisoners and provoke them to resistance, and then they were dealt with under the rules of 1887, they were brought up before Sir Hervey Bruce, and sentenced for a further term of imprisonment for assault. The Act of 1887 provides that a prisoner shall be brought outside the prison and tried for such an offence. I found, in the case I have mentioned, that the prisoner had been making some complaint of his treatment. Every complaint must be made through the Local Prisons Board; no complaint can be made to the General Prisons Board. Before a letter can go out it must go through the hands of the Governor; and time after time the result has been, to my knowledge, that the prisoner making the complaint has been put upon short allowance, or confined in a dark cell, on the evidence of a warder that he has violated some trifling rule of discipline. The treatment in Londonderry Prison is monstrous, cruel, and barbarous to ordinary prisoners, and those who are sick, or labouring under the effects of disease, are not separated from ordinary prisoners. The medical officer avoids sending prisoners into the hospital, simply because he does not want the trouble of them. I am not given to make complaints on my own account. I have never formulated any complaint of my own treatment in Londonderry Prison, and I do not intend to do so. What I am saying is on behalf of the hon. Member for Camborne and other prisoners there. It is monstrous that the hon. Member should be kept in that prison, and in the casual ward too, where disease is liable to be communicated in a thousand different ways. The constant succession of short-term prisoners brings in diseases from outside to a much greater extent than

by the long-term prisoners. The hon. Member is treated worse than the ordinary prisoners. I know the cell in which he is confined, it is rounded like a railway arch, and it is very cold. It is not remarkable that the hon. Member should suffer from rheumatism, and I do not wonder that he has no faith in Sir William Miller's treatment; I should have no confidence in his treatment. Scores of times have I seen Sir Hervey Bruce introduce his Tory friends into a sort of balcony overlooking the prison yard in order that they might have the amusement of seeing a Nationalist Member of Parliament undergoing his sentence among prisoners of all kinds. I do not think it shows a feeling we have a right to expect in a man occupying the position of Sir Hervey Bruce, that he should thus add bitterness to the sufferings of a political opponent. I felt it keenly, but I could make no complaint, for the only means of complaint was through the man from whose cruelty I suffered. I was but a humble Member of Parliament, and my position did not differ much from that of other unfortunates who suffered with me. In my opinion, the most guilty men, the men on whom the responsibility for this disgraceful system rests, are outside the walls of the prison—men like Sir Hervey Bruce and Sir William Miller, men with handles to their names. These are far more guilty than the officials in subordinate positions. But I will occupy no more time; there are men who can discuss this Vote with far more ability than I can; but I thought my experience might throw some light on the system of which we complain. I only wish to express my horror of the treatment to which prisoners are subjected in Londonderry Prison, especially the sick prisoners. The things I have spoken of I can vouch for, and they call for instant remedy.

MR. SEXTON: This Debate is the fitting close and sequence to our survey of the wretched system of misgovernment in Ireland. Upon the Vote for Police we have heard how the Government treat Irishmen while they are outside the walls of a prison, breaking their heads and battering down their homes; on the Legal Vote we have been informed on ample evidence how Irishmen, disagreeable to the Government, are sent to prison, sometimes on little evidence and sometimes on none, sometimes on the verdict of a packed jury, but usually by the paid servants of the Crown; and now, on the Prisons Vote, we find how, when the Government have triumphed over their opponents so far as to get them into prison, they become the victims of a system of indignities, violence, and privations, to the breaking down of the health of the strongest men and even to the destruction of life. The Committee have just listened to a speech full of the testimony of knowledge, and this House, the mother of Parliaments, the progenitor of freedom, is now among all the Legislatures of the world in this peculiar and I think this shameful position, that when it comes to discuss the question of prison treatment, of prison indignities, of prison tortures, it has on its own benches an abundance of witnesses, men who are in their own persons the victims of the Government as well as the representatives of the people, men who have suffered by the law as well as assisted in making it. It is to be regretted, though it is perhaps only another evidence of the callous and sinister spirit of the present Administration, that the Chief Secretary has not taken the trouble to be present to listen to the speech of my hon. Friend. To what a story have we listened! The Medical Commissioner of the Irish Prisons Board has declared in his Report that there is nothing to find fault with, either in the sanitary condition or the official management of this prison, but we have the testimony of one who knows it——

An hon. MEMBER: From six months' investigation.

MR. SEXTON: You may look on it as the evidence of a prisoner, but I suppose you must believe the statement of a Member. Why this Derry Prison appears to be a lazar house as well as a place of torture. The story to which we have listened is something like what I have read in the pages of Charles Reade; it brings to the mind some of the horrors described in *Never too late to Mend*, but until now I did not think that such a story could be told of this enlightened age, even under a Unionist Government. The right hon. Gentleman, in dealing with the case of the hon. Member for Camborne, according to his unfortunate and settled habit,

replied to the charges made against his subordinates by scattering the most offensive suggestions, but I will not refer to them—they are so gratuitously offensive that it is humiliating to repeat them. Why did the right hon. Gentleman, with careful deliberation, bring in the name of Father M'Fadden?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I had been asked who had been the last occupant of the cell, and I replied that the cell had been occupied by first-class misdemeanants, and that I believed that Father M'Fadden, the only name in my recollection, had been in it recently.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman must have been fully aware when he made that statement that months elapsed between the cell being vacated by Father M'Fadden and the incarceration in it of the hon. Member for Camborne. The right hon. Gentleman might have provided himself with abortive information or have been silent, as he is ready enough to be on many occasions; but though he was obliged to start with the statement that he had no knowledge, yet his knowledge was good enough to carry him as far as this offensive suggestion, uttered in such a manner as to draw forth the shameful laughter and base applause of hon. Gentlemen behind him. If the right hon. Gentleman had listened to my hon. Friend he would have found that there is not the remotest ground for the suggestion with which he tried to deceive the Committee as to the communication of the disease. My hon. Friend has testified that disease is prevalent in the prison, and that the place is nothing short of a pest-house. It is obvious that if the right hon. Gentleman had made the most ordinary inquiry which common humanity demanded he would have seen it was not a place to which a Parliamentary Colleague should be sent. It was not necessary to make an insinuation that might deprive a tradesman in the city of the means of living in order to account for the contraction of this loathsome disease I can only say of the hon. Member for Camborne that he has been victimised by the right hon. Gentleman and his subordinates, that the special grievance from which he suffers is almost beyond Debate. Racked with lumbago and rheumatism, and then subjected to the humiliating tortures of this infection as the hon. Member has been, and imprisoned as he is under a sentence that Judges have condemned, in such circumstances the least that any of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors in office would have done would have been to welcome the opportunity to order the immediate release of his unfortunate Parliamentary Colleague. The right hon. Gentleman has not done that, he has attempted to dismiss the case with a few wretched quibbles and sneers [*Cries of* "No."] The hon. Member for Dover appears to think that the right hon. Gentleman should not utter any quibbles and sneers except such as are written for him, but he may be allowed a less limited measure of independence. We have heard that this prison is a pest-house where the medical officer neglects his duties and where the infliction of violence is a settled habit of the place. I missed from the right hon. Gentleman's speech the usual declaration of victory he used to be in the habit of making. It was formerly his habit to justify his action by the deterrent effect of his punishment. He has had an unchecked run of two years with his Coercion Act, he has exhausted all the resources of his Act, men's healths have been permanently broken down and even their lives have been lost; but I ask the right hon. Gentleman does he think his proceedings have been so far successful in a deterrent result, when no lowest Irishman will humble himself to escape three months or six months' imprisonment by giving bail for good behaviour? My thoughts go back to a certain interview that occurred in a country house in Wiltshire in the autumn of 1887, just after the passing of the Crimes Act. It rests on the word of honour of a blameless and stainless English gentleman. The witness in the case for the prosecution is Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, and the evidence for the defence is that of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. On the morrow of the passing of the Coercion Act, on the day when his *protégé* Colonel Turner was batoning the people at Ennis, the Chief Secretary told Mr. Blunt that in the administration of the Coercion Act he would "have none of Forster's nonsense," adding,

"Our prisoners will be differently treated; their punishment will be severe; it will be so severe that if they have any sort of bad health they will not be able to stand it."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Gentleman professes to be quoting my words, I give the most absolute and unqualified contradiction to the statement.

MR. SEXTON: I presume that, notwithstanding my high opinion of the word of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, if I controverted that point blank declaration of the right hon. Gentleman by any further argument on this immediate point I should not be in order. Therefore, I will only say that if the right hon. Gentleman had been a party to such an interview with Mr. Wilfrid Blunt he could not have more accurately forecast the course of action which he has pursued than if he had used the words I have quoted—except with this qualification that he ought not to have said that "if they have any sort of bad health they will not be able to stand it," but "whatever kind of bad health they have they will not be able to stand it." I will not at this moment pursue the general theme, because I think I cannot more usefully employ the time you, Sir, have allowed me than in discussing for a little the theme started by my hon. Friend who last addressed the Committee, and in endeavouring to fix the attention of the Committee to some of the tragic facts in connection with the prison of Derry. The Medical Commissioner of the Prisons Board has written a Report on Derry Gaol, in which he describes how the sewage of the town falls into the tidal river, and how at high tide the gaseous contents of the sewers are driven into the high part of the town where the prison stands. I am driven to the conclusion that the subject merits a more careful and searching examination than could have been given to it by Dr. O'Farrell or any ordinary prison official. To my mind it certainly deserves the attention of a specialist. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in this very quarter of Derry, on the eminence crowned by the prison, there has been more than once an epidemic of typhoid? It has been pointed out that prisoners have seldom died in this prison. There is an easy way of escaping such a difficulty. If when a prisoner is about to die, as in a case which has recently occurred, you turn him outside the gate, you need have very few deaths in the prison. I wish to submit the cases of five persons who have been prisoners in Derry Gaol. One was Rose Trainor, who was convicted of going back to the shelter from which she had been evicted, and who left the prison to die of typhoid fever, which, according to the medical certificate, must have been contracted in gaol. John Cannon, one of the Falcarragh prisoners, is lying ill of fever caught in the gaol. Concerning these cases questions have failed to elicit any information from the Government. I feel that some information ought to be given to us in to-night's Debate in reference to these cases. I come now to three cases of which a great deal has been heard. The first is the case of Charles Diver. He was committed to prison in February last. He went into the prison hospital on the 10th of March, and remained there till the 14th. Diver told the prison doctor that some months before his arrest the wheels of a cart had passed over his stomach and left him subject to a painful disease. There is appended to the Report of Dr. O'Farrell a table of releases from Derry Prison in the course of the last three years, and I find that the prison doctor has been in the habit of releasing ordinary criminals upon very inconsiderable grounds. For instance, a gentleman who was convicted of an attempted rape was released on the ground of debility. Another person, well worthy of the sympathetic attention of an enlightened Government, was imprisoned for an attempt to have carnal knowledge of a girl of 15, and was released on the grounds of old age and debility. I should have thought that when an untried prisoner was able to tell the prison doctor that a cart wheel had passed over his stomach and left him subject to a painful internal affection, his release, at any rate pending his trial, would have followed. No, Sir. He left the hospital on the 14th of March. He was put in hospital again on the 4th of April and kept there till the 26th. He was subsequently again put in hospital, where he remained until the 22nd of July, when bail was procured for him. During the whole period he was continually spitting blood and passing blood from the bowels. He was in a state of continual suffering. It is stated that the Lord Lieutenant's order for release arrived at the prison half an hour after the man's release on bail. I pass to the case of John M'Gee, a poor

lad of 20. He with another young man were present in a neighbour's house at the time of an eviction, and offered some resistance to the bailiffs. The man evicted had made some money in Australia, had come back to his native land after years of hard labour, and invested all his capital in a farm. These two young fellows went to the place to make some show of resistance to the eviction, but no one was injured. Being Catholics, they were tried by a jury wholly Protestant, were convicted, and sent to Derry Gaol. All I can say is that these honest, virtuous, high-spirited young peasants are the sort of men who are the pride and the prop of all the free States of the world, and I say that if these two young men had in any country borne the parts which they bore here, and had sought refuge on your shore, you would have every man of your army shot down and every ship of your navy sunk before you would give them back to punishment. See how they fared under your own Administation. M'Gee was received into Derry Gaol on the 12th of March. His weight at that time was 10st. 6lbs. At the end of May his weight was 10st.; on the 7th of August the day before his release, his weight was 8st. 11lbs. He lost in the course of five months in that prison something a little short of 2st., and the course of his decay, mark you, was gradual. At the end of May he began to complain of weakness and pain in his side. On the 1st of June he was sent to the hospital for debility—the cause of the release of the two meritorious criminals whose cases I have cited. He began to have a cough. In the first six days of June he was in bed, and his temperature was 101. He was afterwards sent back to the ordinary prison, and I have it stated that he was sent back contrary to his own protest. After he had been eight days in the ordinary cell his cough returned and with it came an attack of vomiting. He returned to the hospital on the 24th July. Now, Sir, I ask why was not this man released? If he was under sentence of imprisonment and not under sentence of death, why was the last letter of the sentence exacted? On the 6th of August he was delirious, and on the 8th of August, the last day of his sentence, he was released. According to the evidence of the hospital warder, M'Gee when finally leaving the hospital stumbled at the last step and was caught by a fellow prisoner. Father Stephens, who saw the incident, says M'Gee actually fell from sheer exhaustion. One of his companions was helping him along when the warder told him to let him alone, saying that he was well able to walk himself. The man left go, and M'Gee fell. This young man, who, according to his father, had entered the prison the hardiest boy in the county, left it to totter to his grave. The Report states that on the day of his release M'Gee proceeded the next morning a distance of 22 miles on an outside car exposed to heavy showers. I am able to confront that statement with one of undoubted credibility. Father Stephens has telegraphed to me as follows:—

"Balfour stated that poor M'Gee travelled in a storm. It is utterly false. The day was beautifully fine and warm until he reached Dunfanaghan, when some rain fell after he had got shelter. I was with him all the way on the road."

If you think it is important and desirable to kill these men in prison you ought to be manly enough and frank enough to admit that you have done it. You ought not to insult the intelligence of Members of this House by offering us unintelligible explanations. Why did not the prison doctor release this man when he was able to leave the prison? Why did he not release him when he would have had some chance of living, or, if he insisted on keeping him till the last day of his sentence, why did he not send word to his father and mother or to some one who would take care of him? He told the poor boy before sending him out that he was not fit to travel, and what was the answer of John M'Gee? "My mother," said he, "will die unless I go home." But what a hideous mockery it is for the prison officials to plead now that they warned him he was not in a fit condition to travel. Why did they not let him travel when he was in a fit condition? Here was a poor peasant, a boy from the Donegal mountains, used all his life to the woods and the fields, and to tell him he was not fit to travel! One might as well open the door of a cage and expect the bird not to take wing. We find it recorded that he was to have a car and four ounces of brandy. Four ounces of brandy—the right hon Gentlemen's State viaticum to a dying prisoner.

In some respects the case of Michael Size was most remarkable. He was 20 years of age. He was received in the prison on the same day as John M'Gee. Though these episodes are not marked with the violence which characterised the treatment of Mr. Mandeville and Mr. W. O'Brien, though this is a story of ordinary officialism, yet, Sir, the certainty with which murder can be done by an appropriate official system within a certain time is to be seen from the fact that these young men who both entered the prison on the 12th of March died, both of them, on the 20th of August. On the 4th of April I find this entry about Size in the prison book: "He was placed in association with another prisoner, who was under observation for mental disease." What do these words mean? They may glance past the ear of a careless listener, but there is a startling meaning hidden under them. Will the Committee believe that this boy of 20, on coming into the prison, was selected with another Crimes Act prisoner to take care of a dangerous lunatic who had committed murder. It is expressed in a very much simpler way than in the Report in a letter which has been addressed to me: "He was put to guard a madman." The madman has since committed suicide. Can anyone imagine that poor inexperienced peasant boy being set to a task so harassing and so fatiguing? He had not only to guard this dangerous lunatic by day, but had to stay up with him every second night —so that every second night he was deprived of his natural rest. On the 20th June he developed febrile symptoms, and, says the ingenious and ingenuous Dr. O'Farrell, "it was probably due to chill." Well, I should say that a young man accustomed to an easy life and sufficient sleep, who has to guard a dangerous lunatic and sit up with him every second night is in a very likely condition for developing febrile symptoms. The next day he was a hospital patient, and he remained in bed during the rest of his imprisonment. Might not the Government have discharged him? No, Sir, they never thought of it. There is this fact, that on the 6th July the medical man happened to visit the prison. This boy was released on the 30th of July, and he clutched at the walls of the prison to keep himself from falling as he left. He was conveyed to the railway station, and his mother took him to his native place, where in three weeks' time he died. [An hon. MEMBER: Another murder.] I ask the right hon. Gentleman to explain these circumstances. It is absurd to say that the inspection of the prison made by Dr. O'Farrell was an efficient inspection. A searching examination ought to have been made by a sanitary engineer. The Government have had nearly a fortnight's notice of the matter, and their obstinate refusal to give such an examination as was necessary before this Vote was taken, showed, in my opinion, guilt on their part. Dublin Castle itself is not a truer sign or a gloomier memorial of the cowardly infamy of the misgovernment of Ireland by the Chief Secretary and his Colleagues than the mounds of the ashes of these two poor peasant boys who have been done to death in Irish prisons by what I must declare to be the most unmanly and un-English policy which has ever prostituted British power to the uses of tyranny in Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If I had desired to give any stranger to our political controversies some notion of the length to which Party rancour will drive those who are engaged in this strife I should have liked him to be present during the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. Earlier in the evening we had a speech —not a speech, I confess, for which I have any great admiration —but, at any rate, a speech couched in moderate language from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and another speech in excellent taste from the hon. Member for the St. Austell Division. The hon. Member for the St. Austell Division is acquainted with all the facts on which the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has commented; and if anyone compares the tone in which he addressed the Committee with the tone which it has pleased the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast to adopt, the stranger would have had some measure by which he could estimate the lengths to which Irish controversy might be carried. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast has thought it consistent with his duty as a Member of this House, and as a Repre-

sentative, as he was proud to tell us, of the people of Ireland, to accuse a man who has been in the Public Service for 20 or 30 years of a deliberate attempt to murder. I presume that, as the right hon. Gentleman was not called to order by the Chairman, the expression was in order.

MR. SEXTON: Murder can be done by neglect as well as by design.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Murder in its very essence is deliberate; and the right hon. Gentleman over and over again accused this honourable, capable, and efficient official with deliberately attempting to compass the death of persons intrusted to his charge. I think that was bad enough. But it is worse when we reflect that the right hon. Gentleman had at his disposal ample information upon all the subjects upon which, I presume involuntarily, he has misled the judgment of the Committee. I do not suppose that Members on the Government side of the House have read the Report which I placed in the Library of the House of Commons a few days ago from the medical members of the Prisons Board. Had they done so, I might also have saved myself the trouble of making a speech, because the document from which the right hon. Gentleman has attempted to prove this monstrous case would, to those who read in an impartial spirit, supply an ample refutation of the statements which had been made and an ample vindication of the conduct of the officials. I do not choose to linger——

MR. SEXTON: Controvert the facts.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not choose to linger over the attack made upon me by the right hon. Gentleman in respect to the speech which I made earlier in the evening. The right hon. Gentleman accused me of a gross breach of taste, because I stated, in answer to a direct question, that Father M'Fadden and other first-class misdemeanants had occupied the cell which is now occupied by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division. I appeal to any man who heard my speech in answer to the hon. Member for the St. Austell Division whether a more moderate statement of the case than that which I ventured to lay before the Committee could have been made? But the treatment which I received from the right hon. Gentleman is a very small matter. I am accustomed, and I am indifferent, to the attacks made upon me. But when it comes to the character of an official like the present Medical Officer of the Londonderry Gaol, the matter becomes one of great importance, and it is impossible that I should wholly disregard it. The right hon. Gentleman has attacked this doctor because he turned out M'Gee, who died shortly afterwards of acute tuberculosis—he has attacked the doctor for his want of humanity in the treatment of his prisoner. A more outrageous accusation was never made. The prison journals showed that every attention was offered to this lad; and when the time came for the sentence on M'Gee to expire the doctor told him that, in his opinion, he was unfit to travel. The doctor offered to keep him in the prison infirmary, or if that was unacceptable to recommend him to the town infirmary; and when both these offers were refused he provided him with a car to go to the station and with such refreshments as would enable him to bear the journey, against which he protested, with the least possible danger to life. That conduct was held up by the Member for Belfast as an example of inhumanity. The facts speak for themselves. The prisoner had in prison medical treatment and food which he could not have commanded at his own home. After the sentence expired, he was offered further medical treatment and food fit for an invalid, either in the prison infirmary or in the town infirmary, and that was refused. He was offered a car to take him to the station, and that was refused. Acting, unhappily, apparently under the advice of his friends, the prisoner determined to take the long railway journey and car journey of 22 miles. How the prison doctor could be implicated in that matter, when it could be shown he acted as a most humane and honourable gentleman, I am utterly at a loss to understand. Was the case different with regard to the case of the man Size? The right hon. Gentleman complained of the prison doctor, Sir William Miller, because he did not let out the prisoner M'Gee in the middle of his sentence. Sir William Miller did let out Size in the middle of his sentence, and the right hon. Gentleman also complained of that. When the time came for the sentence to expire, the

doctor thought Size too ill to travel, and he advised the prisoner to stay in. This, however, the prisoner declined to do. He, like M'Gee, insisted on travelling, and, like M'Gee, he had to bear the consequences of neglecting competent professional advice. Is there anything in those two cases, as brought before the Committee by the right hon. Member for West Belfast, and supplemented by a few facts by myself which I have drawn from sources open to the right hon. Gentleman—is there anything in those cases which goes to prove any other conclusion than that Sir William Miller was a most humane doctor? The right hon. Gentleman has given it on his authority that Londonderry Gaol is infected with the seeds of fever. I do not know where the right hon. Gentleman got his information. I presume that if the right hon. Gentleman wants an inquiry, he bases that desire upon some facts which lead to the conclusion he has laid before the House. What facts are there? Is the place infected by fever?

MR. SEXTON: I have said twice that the facts were that the prison was on the high part of the town; that it was an old building; that epidemics of typhoid fever were frequent in that part of the town; and that the sewage was tide-locked.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Those facts would have led anybody else to precisely the opposite conclusion. Epidemics of typhoid fever! Why, there has not been a case of typhoid fever within the memory of man in Londonderry Gaol, and therefore the fact that the gaol is situated in that fever-haunted spot, if fever-haunted it is, shows that the sanitary arrangements of Derry Gaol are well-nigh perfect. The assertion that Derry Gaol is a place where zymotic disease lurks is absolutely unfounded. There is not a single particle of medical evidence which would lead to that conclusion. On the contrary, the medical history of Derry Gaol would, in the words of the medical members of the Prisons Board, lead any impartial observer to the conclusion that the medical arrangements are peculiarly satisfactory. During the 10 years ending March 31, 1889, the number of deaths per 1,000 was 2·6, and since then there have been three deaths. Those three deaths did not in any way indicate any tendency to zymotic disease. One died of peritonitis, the second of sunstroke, and the third of suicide. [An hon. MEMBER: Madness.]. Madness is not a zymotic disease. If we consider the death-rate, and the causes of those deaths which have occurred, there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Derry Gaol has deserved the imputations levelled at it so recklessly by hon. Gentlemen opposite. But that is not all. We have been told that that prison is unhealthy. I have said the rate for the 10 years ending March 31 last was 2·6 per 1,000. Adding the three deaths which have occurred since would raise the average to about five per 1,000. The average number of deaths in English prisons is nine per 1,000, and the average throughout all Ireland is only 4·4 per 1,000. What inferences are we to draw from those figures?

MR. SEXTON: Did you send them out to die in Derry?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Let the right hon. Gentleman choose what his complaint shall be. One-half of his speech is a complaint that M'Gee was not sent out, and the other half a complaint that Size was sent out. For my part, I do not care what inference you draw, because the fact remains that the death-rate in Irish prisons is half the death-rate in English prisons. If that is due to the fact that the sanitary arrangements of Irish prisons are good, it is so much to the credit of the Irish prisons; and if it is due to prisoners being sent out at an early stage of illness, it shows that the prison doctors of Ireland exercise the powers vested in them by law more readily than in English prisons. Reviewing these statistics, what possible grounds are there for the monstrous and iniquitous calumnies levelled against prison officials in Ireland by such men as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Belfast? Hon. Members may say that refers to ordinary prisoners in Ireland, but that when Crimes Act prisoners are being dealt with then the desire is to torture them to death, and the humanity which is shown towards ordinary prisoners disappears into thin air under the baneful influence of that monster of iniquity the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I have greatly softened the language, but that is the substance. What possible basis is there for these accusations? Let us consider how that matter may be deter-

mined. I am perfectly well aware that hon. Gentlemen will not take my word, and that any intimation of good intentions on my part will be received with derision. But there are methods by which that matter can be brought to some kind of test, and I have asked for some statistics with regard to privileges given to ordinary prisoners by the medical officers of the various prisons in Ireland. I find that while the proportion of ordinary prisoners who receive those special privileges is 9·5 per cent, the proportion of Crimes Act prisoners who have received those privileges is 26·5 per cent. That I think is a very interesting fact. There are two interpretations, and only two, which can be given to it. One is that gentlemen committed under the Crimes Act are persons of exceptionally delicate constitutions, and the other is that they are treated with exceptional leniency. I do not care which is accepted. I say that the figures I have given to the House show that the kind of attack made by hon. Gentlemen opposite is wholly and absolutely baseless. To any man of ordinary common-sense it would seem too grotesque even for the madness of political partisanship to accuse any Member of this House of an intention deliberately to try and destroy the life or the health of his political opponents. We have long been accustomed to political madness in certain quarters of the House, and have ceased to expect political sanity or moderation from those hon. Members. Even ordinary accuracy in quoting documents is a political virtue we do not expect for a moment to see; but, at all events, we have these tabulated results I have ventured to give to the House, which prove that unless, which I am unwilling to believe, prisoners under the Crimes Act are guilty of deliberate malingering, either they are persons of exceptionally delicate constitutions or they are treated with exceptional leniency by the prison officials. I have long ago come to the conclusion that the reckless extravagance of the accusations levelled against the Irish Government are a benefit rather than the reverse to the Government. I am not sanguine enough to suppose that everything that has been done by every Irish official has been beyond criticism during the last two or three years. But of this I am certain—that when hon. Members stun the ears of this country with charges which are not only false and calumnious but false and calumnious on the very face of them, even if by chance they should come across some valid indictment that indictment would be received with indifference and contempt by the people of this country. The fact is that Gentlemen opposite would have us believe that their motives in these criticisms are dictated by humanity; that when they tell us that the sanitary arrangements of this or that prison are defective, they are animated by a deep desire for the good of their fellow-creatures. I frankly tell the House that I wish I could believe that the drains of the House of Commons are half as good as the drains of Derry Gaol. The House has heard a good deal of what is going on in certain barracks in Ireland. Why, if we ventured to lodge our prisoners as we lodge our soldiers there would be a cry from one end of the country to the other which no Government could withstand; and if we ventured to feed our prisoners as we feed our paupers the attacks on the Chief Secretary would be even more virulent than they now are. I have taken the trouble to investigate the dietary of one or two workhouses in which Nationalist Boards of Guardians are supreme, and I find that the paupers in those Unions are not fed half so well as the criminals in the neighbouring gaol. [An hon. MEMBER: Neither are they in England.] Very likely not. My whole case is this—that whereas in England as well as in Ireland we have got a prison system, no attacks are made on English prisons. The attacks are made on the Irish prison system, which differs only from the English prison system in being far more lenient, and these attacks on the Irish prison system were never heard of until the Friends of hon. Gentlemen opposite were put in prison. Then, and then for the first time, their humanitarian instincts were aroused. Then, and then only, we were led to understand that the prison rules under which 25,000 of our fellow-countrymen are annually incarcerated, are so monstrously destitute of humanity that the 80 odd individuals now imprisoned under the Crimes Act cannot be expected to

endure them and live. I do not know that I need add anything to what I have said. I had hoped to escape making a third speech; but the violence of the attack made by the right hon. Gentleman upon the prison officials of Derry Gaol made me think that I should be wanting in my duty to them if I did not bring before the Committee and the country the general view of the question, which I am convinced, in the opinion of every right-minded man, will acquit these officials of the gross calumnies of which they have been the object.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman has excelled himself in audacity. The first observation to be made on his speech is that, whatever the right hon. Gentleman may profess, he must have immeasurable contempt for the intelligence of his followers, for whilst professing to reply to a speech of mine, in which I spoke from documents in my hand—the Report of Dr. O'Farrell—giving a succinct account of the facts, the right hon. Gentleman has presumed and dared to speak of me as having made inaccurate quotations and presented misleading statements. The very contempt which the right hon. Gentleman entertains for me I return to the right hon. Gentleman with compound interest. If the intelligent foreigner to whom the right hon. Gentleman referred had been in the Gallery during the whole of the right hon. Gentleman's speech his education in the policy of *finesse* and political audacity would have been considerably improved. What is the meaning of talking such nonsense about the drains of the House of Commons and those of Derry Prison? We can, at all events, get away from the drains of the House of Commons. But the unfortunate prisoners are kept within the influence of the drains of Derry Prison until they contract fatal disease. What is the use of citing the infrequency of deaths? There never is any need for a prisoner to die in the prison. When the prisoner is on the point of death he can be turned out. But the audacity of the right hon. Gentleman is not accounted for by his ignorance. I endeavoured to deal with this as a hygienic question. I pointed out that the sewage of the town was tide-locked. Derry Gaol is on the highest point of the town, and the sewage gas necessarily rises to the gaol. Every impartial man will agree with me that there is a strong case of presumption. There have been five cases of illness. Two persons have died, and three are on the point of death. The woman who has been referred to left the gaol on the 1st of August. The right hon. Gentleman, from his intellectual eminence, shows his contempt for the life of a poor Irish woman, and says that I lied when I quoted from the medical certificate, which showed that the woman was now suffering from typhoid fever, which must have been contracted within the walls of the prison. Instead of indulging in unseemly abuse of Members who are endeavouring to perform their duty, instead of sneering at the statements of "such men as the Member for West Belfast"—a most impudent phrase—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The Committee would make better progress if all Members would reflect upon the result which their own words may produce.

MR. SEXTON: I should have been glad to have heard that observation made earlier in the Debate. Why has not the right hon. Gentleman, in his reply, observed the ordinary courtesies of Debate, and answered specific questions which had been categorically put to him? Why has he not told us how it came to pass that one poor man, who was from the 22nd July suffering from internal bleeding, was allowed to pine away in prison? Was not this a case in which the man should have been discharged earlier? And then there is the case of John M'Gee. Is it true that this man was hardly able to crawl when he was discharged from prison? Is it true or not that he was delirious before he went out? Is it true that he fell down in the prison? Is it true that a fellow prisoner, seeing him stumble, came forward and offered him his arm to assist him down the stairs when a warder interfered and refused to allow him to have assistance? Is it true that immediately afterwards M'Gee fell down? Why have we not had an answer to all these questions? What about the lie about the thunderstorm? I have a telegram here from Father Stephens saying that M'Gee was not out in a storm, but was under shelter. Why have we heard nothing about the lunatic? Why was this boy of 20 put on to watch a dangerous lunatic and kept without

his natural rest, having this hideous experience for two months, and having his faculties constantlyon the stretch until his health was completely broken down by the anxiety? And when he developed febrile symptoms, why was he not released? Is it true or not that he was kept in prison until it was too late to save his life? I hold that it was the duty of the prison doctor when he saw this young man fading and pining away to represent the case as one necessitating the immediate discharge of the prisoner, and I believe the Home Secretary will agree with that proposition. And as to Derry Gaol itself, I say the facts which have been presented to the House afford a condemnation of the prison, and of the rules enforced there, which no rhetoric can displace. The absence of a high death-rate in the prison, is fully accounted for by the fact that the prisoners are detained there until they reach the point of death and are then released.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The right hon. Gentleman has not referred to the fact mentioned in Dr. O'Farrell's Report with reference to Londonderry Prison—that the prison sewers are completely disconnected from the city main sewer by traps and ventilators, so that it is utterly impossible that the sewer gas can be forced back into the prison.

MR. SEXTON: I referred to the fact of the existence of the traps and ventilators in my first speech, but my contention was that they did not suffice to keep back the sewer gas.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I apologise to the right hon. Gentleman. I did not hear the early part of his speech. But I submit that with these precautions which have been taken it is absolutely impossible that the sewer gas can be forced back into the prison. The right hon. Gentleman has made very serious charges against a personal friend of my own who happens now to be Mayor of the City of Derry, and who is the Medical Officer of the prison. The charges have been made on account of what has happened in the gaol, and I do not think they have been, or can be substantiated. Let me remind the right hon. Gentleman of what is the sanitary state of the city over which he presides as Chief Magistrate. The right hon. Gentleman might just as well accuse the Corporation of Dublin of murder, because the prisons of Dublin, for the sanitary condition of which they are responsible, are in an unhealthy condition. I believe they are drained on the same principle of Derry Gaol; there is a tidal lock, and intercepting shafts are provided to prevent the sewer gas being forced back into the prison. Now, what is the Report of Dr. O'Farrell? It is a great mistake that this Debate has been conducted on Dr. O'Farrell's Report, which has not been read by hon. Members. From that Report it appears that the drainage system of Derry Gaol is satisfactory; far more so than that of the city over which the Lord Mayor of Dublin presides, and which has one of the highest death-rates in the United Kingdom. There is no principal street or square in the City of Dublin which can boast of such a drainage system as that of Derry Gaol. I maintain, however, that Dr. O'Farrell was not the proper authority to send down to report on anything of this kind; what was wanted was a sanitary engineer. I am blaming nobody, but I am prepared to act upon evidence, and hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway are not. The public conscience has been touched by such facts as these, and the Government ought to spare no trouble in getting the best possible sanitary authority to investigate into the matter.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): Our task in laying these facts before the Chief Secretary is not made less difficult by the shouts of the hon. Members behind Ministers; and I would suggest to the hon. Member for Dover that if he would get up and make a speech in defence of the existing system of treating prisoners we should be prepared to make some allowance for his maiden effort. Now, I submit that the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, earlier in the evening, was deliberately intended to obscure the real issue before the Committee. Our object is to lay before the House and before the country the treatment to which prisoners in Ireland are subjected: we have shown that in many cases that treatment has ended in death, and that these cruelties are being inflicted in the prisons under the cover of an Act of Parliament obtained from this country by fraud. This Act the

Government are using not for the purpose of detecting crime, but in order to collect rents for their supporters. I should like to call the attention of the Committee to the speech delivered by the Chief Secretary in the course of the Debate some weeks since on the prison treatment of the hon. Member for North-East Cork. Previously to that, the right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to throw the onus for that prison treatment on the prison officials; but suddenly he turned round, took the responsibility upon himself, and personally gave directions as to what the treatment should be. Later on, when the case of the hon. Member for North Kildare was under debate, the right hon. Gentleman took up still another attitude, and altogether it seems as if on this question, at anyrate, he has been afflicted by political palsy. I believe the heroic efforts made by the hon. Member for North Kildare in defending himself against the outrages sought to be inflicted on him by order of the Government marked the second epoch of what may be called the prison torture of the right hon. Gentleman, for those efforts compelled the right hon. Gentleman to order the discontinuance of these ancient barbarities. It will be remembered that up to this time the Government of Ireland had used a certain man called Dr. Barr to force the hands of the prison doctors, and so to shift the burden of responsibility for the safety of the lives of these prisoners upon those who are, generally speaking, a very respectable body of men. One has a considerable tendency to return to his old love, and so the right hon. Gentleman began to look around for a successor to Dr. Barr. I am not going to mince matters with regard to Dr. O'Farrell or any other professional man in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman soon found a fitting representative of Dr. Barr in Dr. O'Farrell. My hon. Friend the Member for East Limerick (Mr. Finucane) was sent to Limerick Gaol. He is a very gentle, a very harmless, and also a very delicate man. He went on apparently very well under the care of the prison doctor, who, though not a political adherent of ours, is a highly educated and highly skilled man. But Dr. O'Farrell pops down to have a look at him, accompanied by a man named Peter Brown, a gentleman belonging to the Auxiliary Forces, and who may, in all probability, expect to fill the post of Surgeon General of the Forces which are to be gathered together somewhere on the plains of Ballykilbeg when Home Rule is granted to Ireland. He weighs about five stone, and has a brain to correspond with his size. Mr. Peter Brown gives it as his opinion that my hon. Friend was fit to be breaking stones, and ought to be removed to Galway Gaol for change of air. The doctor of the prison refused to have his hand forced by these two men, and he told them that if they removed my hon. Friend they would not be responsible if he lost his life on the way. To show the *bona fides* of the prison doctor, I may say that my hon. Friend has since been discharged from gaol. He came to this House and remained here for two or three days, but is now in his home suffering from a disease which he contracted in prison—exactly the same disease as that from which Mr. Mandeville suffered, and one from which possibly he will never recover. Well, this is the sort of thing that Messrs. O'Farrell and Brown are doing in Ireland. They are proving themselves to be puny imitations of Dr. Barr. They are endeavouring to force the hands of the prison doctors, who have very onerous and responsible duties to perform. I certainly shall not be the man to screen Dr. O'Farrell because I suppose he is a Papist. I now turn to the Report of Dr. O'Farrell, particularly with regard to Derry Prison. That Report was called for because of the diseases that were contracted in Derry Gaol by certain prisoners, who, because of the unsurpassed ignorance of the doctor of that gaol and the cruel inhumanity of the Government who employ him, were turned upon the road to die, which offence in itself in this country is, I think, punished with a term of imprisonment lasting some years. The Report, on the face of it, is a garbled Report. I assert that, as far as prisons are concerned, it is not a faithful or a true Report. As far as prisoners are concerned, I say it is absolutely and entirely false. I think it would be useless, after what we have heard, to enter into a sanitary argument as to the condition of Derry Gaol. I am afraid the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) is not a very clever sanitary

adviser, and I will answer his argument at once. I challenge any man who knows anything about sanitary science and who is a man of common sense, to deny that there is any intercepting trap yet invented which will prevent sewer gas entering a drain. The sewer gas charges the water, and so passes to the other side of the trap. I need not explain to hon. Gentlemen opposite that if this were not a true story they would have no soda water to take with their whisky. Derry Gaol is nothing more or less than a fever den. I asked yesterday a question with regard to Clonmel Gaol, which is another gaol Dr. O'Farrell has very often visited and no doubt inspected. I asked the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) how many baths there were in that prison, and the hon. and learned Gentleman told me there were four baths. I have a telegram in my hand which informs me that there is only one bath for 125 male prisoners. There are three other baths, but one of them is suspected to be in a disused female prison, and one is somewhere in an outhouse. There is an extreme difficulty in speaking of the things I have to deal with, not only in the presence of Members of this House, but in the presence of persons who may be in other portions of the building. I will try and do it as delicately as I can. In this prison the cells are 4½ feet wide by 13 ft. long; in fact, they are not cells at all, but little halls. There is no common ventilation of any kind, and the only ventilation is a little hole at one end, which has been stuffed from time to time and allowed to become a regular filth hole. There are in this prison what are called McFarlane's lavatories, which have to be used for every purpose. The slops all are emptied into one bath. There are defects in the lavatories which cause them to overflow every morning, and to cause a state of filth which is certainly not only a disgrace to any public institution, but which, if it exists also in other prisons and is not remedied, will bring, along with the other blessings we have received from the Government, the blessings of such a plague as I believe has not visited Ireland since 1848. I beg the right hon. Gentleman to turn his attention to the condition of Clonmel Gaol lest a state of things should occur there similar to that at Derry, and I ask the Solicitor General for Ireland to get information which is really authentic, and not to rely upon persons who care not what information they send up to this House. I now turn to that part of Dr. O'Farrell's Report which deals with the condition of the prisoners. I desire, in the first place, to direct the mind of the Committee to the diagnosis and to the treatment of this most common form of tuberculosis disease which is generated partly by want of air and partly by privation and starvation. I will admit for the sake of argument that M'Gee died of this disease, but I charge Dr. O'Farrell with having made this Report in order to cloak the Government and in order to cloak the doctor who has been appointed to this prison for the one simple reason that he is an Orangeman and an ass. I charge the doctor of the prison with not knowing what was the matter with the boy, and when he suddenly woke up and discovered M'Gee was in a dying state, with turning him out on the mountain side to deliver up his soul there instead of in prison. It is easy to keep dead men out of prison if you turn them out to die. This boy died of the secondary consequences of the actual disease, which was typhoid. Dr. O'Farrell says that, looking back at the circumstances of the case, it is a pity that the poor boy's illness did not distinctly manifest itself until it was so late. He clearly admits that Sir William Miller did not know what was the matter with the boy. It is plain on the face of the Report that the Report was made from evidence received from the warder, and that the warder is really the doctor. I charge that this is a case of culpable homicide, and that the other cases were cases of the same kind. Now that they know the circumstances of the case, I maintain that the Government, in defending this incompetent ruffian whom the right hon. Gentleman calls an able public servant of 20 years' standing, are chargeable with the offence of having caused the death of this man. I could never understand, and I do not think I will ever understand, how it is that the Irish people are the only people on the face of the globe who are expected by hon. Gentlemen opposite to stand by and look on at the deliberate assassination of their kith and kin without striking one blow in defence. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman when he says

that political assassination is the same as any other assassination—an abominable crime at all times, and I maintain that if this is anything it is a case of political assassination, for if you did not want to collect the rents of your friends you would never have sent this boy to prison. The people may well say, "What is the use of calling upon us not to resist; what is the use of telling us to be quiet. Our quietness or our want of resistance will not bring our fathers and sons and brothers to life." I hope, however, that in remaining quiet a little time, even under these most trying circumstances, the people will feel that they are doing something for the regeneration of their country by driving from Ireland a Government so mean, so contemptible, and so treacherous that it is a disgrace to a free Parliamentary institution.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I should not have interfered in this Debate at all, but that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in reply to some observations of mine, jauntily declared the system it adopted in the Irish prisons contrasts favourably in point of leniency with that adopted in the English prisons. He also said he looked in vain for moderation of statement or language on these Benches, and that accurate quotation was a virtue not to be expected in us. I shall not venture to make any statement of my own, but shall confine myself entirely to official language, and to the Report of the Prison Commissioners. I can show in a very few words that there is an amount of almost incredible inhumanity practised in the prisons of Ireland such as is not in any way or degree to be equalled by anything found in English prisons. I will leave alone Members of Parliament or Crimes Act prisoners or any of the prisoners in the local prisons, and will take the prisoners in those prisons which are more immediately under the control of the Central Authorities in Dublin. The Report of the Commissioners of Irish Prisons shows that the few words I have said are perfectly true. The system of treatment of prisoners who have committed breaches of discipline or who have committed any offences within the prisons, is entirely under the direction of the Prison Authorities, and the punishment inflicted in the Irish prisons is such that nothing like it is to be found in any other country in Europe. There is nothing like it in France, Belgium, Spain, or Germany, and I doubt much whether the convicts in the mines of Siberia are subjected to treatment worse than that shown in this Report. The system of mechanical restraints largely prevails in the Irish prisons. In the local prisons muff straps or leathern muffs, which are instruments more or less softened for the flesh, are used, but in convict prisons the system of restraint by means of iron chains is still in use. In the local prisons where muff straps or leather n muffs are used the period during which a prisoner is under restraint is only a matter of a few hours. The restraint used in all these cases was that of the muffs. I turn to the Report of the Mountjoy Convict Prison, and I find that the Governor describes the conduct of the convicts as generally good. There was only one case of assault upon a warder, and that not of a serious character, committed by a convict whose sentence was about to expire in a few days. He was prosecuted at a Police Court and sentenced to two months' hard labour. There was no case of corporal punishment during the year, and no attempt at escape. Such is the account of the Governor in his annual Report. But fortunately Lord Cross's Committee in 1884 made a very strong recommendation that every case of mechanical restraint should be reported to the Commissioners, and turning to the heading, at Table 13, I find an enumeration of the punishments inflicted at Mountjoy Prison where muffs, handcuffs, or straight-waistcoats were used. I find two cases in which men were chained—one for assaulting a fellow prisoner, and another for assaulting an officer. I find that one prisoner for

assaulting a fellow-prisoner was restrained by muffs on different occasions for 17 hours, 14½ hours, and 10¼ hours respectively; while another prisoner for assaulting an officer was kept chained day and night—for how long does the Committee suppose? For 56 days! Now, I challenge the Chief Secretary to give from the Report of any English prison anything that can compare with that. There is another case under the initials J. S. (the initials in the other case were J. F.). I find a man was, for assaulting a fellow-prisoner, kept chained day and night for 20 days. In Downpatrick one prisoner for assaulting a convict was chained for 44 days, another for 37 days, and a third for assaulting an officer 75 days and nights. Now, we know perfectly well what effect this system has had on one very well-known prisoner. O'Donovan Rossa has declared over and over again that his irreconcileable hatred to this country and the English Government is due to the fact that he was chained hand and foot and compelled to lap his food from a dish like a dog for days and weeks together in a prison in Dublin. Is that not enough to drive any man mad? Here you have prisoners chained for 37, 44, 56, and 75 days, and I say a Governor who inflicts such penalties ought to be punished. Any official who can so treat his fellow human beings ought to be punished. I defy the Chief Secretary to show that any such system obtains in any English prison. If a man is mad he ought to be sent to the convict asylum at Dundrum to be treated as a madman; if he is not mad, to subject him to such treatment in prison is enough to drive him mad. I will not trust myself to say anything more. I desire to confine myself to moderate language, and I do not go beyond the statements in the official Reports which hon. Members may read. Is it any wonder when you treat human beings as they are treated in the prisons of Ireland that, instead of generating respect for the law, you fill them with intense hatred for everything connected with the law and its administration.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Before the Debate closes I should like to say a few words on two points in the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in reply to statements I made at the commencement of the Debate. The whole answer of the right hon. Gentleman was based on the assumption that all the offences under the Crimes Act were closely connected with outrage and crimes of a violent nature. The Chief Secretary said that Irish leaders who incite men violently to attack the police by throwing boiling water over them, and so on, are as bad as the men who commit these offences. Well, I am quite prepared to accept that statement, and nothing I have ever said in or out of the House can lead to the belief that any man who commits or counsels these acts of violence should be treated as a political offender. The right hon. Gentleman says I have not devoted sufficient care to my subject, but I will venture to say that I have devoted more attention to the actual facts of these cases than he has. I have carefully examined every one of the speeches for which hon. Members have been prosecuted and convicted, and it is not possible to show that any one of those Gentlemen incited any person to violence or outrage; on the contrary, in every one of these speeches advice was given not to commit crime or outrage. Now the distinction between the class of offences to be treated as political and those of a different character was very well laid down in the judgment of Mr. O'Connor Morris, the County Court Judge of Roscommon, when he sentenced persons to punishment as first-class misdemeanants for advising tenants to take part in the Plan of Campaign, recognising that this is part of a great social movement now going on. Apart from the offences which hon. Members from Ireland may have committed, there is a large number of cases under the Coercion Act which cannot be described otherwise than as political offences—such as being present at Land League meetings, being

members of the Land League, reporting the proceedings of the League, or refusing supplies to the police. Do not these come under the head of political offences, or are they not in the nature of political offences? You may say they are the acts of bad citizens, though I do not think so; but to treat persons guilty of those offences as common criminals seems to me to be a crime of the greatest magnitude, and there is not another country in Europe where this would be done. The hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. Dillon) was convicted and sent to prison for six months for advising Lord Massareene's tenants to stand by one another and not to abandon those tenants who had already been evicted from their holdings. Now, I venture to say that, however he was treated, that was not an offence of an ordinary criminal nature. After his conviction the hon. Member for Mayo received an address signed by 150 Members of this House, expressing sympathy with him, and the opinion that the sentence was unjust. Should a man, under these circumstances, be regarded as a common criminal? I agree that it is not easy to lay down a strict rule between true criminal offences and political offences; but under no Code in Europe would the offence I have mentioned be treated otherwise than as a political offence, though the Code may not attempt to lay down the distinction between political and other offences. This is, in fact, an administrative question left for the Government to decide as cases occur, and I believe it is better to leave the question to administrative decision than to attempt to lay down a definition in a Statute. If the Chief Secretary had exercised a little more discretion in this matter, if he had not made those violent speeches in the country denouncing these offences as crimes, thus giving a cue to the Magistrates, this difficulty would not have arisen, and we should not have been brought into our present position. The right hon. Gentleman takes me to task for what he calls my half-hearted or lop-sided humanity, because he said I was not prepared to extend to common criminals exemption from the rules as to deprivation of the means of reading and writing that I advocated in respect to political prisoners. What I say is that the deprivation of reading and writing is a very serious punishment to an educated man who is a political offender, and that if subjected to it for any length of time it may seriously affect his health. As to common criminals, I am prepared to say, also, that this deprivation is so serious that a considerable relaxation of the rule as it affects this class of offenders might very well be adopted after the lapse of a certain time. The right hon. Gentleman paid no attention to my arguments founded on Lord Aberdare's Report; he did not make any reference to my statements in regard to the Belfast forgers or Mr. Joyce's evidence as to the convict in knickerbockers, or to the treatment of Members of this House in Tullamore Gaol, so I presume we may take these facts as accepted. I confess I am deeply disappointed at the right hon. Gentleman's speech, though I cannot say I am surprised, for it is in keeping with his policy in and out of the House. I do not think he can complain of the language of hon. Members from Ireland when they retort upon him for words and actions by which the right hon. Gentleman has endeavoured to fix upon many of them the status of persons connected with crime in the eyes of the people of this country. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman he is only at the commencement of this question. I have thought it my right and duty to raise Debate on this and other occasions, and having said what I have said in this House I mean to go to the public platform and to use all the efforts I can—whatever the Chief Secretary may think of their value—and to do my best to defeat the policy of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I wish to say a word on two of the questions—on the treatment of ordinary prisoners and also on the question of the treatment of political prisoners, and I shall deal with the case of ordinary prisoners first. I have long thought that the treatment of ordinary prisoners in both English and Irish gaols is radically wrong and based on false principles. If I were to be asked to define the best system for the occupation and discipline of convicted prisoners, I should say, just the

reverse of that which you adopt in Ireland. In Ireland you provide prisoners with the only work which your prison rules sanction—that is, the work of picking oakum. That is a badly-paid work, and consequently in many cases you cannot even find enough of this work for the prisoners to do. You make up for that by half starving them. You reduce the allowance of bread which they get to the smallest point at which this allowance is capable of sustaining life, with the result that the prisoner who serves two years' imprisonment with hard labour—we have it on the authority of an eminent Irish Judge—is always permanently enfeebled in either body or mind, as the result of the punishment, and very often permanently enfeebled in both. My view of the way in which a prisoner should be treated is this—that you should provide him with plenty of reproductive work to do, and you should give him sufficient food, and food of a proper quality, to enable him to do that work properly. I do not see why prisoners, instead of being a cost to the State, as they are, especially in Ireland, should not be a profit to the State. I do not see why you should make up for your want of employment for the prisoners in Irish prisons by half starving them, and by torturing them on the plank bed. There is no reason why, without inflicting any hardship upon the unemployed labour of the country, you should not find remunerative employment for the small number of prisoners which exist in Irish prisons, employment which would be remunerative to the State, which would save the State the cost of supporting prisoners, and which would be of some advantage to the community at large. Instead of that, you set them to work to pick oakum and to do other work which is no profit whatever to the State or to the prisoners; you enfeeble them in body and mind by starvation, by confinement under unsanitary conditions, and by a system of rigorous silence which is unnatural and barbarous. I would say, regarding prisoners under short terms of imprisonment; that is to say, prisoners sent for terms of not more than two years, you ought most largely to imitate the system in vogue in your long-term prisons in this country and adopted in the penal servitude prisons, of finding employment for the prisoners in the open air upon reproductive works which would benefit the community at large, and the practical result of which would be seen. Let me say a word as to the condition of criminal prisoners in Ireland. I have said that I believe these prisoners are systematically half-starved, and I am convinced of that. I have myself examined the condition of many of these men. I have seen men go into prison strong, active, and robust countrymen, who have come out weak, pale, and emaciated, broken down in spirit, and with their bodies enfeebled, as the result of terms of imprisonment of 12 months, 18 months, and two years. I do not believe, Sir, that it is necessary for the maintenance of prison discipline and for effecting the reform which everybody desires in the minds of the prisoners convicted of offences, that they should be half-starved or browbeaten, or that their minds should become enfeebled. But these are the results of your present system. I believe a better and more humane system could be adopted by which you could better ensure the end you have in view—the reformation of the minds of these criminals—and which would result in some advantage and benefit to the community at large. It is not advisable to slowly torture prisoners and induce disease under the pretext of reforming their minds and making them useful members of the community. Let me refer to the condition of the prisons themselves. I am convinced that none of the older prisons in Ireland are fit for human beings to live in, and you have a remarkable example of this in the case of Kilmainham. That is composed partly of the old and partly of the new building. We heard from the right hon. Gentleman to-night that it was impossible to put up sheds in the exercise grounds for prisoners to exercise in on wet days. I admit it; but the right hon. Gentleman did not

tell us—as he might have done—that all modern prisons are provided with spacious halls in which prisoners can exercise on wet days under as complete surveillance as if exercising in the open yards. That is the case with the prison at Kilmainham. In the modern portion there is a large hall, well lighted, well ventilated, and well warmed, in which there is abundant room for 100 or 200 prisoners to exercise on a wet day, with sufficient room; and the cells of this modern portion are properly ventilated and drained, and there is no fault to be found with them from the sanitary point of view. But if you go across the dividing line between the old prison and the new, you get into a portion of the prison which is unsanitary from top to bottom. There is, instead of being modern drains, the old style of drains, built of bricks, infested with rats, leaking at every pore (and from these leakages the sewer gas escapes into the cells of the unfortunate prisoners above), and whence liquid drainage leaks into the foundations of the prison, and forms a constant source of fever and disease. You find the cells themselves damp and almost uninhabitable, so badly ventilated that when any attempt is made to warm them they become furnaces, and when the furnaces go out they become deadly cold. The sewers leak and fill the whole building with sewer gas. Many of the sewers discharge themselves under the exercise yard, and periodically burst up and flood these yards with the sewage matter. I have myself been a witness of this. I have frequently seen the main sewer of the old portion of the prison at Kilmainham burst into the exercise yard and flood it to such an extent as to make it impossible for it to be used for exercise for many days together; and I believe this must be the case with every old-fashioned prison in Ireland, that they are not sanitary, and could not be improved, and that nothing would effect any sufficient reform in the condition of these old prisons and buildings except a thorough pulling down and rebuilding of them upon modern principles, and I am convinced this must be the case with Derry Prison. I am convinced that you have there an old prison not capable of reform on sanitary principles, and the result is, these mysterious cases of fever arise which the prison doctor attempts to put down as tuberculosis. It seizes not one but four or five different prisoners. Surely this should give rise to very grave cause for inquiry as to the sanitary condition of Derry Gaol. We know that there is nothing so terrible in modern maladies as typhoid fever, that it is an insidious disease, and that it creeps on without notice or warning, and that the unfortunate patient is past hope before his medical attendant knows he is ill. The right hon. Gentleman has displayed a lamentable culpability with regard to the lives of political and ordinary criminals confined in Derry Gaol. His attention was called to this matter by the unhappy deaths of two prisoners, and by the sudden and alarming illness of several others, and he has neglected up to the present moment to send a proper sanitary engineer to inquire into the condition of this prison. It is absurd to excuse himself under the plea that he has sent Dr. O'Farrell. It is Dr. O'Farrell's duty to know all about it without any further visit or inspection. It is a condemnation of Dr. O'Farrell if it turn out that this prison is unsanitary and unfit for the reception of prisoners. Is it likely that Dr. O'Farrell, even if he had the engineering knowledge requisite, which is exceedingly doubtful, would pass upon himself his own condemnation, by admitting that this prison is anything else but in the most perfect sanitary condition? I am glad to hear that Mr. Conybeare is to be removed from this pest house; but while we rejoice on behalf of Mr. Conybeare, let us not forget the more humble victims still left, and who have still to fear this lurking pest beneath the floors of their cells, and who may be stricken down at any moment. The right hon. Gentleman must not leave other unfortunate victims to die in this horrible place. I do trust that before the Vote is disposed of the right hon. Gentleman will give us some assurance that the very best scientific skill, the very best engineering skill that can be obtained of an independent character, will at once, without the loss of another 24 hours, be employed to inspect this horrible hole, and that the truth will at once be laid before the

country; and that the Report, if it be in condemnation of this place, will be acted upon at once, and that prisoners of all kinds, political or otherwise, will be removed to some healthy place. Now I come to the question of political prisoners. It is a curious thing, but not the less true, that only in this country have there been exceptional rules, regulations, and privileges embodied in Statute form for the benefit of political prisoners. Why is this? This exceptional care on the part of the Legislature has been forced upon the Legislature from time to time by the barbarous treatment of political prisoners in Ireland. It is usually sufficient, and it is always understood in every country that political prisoners are to have exceptional treatment. In the old time political prisoners got exceptional treatment. They received privileges and lenient treatment which were not the lot of persons convicted of gross crimes, and the Executive of the day had always forced upon it by public opinion this duty and necessity of taking care that the incidence of punishment should not fall harshly upon political prisoners. It has never been necessary for the Legislature to interfere and to point out to the Executive its duty in this matter except in the case of Irish political prisoners, and this change was only forced upon the Legislature in 1877 owing to the barbarous treatment meted out to the Fenian political prisoners in 1865 and subsequent years by the Home Secretary, who had the responsibility in those days. These men were taken from all ranks in life. After conviction in Ireland they were brought over to the English convict prisons. They were deliberately stripped of their flannels in the depth of winter and the gaol flannels were refused to them. It is to me inconceivable that this should have been so, but it stands so—it stands upon record in the Report of the Devon Commission. They were ill-treated in many other ways, because, being Fenians, they were unpopular with all classes in England, and they were a special mark for the vindictiveness and petty spite of the gaolers in the convict prisons who had charge of them. Many of them lost their lives; many of them permanently lost their health, and subsequently died from disease contracted in these prisons. Some became paralysed. I myself saw in 1879 an unfortunate man named Neill, who has since died, and who was then dying in Loughlinstown Workhouse, and unable to move hand or foot. He had to be wheeled about in a chair as a pauper in this workhouse. He had been accused of malingering. His paralysis was asserted by the Government to be feigned. Most cruel tests were applied to him, and he was discharged finally, but too late to arrest the course of the paralysis which had seized him, and he died about a year afterwards. Others of them became insane; and few more terrible histories can be written than the history of many of these unfortunate men engaged in the Fenian conspiracy, and who suffered terribly, owing to the harshness and rigor of the prison treatm ent meted out to them. All these matters were brought before the Parliament of 1877, and to the honour of Mr. Cross, the then Home Secretary, be it said, he admitted the principle in the Prisons Act of that year of the exceptional treatment of political prisoners, and a clause was inserted providing that persons convicted of sedition and seditious libel should be treated as misdemeanants of the first division. That, I think, was the first—at all events it was the most remarkable—legislative recognition of the right of political prisoners to special and different treatment. It was the recognition which came from a Conservative Home Secretary and which came from a Conservative Government, and it was very much to their honour that they passed that into law, and it was also the condemnation of previous Governments' action which was used as an illustration of the necessity for the reform then obtained. But the right hon. Gentleman seeks to turn back the hands of the clock. He wants to go back, has gone back, in his treatment of political prisoners to the old bad times of 1865-1867. The right hon. Gentleman may hope that he is to some extent successful in intimidating his political opponents by harshness, but he, I think, will find in the long run that he is sadly mistaken. Just as the treatment by the Government of those days of political prisoners in 1865 and 1867 nourished feelings of hatred towards England, and made Irishmen

stand up for their country to support the claims of her right to freedom by every possible means which the times permitted, he will find that the result of his action in Ireland will be the means of strengthening the determination of Irishmen not to yield to his attempts to tread down the Nationalist spirit of the people, and that greater enthusiasm and greater determination will be infused into our movement. It has always been so. Persecution always causes redoubled exertion on behalf of the persecuted; and if the right hon. Gentleman thinks that he is gaining by the intimidating effect of these harsh and cruel measures against his political opponents in Ireland, he will find the teachings of history do not justify the belief. What could be more disgusting than the treatment meted out to Mr. Fitzgibbon? The matter has been brought to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. If any crime was political Mr. Fitzgibbon's was. He refused to sell an ostrich feather to some Emergency woman who went about among Emergency men and soldiers. He refused to supply her, and he was taken up on a charge of boycotting, and was convicted by two of the right hon. Gentleman's Removables, and was sentenced, if not upon this charge upon some other, to imprisonment with hard labour. He was one of the principal, if not the principal, merchants of Castlerea, a man of considerable substance, of good credit, and a large trader and shopkeeper. He was imprisoned in one of these Irish gaols, and the depth of the barbarism to which the instruments of the right hon. Gentleman descended will be well illustrated when I tell you that the work which the Governor selected as the most suitable for this political prisoner was to set him to clean out the latrines of the prison. It used to be the custom before the Christian era for savage nations to set their prisoners of war to this work; and the right hon. Gentleman in permitting similar treatment to political prisoners—for the matter has been brought to his notice, and he is responsible for it, and has defended it and similar action from his place in the House—is descending to the level of barbarous nations of old times, who, when they could not overcome their enemies in the open field, sought by degradations and by torture of this kind to make up for the deficiencies of their forces. It is horrible that respectable men in Ireland should have to submit to such barbarities. Mr. Fitzgibbon refused to do this work. He was right in refusing this work, and he received as a punishment repeated terms of bread and water. Two or three others of his fellow prisoners, the political prisoners convicted of the same offence of boycotting, were selected for the same work. The right hon. Gentleman did not put any of his pet Belfast forgers to clean out his prison cesspools. They were allowed, even before the change in prison rules which the right hon. Gentleman effected to get himself out of a dilemma, to wear their own clothes, to walk about in their shooting jackets and other light summer costumes, as if they were gentlemen at large in these gaols—indeed, they were not compelled to do any work at all, so far as I am aware, and certainly none of the dirty, disgusting work which was given to the right hon. Gentleman's political opponents. It is for political prisoners that the right hon. Gentleman reserves treatment of this kind. He reserves this treatment, not so much for Irish Members of Parliament—for he has some little shame with regard to them. He is somewhat afraid of the light of public opinion. He does not commonly inflict upon them sentences of hard labour. Sometimes he does, but not always, in the case of someone particularly objectionable, like the hon. Member for Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington). Commonly he does not put them to clean out privies, but he makes it as unpleasant as he can in many other ways. It is with humbler men, men upon whose sufferings public opinion cannot be centred in the same way as it is upon those of Members of Parliament that he inflicts these barbarities. If life is taken, as in the case of poor John Mandeville, it does not matter; he is only a poor farmer or tradesman, a man of whom the English people will not take much notice, who will be talked about for the time, but the memory of whom will not last long, perhaps not till the next General Election. But, Sir, what does this bring us to? It brings us to this conclusion, that if your treatment is not fit for ordinary prisoners, must it not

be still more unfit for your political prisoners? The right hon. Gentleman says he will make no distinction between political prisoners and others. But he has made a distinction; he has made a distinction according to the class of political prisoners, that if they are drawn from a higher class and from a better grade than ordinary prisoners, they are to have privileges accorded them which are not accorded to the ordinary grade of political prisoners like Mr. Fitzgibbon. Mr. Fitzgibbon is to be put to clean prison sewers and cesspools, but the Irish Member of Parliament will be allowed to wear his own clothes, and he will not be allowed to do any more objectionable work than oakum-picking. This is proceeding altogether upon wrong lines. If one political prisoner who has committed an offence is to be treated in one way, and in a different way from another who has committed the same political offence, what becomes of your justice and of your consistency? If one man has done the same thing as the other, why should they not be treated in the same way? And where is the justice in setting up these lines of distinction because one man comes into prison with better clothes on his back than another? That is not the principle we have insisted upon. We wish to look to the quality of the offence; and if the offence is of such a character that it is committed for political motives, and for the sake of furthering a political cause with which the offender is identified, and not for selfish or unreasonable motives, we say that the offender is one who claims to be treated as a political prisoner, and that if there is any distinction to be made between a different class of prisoners that distinction should be based upon the difference in the political nature of the offences in the one case as compared with the gross nature of the offences in the other, and that the law should take cognisance of that in the infliction of the sentences. But the right hon. Gentleman proceeds upon different lines. He selects his political supporters in Belfast, who have committed disgraceful forgeries, and he says to them, "Because you are Conservatives and gentlemen I will permit you to wear your own clothes in prison, and to have privileges as regards hair-clipping and beard-cutting which I will not permit to such men as Mr. Fitzgibbon, of Castlerea"; and he says to Irish Members of Parliament, "I will permit you, whom I know, and who sit opposite to me in the House of Commons—I will permit you certain exemptions and certain privileges"—these concessions having only been obtained after a severe struggle between the right hon. Gentleman and these Members, in which struggle several have risked their lives. That is the principle upon which the right hon. Gentleman goes. Now, we protest against that, and we shall not cease to protest against it until we induce Parliament to carry out our views. We consider that a man who forges a name to a document, a man who commits a robbery, a man who steals his neighbour's property, whether he be a peasant or whether he be a Lord, should be treated as a man who commits a disgraceful offence; and that the man, on the other hand, who has offended against the susceptibilities of the right hon. Gentleman or his agents in Ireland, who has advised the tenant farmers to combine for their own self-protection, and in doing so has transgressed the provisions of a law made specially for the purpose of reaching political offences, and political offences only, that such men should be treated, if you like, as men whom you may think it necessary to deter from a repetition of the same offence, but not as men who have committed any disgraceful offence, and whose minds stand in need of reformatory discipline. That is a plain position, and one which can be maintained. It is one which has received the sanction of the Executive Authorities of all countries at all times that political offences have been committed. It is one which received the sanction of the Conservative Legislature of this country 10 years ago. It is one which we shall continue to force upon the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and this House until we obtain its recognition, if not from this House, certainly from the next Parliament which the people of this country will have an opportunity of returning.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 113; Noes 69.—(Div. List, No. 339.)

4. £55,521, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.

5. £4,412, to complete the sum for the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

CLASS IV.

6. £517,847, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.

MR. SEXTON: It has been understood that the discussion of this Vote, and also of the Queen's Colleges for Ireland, may be taken on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. That is what I understand the First Lord of the Treasury to have arranged.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I am perfectly ready to confirm the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that it was arranged that these discussions should be raised on the Appropriation Bill. I do not understand the right hon. Gentleman to suggest that these discussions will be very brief, and I think, under the circumstances, it will be better to take them on Monday when the Appropriation Bill is read a second time.

Vote agreed to.

7. £892, to complete the sum for the Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

8. £400, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.

9. £1,701, to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.

10. £7,5?8, to complete the sum for Queen's Colleges, Ireland.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): There have been considerable complaints with regard to these Queen's Colleges; and it is stated that, at the last examination, they were beaten by two private schools. This being so, it would seem as if a considerable portion of the large expenditure for these colleges is wasted.

MR. SEXTON: Perhaps my hon. Friend will allow me to suggest that it would be better to postpone any further discussion on this Vote until Monday next.

MR. BLANE: In consequence of the request of my right hon. Friend, I will reserve what I have further to say upon this subject until Monday.

Vote agreed to.

11. £1,000, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I think some attention ought to be called to the county histories of Ireland and the large collection of manuscripts which have been lying in cases in the Academy for the last 30 or 40 years. I think the conduct of the Government in not having provided a small grant of money to enable these valuable manuscripts to be printed and rescued from oblivion is open to some complaint.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I quite agree that something should be done for the better care of these records of historical events.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS III.

12. £488,305, to complete the sum the Prisons, England and the Colonies.

CLASS V.

13. £116,698 (including a Supplementary sum of £7,650), to complete the sum for Diplomatic Services.

MR. T. M. HEALY: With reference to the question of the Argentine Republic, as the Papers have not yet been laid on the Table, I presume that the correspondence is not concluded. I submit that this is a specific matter on which the British Government are bound to take action, seeing that the rights and property of something like three thousand individuals are affected. I complain that not only have the Argentine Republic treated the Irish emigrants badly but that the British Government have allowed the agents of a foreign Government to go about the country inducing people to emigrate, and you have allowed the publication of fictitious advertisements promising that ships shall sail on given days, whereas

no ships have started, and the result has been that the intending emigrants who had sold every stick they possessed in the world, and who had parted with their farms and homes, were kept waiting for days at Queenstown, where the foreign agents extracted from them additional sums in order to give them better passages on these phantom vessels. I have already written to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on this subject. I have suggested to him that foreign Governments ought not to be allowed to recruit their population—or pretend to do so—at the expense of Her Majesty's subjects. I think that the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act should be applied by the Government to meet this case, and a strong protest made against such conduct on the part of the Argentine Republic. I have forwarded a long list of cases to the Foreign Office, and I consider that the Government should make inquiry into the matter. The Government ought to insist upon any money being repaid which has been extracted from those who had intended to emigrate, but have been prevented by the non-arrival of the ships advertised to sail. Mr. O'Mara, the Dublin Representative of the Argentine Republic, has admitted that his Government has acted abominably towards these emigrants, and he has condemned the action of the man at Cork who extracted money from the people for the better passages. Lord Salisbury ought to send a couple of gunboats out to the Republic with an intimation from the Foreign Office that foreign Governments cannot be allowed thus to deceive emigrants. We Irishmen have to suffer under the British Government; I think we are entitled to reap all the benefit of the British forces for the maintenance of which we are taxed, and I believe that if Lord Salisbury made proper representations to the Minister of the Argentine Republic he could get redress. The Dublin agent of the Republic seems to be an honourable man; he confesses that the emigrants have been deceived, but he is helpless. I know this, that if instead of Irish emigrants, it had been the Egyptian bondholders who had been deceived there would not have been any hesitation in demanding redress. But there is nothing Jewish about these poor people, they are not Jews or Gentiles, they are only Irish tenants, and, therefore, nothing can be done for them.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, E.): On a previous occasion I promised the hon. and learned Member that if he would move for Papers in connection with this matter they would be given. I cannot say that this part of the question has been concluded; but as soon as I heard from the hon. and learned Gentleman that hardships had been suffered by people in Ireland by the non-arrival of ships which had been promised, inquiries were immediately made through the Minister of the Argentine Republic, though I cannot say that a satisfactory conclusion had been come to as to why these ships have not arrived. Various causes have been assigned, and we may not be able to clear it up conclusively. shall soon bring the matter to a point. In the meantime, if any persons have been deceived, and have paid money, they have their legal remedy, and I hope that the hon. and learned Gentleman will advise those whom he has so well befriended that they have this remedy. The Secretary of State will do what he properly can to prevent people from being misled by unfair representations, but as far as my information goes it does not show that the Argentine Government have deceived the emigrants who have entered the Republic. On the contrary, they have been treated very well, and some of them have prospered exceedingly. We make public all the information we procure, so as to obviate hardships re-

sulting from misconception. Papers are being prepared and if the hon. Member will move for them they shall be issued.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I cannot say that I regard the statement as satisfactory. Six weeks ago I forwarded to the right hon. Gentleman the names of those poor emigrants, and instead of strong representations being made to the representatives of the Argentine Republic, those people are told to go to law. How is it possible for them to go to law with the Argentine Republic? Did this country go to law with Arabi, the Egyptian? No, they presented the muzzles of their guns against him. I do urge that this is clearly an occasion for the interference of the Government. I consider the answer unsatisfactory and another proof of the determined manner in which justice is refused to the Irish people.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: It is all very well to talk in that way, but I repeat that if these people have been deceived it is by somebody with whom they contracted in Ireland. It is absurd to talk about going to war and using the forces of the Crown in a case of contract made in this country for breaches of which there is presumably a legal remedy.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Argentine Republic are allowed to advertise in Ireland, tempting Irish people to emigrate. Where is the contract? The representative of the Republic has done his best for these people, and I cannot advise them to go to law with him. This, I repeat, is only a specimen of the way in which your Government treat our people.

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1890, the sum of £18,438,592 be granted out of the Consolidation Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [22nd August] reported. (See pages 137-218.)

First Resolution agreed to.

On the second Resolution,

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I desire to call attention to the treatment of the Dungarvon Board of Guardians. We acknowledge that some irregularity occurred which justified the suspension of the Board, but surely the time has now come when the ratepayers should have an opportunity of re-electing a Board. I may be told that there are some people in the Union who are in favour of the continuance in office of the paid Guardians, because they save their salaries by the economy which they exercise. I admit that they have cut down the expenditure, but how? By cutting off relief wholesale, by nearly doing away with outdoor relief and offering the alternative of the House. We know some people would starve rather than break up their homes and go into the Union. What is the scale of outdoor relief given in that part of Ireland now? A shilling a week to the head of the family (usually a widow), and sixpence for every child under twelve years of age. No one will say that that is extravagant. I respectfully ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the time has not come when he should give the ratepayers the right of electing their own Guardians?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The case of this Union is now under consideration. I cannot say more than that. We are anxious to resume the normal methods of Poor Law administration wherever we can.

Resolution agreed to.

On the third Resolution,

MR. FLYNN: I regret that I was not present when this Vote was be-

fore the Committee. Had I been present at that time I should have called the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, as I do now, to the laxity with which the Board of Works have discharged their duty in connection with Ballycotton Pier. The hon. Gentleman will remember that I have put several questions to him across the floor of the House in connection with this matter, dealing with certain defects in the manner in which the work has been executed. The pier cost a sum of £20,000. In the main it is fairly well built, but is defective in many respects, and it would be an unpardonable waste of public money after so large a sum has been spent upon it if it is not made effective for the purposes for which it was built. There are five or six different defects which have been pointed out by the Local Authorities, with reference to which the Grand Jury have made complaints, and in respect of which the hon. Gentleman himself has taken the unusual trouble of personally going to see the work, accompanied by an eminent engineer. That engineer has since reported, but I regret to say that, except in one particular, his Report has not been acted upon. That Report contains certain recommendations, and I learned this afternoon from the hon. Gentleman that a contract has been entered into by the Board of Works in order to carry out the recommendation concerning the removal of the old pier. But I ask the hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that the Board of Works have stated in reply to the Local Authorities that the work was satisfactorily done, and was more or less of a substantial character, and that the Grand Jury was bound to take it over. The Grand Jury have on two occasions refused to take over the work, and in consequence of that refusal the work was for a considerable time at a standstill. This evening the hon. Gentleman made a statement which conflicts with the view expressed by the Board, for he said that a contract had been entered into for carrying out one portion of the recommendations. I hope that whatever sum may be expended will be paid by the Treasury and not out of the sum set aside in Ireland for these piers and harbours. There are five particular points referred to in the report of the Engineer, Mr. Wolfe Barry, but they have not all been dealt with. The removal of the old pier is a necessary work, because boats coming in are liable to run on it and get seriously damaged. There is also a recommendation by Mr. Barry that the pierhead should be strengthened, because he feared that if any strong gale arose the entire pier would be washed away. I will not go into the other recommendations such as that respecting the depth of water. All I want the hon. Gentleman to promise is, as the Board of Works have acknowledged that this particular work has not been completed, and considering the Report of Mr. Barry, that in the interests of the taxpayers and the fishermen after this enormous amount of public money has been spent on the work the Treasury will act on the Report of their own engineer and carry out the four other recommendations he has made as well as that which they have already decided to give effect to.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge): A large amount of local contribution has been spent in the making of this pier. The pier when it is finished, or called finished, will be handed over to the authorities of the County of Cork, and the ratepayers will be bound to keep the pier which has been put up by the Board of Works, be it good or bad, in repair for ever. The local authorities of Cork refuse to take over an inferior pier. I beg to second every word that has fallen from the hon. Member (Mr. Flynn). I hope that the Treasury will, before they saddle us with the keeping up of the pier, at least see that everything that is necessary is done to the structure.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): The reports we get of these piers shew that a large amount of money is spent on them, and the probability is that most of them are not required at all. It is often found that the work upon the piers has not been properly done, and then it is said it is very hard the local people should be called upon to keep the piers in order. I think they ought to be prepared to keep the work in order after it has been done. There is the same sort of thing in the case of light railways. I really am ashamed of this eternal begging for public money. I do not think the Secretary to the Treasury is in favour of the system, and I rather imagine that had it been left to him we should not have had any Light Railway legislation this year.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway): I do not agree with the hon. Member. These piers are most useful and necessary, and everybody in the localities wants them.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): At this hour of the morning and this period of the Session, I do not propose to follow the hon. Gentleman through all the points he has raised. I must say, speaking purely from my official position as Secretary to the Treasury, that my sympathies are entirely with the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). I think that he has laid down a very sound doctrine on these questions, and I am willing to admit that I have very great sympathy with what he says. With regard to Ballycotton Pier, I must not be taken as assenting to the sweeping statements made as to the condition of the pier. It is true we are carrying out works to improve the pier, and also for deepening the harbour and making it more easy of access. I believe no fear need be entertained as to the general condition of the pier. I will have the matter most carefully watched, and I may say that measurements have been taken from time to time which show that the pier is now in a position of rest, and that there is no movement. I am sure the hon. Member will be glad to learn that no change has occurred in it for months past.

Resolution, and remaining Resolutions agreed to.

PUBLIC HEALTH (CHOLERA PREVENTION) BILL (No. 373.)

Read a second time, and committed for this day.

MOVABLE DWELLINGS BILL (No. 316.)

Considered in Committee, and reported; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

ST. GILES RESTORATION (SCOTLAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL [LORDS]. (No. 248.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

STEAM BOILERS BILL. (No. 126.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

TITHE RENT-CHARGE RECOVERY (No. 2) BILL (No. 381.)

Read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1887-8.

ACCOUNTS *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1888, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £199,462 7*s.* 5*d.*, as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for othe Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £351,401 7*s.* 1*d.*, as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £151,938 19*s.* 8*d.*;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £37,802 4*s.*, as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such

receipts by £13,768 6*s.* 11*d.*, as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £24,033 17*s.* 1*d.*;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Total Surpluses ...	360,290	4	4
Total Deficits	232,385	1	9

(2.) *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid, in respect of the same Services; and have also temporarily authorised the application of portion of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services towards meeting part of the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

(3.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

SCHEDULE.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1887-8, Votes.	Gross Expenditure. Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Gross Expenditure. Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Appropriations in Aid. Deficiencies of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Appropriations in Aid. Surpluses of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts. 4
		£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
1	Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines ..	..	14,710 8 1	2,004 6 3	..
2	Victuals and Clothing for ditto	16,604 15 4	..	33,290 6 9	
3	Admiralty Office ..	..	283 17 8	..	1 12 5
4	Coast Guard Service and Naval Reserves, &c...	..	15,296 18 0	..	1 4 9
5	Scientific Branch ..	..	2,443 17 11	595 11 7	
6	Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad	..	108,549 1 4	65 15 8	
7	Victualling Yards ditto	..	226 18 0	15 13 7	
8	Medical Establishments ditto	2,468 1 7	..	8 5 7	
9	Marine Divisions ..	101 10 5	..	16 7 5	
10 Sec. 1	Naval Stores	143,015 13 11	..	..	1,635 0 2
10 Sec. 2	Machinery, Ships built by Contract, &c. ..	..	144,849 18 0	..	1,707 1 3
11	New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, &c.	..	36,013 2 11	..	2,269 11 9
12	Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.	..	5,741 15 1	..	1,459 8 5
13	Martial Law, &c. ..	..	1,510 0 8	..	12 0 8
14	Miscellaneous Services..	12,896 3 5	..	1,805 17 2	
15	Half Pay, &c. ..	7,080 15 3	..	..	51 12 8
16 Sec. 1	Military Pensions and Allowances.. ..	1,208 10 4	..	..	229 8 9
16 Sec. 2	Civil Pensions and Allowances	7,381 19 9	..	..	282 0 11
17	Army Department—Conveyance of Troops ..	..	21,775 9 5	..	6,119 5 1
	Amount written off as irrecoverable ..	8,704 17 5			
		199,462 7 5	351,401 7 1	37,802 4 0	13,768 6 11

Net Surplus, £151,938 19 8 — Net Deficit, £24,033 17 1

Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer, £127,905 2*s.* 7*d.*

(4.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1888, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £40,052 18*s.* 2*d.*, as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the Estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £984,388 9s. 11d. as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £944,285 11*s.* 9*d.*;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £174,954 15*s.* 8*d.*, as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £10,478 2*s.* as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £164,476 13*s.* 8*d.*;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Total Surpluses ..	844,629	11	8
Total Deficits	64,820	13	7

(5.) *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated appropriations in aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of portion of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for ArmyServices towards meeting the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

(6.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

SCHEDULE.

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1887 - 8, Votes.	Gross Expenditure. Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Gross Expenditure. Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Appropriations in Aid. Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Appropriations in Aid. Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
1	Pay of the General Staff, Regimental Pay, &c. ..	..	99,055 16 7	59,207 12 9	
2	Divine Service	1,867 17 11	..	78 10 0	
3	Administration of Military Law..	..	601 12 6	..	72 18 7
4	Medical Establishments and Stores	..	9,098 12 4	704 4 3	
5	Militia Pay and Allowances	..	44,275 4 2	..	222 8 7
6	Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances ..	2,523 10 4	..	..	53 19 2
7	Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances	1,629 15 0	..	..	38 7 9
8	Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances ..	..	17,645 19 1	..	701 5 0
9	Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments	..	5,431 7 10	..	59 15 5
10	Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services	..	100974 16 8	..	7,312 16 11
11	Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies..	..	69 1 5	61,778 14 4	
	Carried forward	6,021 3 3	277,152 10 7	121,769 1 4	8,461 11 5

SCHEDULE—*continued.*

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1887-8, Votes.	Gross Expenditure. Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Gross Expenditure. Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Appropriations in Aid. Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Appropriations in Aid. Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Brought forward ..	6,021 3 3	277152 10 7	121,769 1 4	8,461 11 5
12	Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores	..	574647 14 8	..	1,083 11 2
13	Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad	..	13,545 9 2	30,275 5 0	
14	Establishments for Military Education	..	6,774 19 7	..	728 18 1
15	Miscellaneous Effective Services	24,267 10 8	..	368 18 4	
16	Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office	..	34 6 4	34 11 7	
17	Rewards for Distinguished Services	..	916 10 5	86 0 0	
18	Half Pay	..	1,722 17 10		
19	Retired Pay	..	49,441 2 3	19,984 7 6	
20	Widows' Pensions ..	557 6 4	..	14 0 0	
21	Pensions for Wounds ..	961 3 4	..	59 0 0	
22	Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals	..	922 18 11	202 9 11	
23	Out-Pensions	..	2,854 7 4	2,161 2 0	
24	Superannuation Allowances	..	891 19 9	..	204 1 4
25	Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps, Retired Pay	..	1,333 13 1	..	
	Amount written off as irrecoverable.. ...	8,245 14 7	..	..	
		40,052 18 2	984,338 9 11	174,954 15 8	10,478 2 0
		Net Surplus, £944,285 11 9		Net Deficit, £164,476 13 8	
		Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer, £779,808 18 1			

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Three o'clock.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 4.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [SEPTEMBER 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 24th August, 1889.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

IRELAND—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if, in view of the serious financial loss inflicted upon certain professors of the Queen's Colleges, by the passing of the Royal University (Ireland) Act, he is prepared to make the same concession to them as is given to Medical Officers and servants in the Dublin Hospital Board Bill, which he has recently introduced?

*THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am not prepared to admit there is any similarity between the cases referred to by the hon. Member.

THE STATUTE OF EDWARD III.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he will lay upon the Table of the House before next Session a Return showing the cases in Ireland, since the passing of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, where persons have been required to give bail for good conduct under the Statute of Edward III., showing the names, dates, and cause of summons, whether bail was given, and where not given what length of imprisonment was awarded?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, University of Dublin): I have been able to obtain a Return. I will answer the question on Monday.

MR. JOHN POWELL.

MR. PATRICK JOSEPH O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the critical state of health of Mr. John Powell—namely, suffering from congestion of the lungs and spitting of blood, he will order his immediate release from Limerick Gaol?

MR. MADDEN: In this case also I must ask the hon. Member to repeat the question on Monday. I have not received the information necessary to enable me to answer it.

THE DEATH OF JOHN M'GEE.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether in regard to the case of John M'Gee he is aware that at the Coroner's inquiry the Crown Solicitor refused to produce the notes of the hospital doctor, and whether he will give an assurance that in the inquiry no facts that are relevant to the case shall be kept from the jury?

MR. MADDEN: I am sure it is the desire of the Government that all the facts shall be properly brought before the jury, and I can undertake that they will be produced. I am not conversant with the facts of the case, but I am certain that every fact that can throw the least light upon the inquiry will be brought forward.

MR. SEXTON: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman be good enough to give his personal attention to the matter?

MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir; certainly.

OCCUPIERS' DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I notice at the end of the Orders of the Day that No. 18 is the Occupiers' Disqualification Removal Bill. This Bill was on the Paper yesterday, and if Notice had been given that it would be taken to-day I should certainly have put down Amendments to enlarge the scope of the Bill. When the Motion for a Saturday Sitting was before the House yesterday I asked for a definition of what was to be regarded as Government business, but I received no satisfactory assurance. I wish to submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that Government business "can only apply to the Bills of the Government which were before the House at the time the Resolution was passed." With your concurrence, Sir, I will move that the Bill to which I have called attention, although it has an asterisk placed against it denoting that it is a Government measure, does not strictly come within the Resolution which was passed yesterday.

*MR. SPEAKER: No doubt it was within the competence of the Government to put down the Bill as a Government measure; but I must confess that very short notice indeed has been given of the intention to take up and proceed with the Bill in that character. I certainly think that some explanation is necessary.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if the Bill is objected to it will not be proceeded with. It was, however, put down in perfectly good faith.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I make no imputation whatever upon the good faith of the Government. I only wish to guard againt the repetition of a similar proceeding in future. So far as this particular Bill is concerned I propose to move a series of Amendments to it, and I have had no opportunity of putting them on the Paper.

BECHUANALAND.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether Her Majesty's Government will defer the grant of the proposed charter conferring rights almost of sovereignty, with complete municipal and other controlling powers, over a vast tract of country in South Africa, including 200 square miles of Bechuanaland, which is now under British protection, and some 400 miles by 400 miles of Matabeleland, which is now declared under British influence, till next Session, in order that Parliament may have an opportunity of discussing the matter?

MR. W. H. SMITH: In answer to the hon. Baronet, who rightly says that he gave me private notice of the question, although I only received it five minutes ago, I have only to say that I have no personal knowledge of the matter, nor is it possible for me to make myself acquainted with all the business which comes before the Government; but if the hon. Baronet will give notice I have no doubt information will be given to him. I am certainly not able to say whether the proposed charter merits the description he has given of it, or whether a tract of land extending over 200 miles forms a very large portion of South Africa.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: What I said was that it forms a very large portion of that part of South Africa.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, seeing that the Colonial Office Vote was rushed through at 2 o'clock in the morning, he will undertake to defer the grant of this charter till the subject can be discussed next week?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I must decline to give any such undertaking. It is not in my power to limit the prerogative of the Crown, or at this period of the Session to interfere with the progress of business.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Then I will avail myself of the opportunity of calling attention to this matter on the Appropriation Bill next week.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY — REPORT.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [23rd August] (see pages 266-361) reported.

First two Resolutions agreed to.

On the Third Resolution,

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): At this moment I see that there are eight right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench who have seats in the Cabinet, but I fail to see the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is the Minister who ought to feel the greatest amount of interest in these Votes. Why is it that the right hon. Gentleman, who has charge of the Administration of Ireland, is so scrupulously absent from his post when Irish questions are brought forward? I feel called upon to avail myself of the opportunity, now that the Session is about to close, of calling attention to the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman has so frequently absented himself from the House when he ought to have been here. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR here entered the House and took his seat on the Treasury Bench.] I see that the few observations I have felt it my duty to make have had even more influence than I expected, and that they have succeeded in "drawing" the right hon. Gentleman. I am very glad to see him here, and I am sure he knows that I would say nothing behind his back which I would not say to his face. Last night my hon. Friend made an exposure of Irish prison administration which will shock the public mind. A more horrible description of mean, deliberate, calculating, and overwhelming cruelty it is impossible to conceive. We have seen on other occasions how the right hon. Gentleman succeeds in getting his political opponents into prison. It would be out of order to discuss that matter on the present Vote; but I think I shall be in order if I proceed to point out what he does with his political opponents when he has put them in prison. Even the Corporation of Dublin, singular as it may appear, have felt it their duty to take some account of the systematic cruelty pursued in the Irish prisons, and to represent to the Prisons Board that there ought to be a complete and radical reform of the administration of Irish business in Parliament. Before the Prisons Act of 1887 the Dublin Corporation had a voice in the control of the Dublin prisons, and had a special means of knowing what was the ordinary treatment meted out to prisoners. It was proposed, some time ago, that a deputation composed of Members of the Corporation and men of position should wait upon the Prisons Board, but the Prisons Board refused to receive any deputation of the kind. The time selected for waiting upon the Board was just after the banquet to the Chief Secretary in the ancient concert room, where were gathered together all the basest and most contemptible members of Irish society—men who were unwilling to allow their names to appear in the newspapers, but quite ready to laugh at the jocular remarks of the right hon. Gentleman when he derided the sufferings of the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien). That was the moment selected by the Prisons Board for refusing to receive a deputation from the Chief Municipal Authority in Ireland. I propose to enter now into some of the circumstances connected with Derry Gaol, and I believe I shall be able to show that in that gaol there has been a deliberate system of cruelty practised towards all political prisoners. On the 4th of March last I was present in Derry, and I saw one of the most pitiable sights I ever saw in my life. I saw a number of political prisoners marched through the streets of Derry on a frosty day, with the snow on the ground. Two of them were women who were very scantily clad, and the bitter north-east wind was evidently piercing through the folds of their light covering. A few days afterwards some benevolent persons sent these poor creatures gowns and hats; but the Governor of Derry Gaol, whom I shall prove, before I sit down, to have been a very monster of cruelty, refused to allow them to have the warm clothing that was offered to them. The matter was brought before this House, and either the Chief Secretary or the Solicitor General stated that the refusal of the Governor was an error of judgment. Upon that the Governor gave the women the gowns, but refused to give them the hats, and in that way they were taken 25 miles to Letterkenny to be tried. Let me contrast this with the course pursued in the case of the Belfast swindlers. It is true they were leading Liberal Unionists—one of them the Secretary of the Liberal Union Com-

mittee who received the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) on his visit to Belfast. Having committed a most abominable fraud they were arrested and put in Belfast Gaol, from which they were subsequently removed to the gaol at Derry. As the weather was cold, the Governor gave the prisoners one of his own overcoats, while in the case of these poor women, who were arrested without a shadow of evidence against them, they were not permitted to wear the warm clothing given to them by benevolent friends. It is absurd, then, to tell me that there is no difference in the treatment of prisoners. These fellows take their cue from the policy of Dublin Castle. They understand the significance of a nod, or a smile, or a wink. They are altogether at the beck of the Government, and they have their eyes fixed on the Treasury Bench. We find Mr. Conybeare refused permission to write an article to a scientific journal, whereas one of the Belfast swindlers is able from the centre of Derry Gaol to give a certificate of character to the Chief Secretary — or "sagacious Mr. Balfour," as he describes the right hon. Gentleman. How is it that that letter was allowed to leave the gaol, while that of Mr. Conybeare was refused the same permission? Two of the Coercion prisoners in Derry Gaol were Father Stephens and Mr. Kelly. Father Stephens was arrested because he endeavoured to give help, comfort, and consolation to his starving flock, and he and Mr. Kelly were deprived of exercise for a whole week and confined to their cells because they refused to associate with the Belfast swindlers—pets of the Chief Secretary, strolling about in silk hats. Two of the Members for Tipperary in Tullamore Gaol recently, were—possibly from some oversight—allowed to exercise together in the prison yard until the enormity was discovered, and direct and specific orders were sent down from Dublin Castle to put a stop to the indulgence. Is this kind of treatment fair or reasonable? Does it not prove overwhelmingly that the right hon. Gentleman has one rule for the administration of justice to his political enemies and another for swindlers and forgers who are his friends? I have very little doubt that the man who spoke of the right hon. Gentleman as "sagacious Mr. Balfour" will not have his prison indulgences interfered with, and that he will be allowed not only to read but to write to the newspapers. Mr. Charles Bourke, the President of the Prisons Board, was appointed, I believe, when the late Lord Mayo was Secretary for Ireland. I wonder whether he remembers a passage in a speech of Lord Mayo, in which that noble Lord said that it was a degradation for political prisoners to associate with felons. The words of the noble Lord were, "I can conceive nothing more repugnant to the feelings of such prisoners than that they should be compelled to associate with criminals in a goal." It was Richard Pigott who was not to be allowed to associate with criminals. Pigott was permitted to conduct his newspaper while he was a prisoner in 1868, and yet Mr. Conybeare is refused permission to write a letter to a scientific journal. The hon. Member for North Kildare (Mr. Carew) was imprisoned for a speech delivered four months before the date of his prosecution. He was imprisoned at Kilkenny, and when a civil action was brought against him by one of the Chief Secretary's Removables, a reasonable request was made that he might be removed to some prison nearer Dublin in order that his solicitor might have a better opportunity of consulting with him. What occurred in that case? All the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General did was to make this probably clever but very unsympathetic reply, "I never heard of a gaol being brought nearer to the house of a prisoner." Although the Government refused the request of Mr. Carew's solicitor, they pursued a very different course in the cases of Delaney, McNally Tracey, and other gaol birds, at the instance of the *Times*, and allowed Shannon, the *Times* agent, to visit them at his pleasure. He was even allowed to go with a Bible in his hand and tell a deliberate lie, representing himself as a Crown official. As a matter of fact, he was allowed to enter Delaney's condemned cell, while the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) was refused permission to see Mr. William O'Brien when he entered Clonmel Gaol, although the hon. and learned Member was acting as Mr. O'Brien's legal adviser,

and was endeavouring to shield him against an action which had been brought against him by the Chief Secretary's friends. When the hon. Member for North Kildare was being conveyed from one gaol to another I heard personally that he was in a railway carriage at one of the stations. I went to see him, and got into the carriage, where I found him surrounded by armed policemen. The sergeant threatened to have me thrust out, but I defied him to do so, and I had the satisfaction of informing Mr. Carew that he was receiving the sympathy of the people, not only of Ireland, but of England. I did not tell Mr. Carew what I thought of the condition in which I found him, but I believed him at the time to be a dying man, and dying from want of food. A more awful indictment has never been made against a British statesman since the indictment of Warren Hastings. I come now to the Prisons Board discipline under the new *régime* of the Chief Secretary. I am glad that the Home Secretary is in his place, because although he is an opponent he is always fair. I would ask him to contrast the prison discipline in Ireland with that enforced in England. Is it not the fact that in this country the chaplain and the prison doctor are the protectors, comforters, and advisers of the prisoner? Both are allowed to visit the cell without an order, and are supplied with keys, which they can use at any hour of the day or night. That was the case in Ireland until the advent of the present Chief Secretary. Under the *régime* of the right hon. Gentleman, the doctor, instead of being the counsellor of the prisoner, is employed as a detective to find out how much suffering prisoners may be able to bear, provided always they do not die. Formerly, if a prison chaplain found anything wrong in the condition of a prisoner, it was his custom to communicate direct to the Prisons Board, his position being a perfectly independent one. Now, however, they are compelled to send complaints through the Governor of the gaol to the Prisons Board; or, in other words, complain to the very persons accused. I view with horror at this late period of the Session the position of men confined in prison under the Coercion Act, deprived of the consolation of a chaplain to minister to them in their long hours of exile and loneliness, and subjected to the tender mercies of Irish officials, without the nature of their offences and treatment being exposed to public opinion. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary may be perfectly justified in putting his political opponents in prison; but he has no right to make their doctor their torturer instead of their protector, and to have them confined in places where their sight is destroyed and their mind enfeebled. What has occurred in the Irish prisons to the doctors under the *régime* of the right hon. Gentleman since the passing of the Coercion Act? Immediately after that Act became law the prison doctors were required henceforth to make weekly returns showing if improved diet or other indulgences has been granted to prisoners, doctors, too, have been reprimanded for giving indulgences to prisoners. What did Dr. Ridley say to the hon. Member for North-East Cork in Tullamore Gaol? He said—

"It is monstrous and unnatural to treat you like this; but what can I do? I have a wife and children, and have to save a few halfpence."

To Mr. Lane the same doctor said—

"If you do not go into hospital they will starve you to death."

Mr. Ridley also told him that he got a terrible reprimand, and further that he had orders to certify that Mr. O'Brien was fit for prison treatment. Orders from whom? From Dr. Barr no doubt. The highest medical authority in Ireland, in the spring of last year, wrote an article directing attention to the treatment to which prison doctors were being subjected and described it as disgraceful. I will not go further into Dr. Ridley's case; it is too painful. I am sorry the Home Secretary is not in his place, because I should have liked to have drawn a contrast between Irish and English prison treatment. Let me give only one instance illustrating the difference. On the 9th May, this year, Dr. Barr wrote a celebrated letter to the *Times* with reference to prison administration. The Home Secretary on being questioned said it was sufficient to disqualify Dr. Barr from serving in an Irish prison. But we know that that letter was revised by the Chief Secretary himself and forwarded by him to the *Times*. What

a commentary on the difference in the two systems. The eyesight of prisoners in the Irish prisons is injured. I have almost humiliated myself before the Chief Secretary in seeking to protect his prisoners against this. We have had Mr. Conybeare thus suffering. Then there has been the case of Mr. Powell, who has lost the sight of one eye, and is in danger of losing the other through sympathy. Mr. Cox, the Member for East Clare, went into the prison a bright young man, he emerged feeble and scarcely able to see. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt and Alderman Hooper can also speak to the injury to eyesight from personal experience. Among the deaths in Derry Gaol the Chief Secretary has mentioned the death of a man from sunstroke. That man's death was due to the absence of any protection from the sun in the exercise yard. Over and over again I urged upon the right hon. Gentleman to erect a shed for the use of the prisoners, but in vain. He persistently refuses to give this shelter. I have now done. The subject is a most painful one to me. The right hon. Gentleman has many times—no doubt unintentionally—hurt me; but if I had the power he possesses—if I could treat him even as he has treated his political opponents—I would protect him from, rather than subject him to, these prison tortures. The right hon. Gentleman has these prisoners in charge, and he has no right to wear away their health and enfeeble their minds. He has no right to place them, as Mr. Conybeare has been placed, in unhealthy dens. The sufferings of the prisoners are now acknowledged to be of extreme gravity, and I can only sympathise with them under a *régime* of cruelty, which shows no regard for the decencies of civilisation.

*Sir C. LEWIS (Antrim, N.): I should be ashamed of myself if, after my long connection with the City of Derry—now approaching 20 years—during which period I have been personally acquainted, individually and politically, with Sir William Miller, the Medical Officer of the prison and now the Mayor of the city, I were not to say a word or two on this controversy. Sir William's name, I venture to say, cannot be mentioned in any society in Derry without eliciting tokens of the most profound respect and sympathy. He has spent a lifetime in the city; he has the largest practice of any medical man there, his patients are to be found equally amongst Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and I certainly cannot allow epithets of a most unfounded and extraordinary character to be cast upon him without challenging hon. Members opposite, especially the two who belong to Derry City, to specifically contradict what I now say—that Dr. Miller is a man highly respected among all classes and all creeds, and that no one in the city of Derry would believe him capable of being party to cruelty or inhuman conduct of any description.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I do not want to detain the House at this period of the Session, but there are one or two points to which I feel it my duty to refer before the House breaks up, and one is the increasing number of cases in which the Resident Magistrates have lately called on persons to give bail under the Act of Edward III. for their good behaviour. That seems to me to be a most remarkable departure.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not relate to the Prisons Vote.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: These men are all in prison.

*Mr. SPEAKER: That has nothing to do with the conduct of the prisons or with the treatment of the prisoners.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am asking for a Return of the number of people who are in the prisons at this moment under the Statute of Edward III.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is complaining of the use made of the Statute of Edward III., but that has nothing to do with the treatment of prisoners in prison.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Then I shall bring it on on the Appropriation Bill.

Mr. E. LEAMY (Sligo, S.): I am sorry the Solicitor General for Ireland is not in his place prepared to answer my inquiry why, in the case of a coroner's investigation into the death of a man immediately after his discharge from the gaol in which for several months he had been suffering from severe illness, the Crown have refused to produce before the coroner the prison books showing the treatment to which the man was subjected in the gaol. I now wish to know whether the Government will take steps to order the pro-

duction of these books. We alleged that the man M'Gee should have been discharged from gaol at an earlier period. The Chief Secretary admits that M'Gee was unfit to travel on the day on which he was discharged, but he had then been five months in gaol; he had, no doubt, been seen by the doctor nearly every day. The hon. Baronet the Member for North Antrim has to-day defended the conduct of Sir William Miller; he has spoken of him as possessing the largest practice in the City of Derry. Then he must have been competent to deal with this man's case. Now I put it to the hon. Member whether Sir W. Miller knew of this dangerous illness of M'Gee for days and weeks before the man was discharged, or did it come on suddenly in a day? If he knew of that, the prisoner ought to have been discharged, as a prisoner in the same gaol under a sentence for rape was discharged because his health broke down. Sir W. Miller must have seen M'Gee, whose offence was defending a neighbour's house against the Sheriff, getting worse and worse, and why did he not discharge him while he had yet some strength? I put it to the hon. Member for Antrim to say what possible defence can be offered for Sir W. Miller's conduct. I also want to know why the prison books have not been produced at the inquest on M'Gee? And now I come to the case of the man Diver, who, according to a telegram we have received, is still in a critical state, and whom the District Medical Officer pronounces to have been suffering from typhoid fever. Diver also declares himself to have been badly treated from the day of his arrest. It is stated that on the night of his arrest he and some comrades were conveyed on the deck of a vessel a long journey exposed to bitter weather. Who is responsible for that inhumanity? I think we are entitled to some explanation on that point. The man further complains that on the first Sunday after his admission into Derry Prison he was struck between the shoulders by a warder with a heavy bunch of keys; that he was driven against a wall and sorely bruised; and that his sufferings prevented him resting. These are grave and serious charges, and for my part I confess I cannot understand why, if they can be disproved, the Government do not disprove them. Now, I ask are the allegations made by Diver true or not? During the five months he was in prison he was constantly alternating between his cell and the prison hospital; and then, again, how about the sanitary condition of Derry Prison? The hon. Member for South Tyrone seems very anxious to prove that the intercepting shafts effectually prevent the sewer gas being forced into the gaol, but any man of common-sense knows that a perfect trap has not yet been invented. I desire to ask what objection there can be to the institution of a thoroughly satisfactory inquiry by a competent engineer into the sanitary conditions of gaols. I also desire to say that the case of Mr. Powell, the journalist, who is undergoing his third term of imprisonment and who has grievously suffered in his eyesight, calls for the consideration of the Chief Secretary. Why are you keeping Mr. Powell in prison? You know he will not give bail because he believes he is fighting a matter of principle; but you want to break his pride; you mean to break his spirit. Is it true or false that Mr. Powell has already lost the sight of one eye? Is it true that he is being treated for the other, the sight of which is impaired? Is it true that he is suffering from congestion of the lungs? Is it true that he is spitting blood? Are these things true or are they false? The Chief Secretary last night spoke of the humane treatment of these men; surely more humanity would have been shown if, for instance, M'Gee had been discharged before the disease had taken a fatal grip of him. The right hon. Gentleman has defended the conduct of Sir William Miller; let him justify that defence by producing at the Coroner's inquest on M'Gee the hospital books showing what was the treatment meted out to this unfortunate man.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Before the Chief Secretary replies, I wish to call attention to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman to the effect that never for years past has any person been allowed to write from prison letters to the newspapers, unless it is in the exercising of the calling of journalist. I wish to know when that rule was made? Mr. Conybeare desired to write a letter to a mining journal, and the Chief Secretary has declared that the prison rules provided for no such case.

But I myself, when in Richmond Gaol, was allowed to write letters, and Mr. Davitt was allowed to write from the same gaol to the Glasgow newspapers letters condemnatory of the dynamite policy, and these letters have been used by the Attorney General before the Parnell Commission. That was in 1883, when Lord Spencer was in Office. Why, then, is Mr. Conybeare now prevented from writing to a mining journal? In 1883, when I was in prison, the Pope issued a Circular against the collection of subscriptions to the Parnell testimonial. That letter naturally excited great indignation amongst the Irish Catholics. It was known Sir George Errington had been sent out as the Emissary of Her Majesty's Government to secure the issue of this Circular by the Pope, and I considered it desirable without a moment's delay that a person in the position which I held should make known his views. I decided to send a subscription to the testimonial at once, and I wrote a reply and sent it with a subscription to the *Freeman's Journal*. The reply was submitted to the Prisons Board, and the present right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division, who was then Chief Secretary, in order to avoid delay, had the letter posted by his own secretary. If a letter traversing the policy of the Government could be thus passed by the Prisons Board, surely Mr. Conybeare could be allowed to write a technical letter on metallurgy to the *Mining Journal*. If the rule is that first-class misdemeanants can follow their ordinary occupations, why was the late Lord Mayor of Dublin not only not allowed to write for his paper, but not allowed even to see it? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary then, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford, said he could not define a political prisoner. Well, nobody knows what that is. It is like a problem in Euclid; you cannot actually describe the gentleman, but when you see him you know him. As Horne Tooke said, the only way to define a poker is to take up a poker and say "that is a poker." It is not enough to call it a rod of iron; that is only an alternative name for it. In the same way, I quite agree that you cannot define a political prisoner. The fact is, a political prisoner is a man whom we feel to be a political prisoner. When Richard Pigott wrote articles which the Attorney General of the day described as abominable, what did Lord Mayo do? He treated him as a political prisoner. In 1848 Lord Clarendon treated Mr. John Mitchel as one; and when John Mitchel was taken out to Bermuda, in the *Scourge*, he messed with the officers and had a secretary placed at his disposal. The Tories got up a great row about it; but the Liberal Government sustained the conduct of Captain Lingrove. Daniel O'Connell, who got two years' imprisonment for what the present Chief Secretary would describe as inciting to violence, was treated as a political prisoner. On one occasion, when a friend of mine was being received in gaol, I remarked to a prison official, "I suppose you will treat him handsomely," and the official replied, "You must remember Mr. Balfour is in office now, and not Lord Spencer and Mr. (now Sir G.) Trevelyan." This shows how the officials feel what the policy of the Government is. The Chief Secretary was unhappy in defending the condition of Derry Gaol by a comparison with the House of Commons, because we all suffered from the drainage of the House in spite of all experts could do until a Member of the House went into the sewers, when, at last, things were supposed to be put right. Our own experience, therefore, shows that the ventilation of sewers is one of the most difficult problems with which sanitarians have to deal. What has occurred in regard to bail prisoners? The Courts have laid down over and over again that this is not a case for punishment. What right, then, has the right hon. Gentleman to treat bail prisoners in the way he has? If a man is imprisoned simply because he refuses to give bail for his good behaviour he should not be subjected to more rigorous discipline than is compatible with keeping him in security. When I was in prison I did not regard the treatment I received as a hardship. I was able to take all the exercise I wanted in the middle of the day. I maintain that imprisonment for refusing to give bail is not intended as a punishment, and yet it is inflicted as a punishment on the top of a sentence under the Coercion Act. I give this fact as a strong argument in favour of

the position I assume. Let me recall to the recollection of the House the case of Michael Walsh. It appears that this man was standing in the street when a policeman went up to him, seized him by the collar, and asked him for his name. The constable says that Walsh swore at him; but the evidence of the policeman was altogether uncorroborated. Walsh himself called three witnesses, who swore that he did nothing of the kind; but, nevertheless, Colonel Longbourne sent him to prison for three months in default of bail. That in itself was a monstrous sentence; but when Walsh went to gaol how was he treated? He was clearly entitled to wear his own clothes and his hair and moustache; but the moment he entered the prison he was set upon by a warder in the prison uniform, who deprived him of his clothes and cut off his hair and moustache. The reply of the Government is that no doubt this was all wrong; but the man himself submitted to it. What was he to do? Should he have knocked down the warder? He knew nothing of the prison rules; he did not know that he was going to be brought under them; and he had, therefore, never studied them. The people of Ireland are likely to become pretty well acquainted with them by-and-by. When Mr. William O'Brien resisted the attempt of the prison officials to deprive him of his clothes, we were told that he was guilty of an irregularity and insubordination, and now we are practically told that if this kind of thing occurs in the future the best thing for prisoners to do is to give the warder "one in the eye." At the same time, we are informed that when a prisoner's beard is wrongfully cut off in a gaol it is only for the purpose of trimming. I would like to see the process applied to right hon. Gentlemen opposite and see how they would like it. If they found themselves in gaol they would probably regard it as a very nice thing to be told by the prison officials that their beards wanted trimming. I say that these things are treated by the right hon. Gentleman with a lightness and a levity altogether unbecoming the gravity of his Office. In the case I have mentioned I think he ought to make an apology to Mr. Walsh, and at any rate dismiss the warder. He tells us that Walsh can go to law. The doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman is that everything in Ireland is either legal or illegal. If it is legal it is all right, and if it is illegal the advice is "go to law." But what is the use of going to law with a man who has 15s. a week? It is a monstrous doctrine to lay down that a man, in a case like this, is to have no remedy except an action at law. I respectfully submit that when a man has been wronged, as Walsh has been, the Government ought to be glad to release him, and ought to think him well off their hands. Another case which occurred in the Cork Gaol was the refusal of the Deputy Governor to allow the Visiting Justices to see a prisoner alone. The Visiting Justices called to see a prisoner who requested a private interview, but the Deputy Governor declined to allow them to see him alone. It is not to be tolerated that such acts as this are to pass unnoticed. If there is a remedy the Government refuse to apply it, and time after time they back up every act of official insolence and irregularity until it has become absolutely impossible to obtain justice. Only last night, at the very time that the Chief Secretary was working himself into a state of great indignation at the notion that the doctor of Derry Gaol had been accused of inhumanity, Sir W. Miller was refusing to give the Crown Prosecutor for Donegal the prison records so far as they affect the death of the man M'Gee. These records would show all the surrounding circumstances leading up to the death of M'Gee, and are hon. Members to be told that the entries in the books are not evidence on the question of how M'Gee met his death? The course pursued by Sir W. Miller and the Prison Authorities is the strongest commentary upon the speech of the right hon. Gentleman last night. The best defence of Sir W. Miller against the charge of inhumanity would be the production of the prison books. Sir W. Miller has entered in the hospital books a record of his treatment of John M'Gee, and he knows that it must tell either in his favour or against him. If a man is suspected of having been poisoned, and the suspected poisoner is believed to have purchased poisons day after day, would not the chemist's books be the best evidence to show what the purchases were? Would it not be most important evidence in

regard to the death? I happen to know something of Sir W. Miller. He is the leader of the 'Prentice boys of Derry, and was an active supporter of the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir C. Lewis) at the election which led to his seat in this House for Derry being disallowed on the ground of corruption. He is the gentleman who got on top of the Town Hall at Derry, superintending the arrangements when Lord Mayor Dawson went down to that city to deliver a lecture, and a man named O'Doherty was charged with delivering a fusillade, from which a shot found a lodgment in the eye of a boy who was looking on. O'Doherty was taken into custody, but was at once relegated to the superintendence of the doctor in the hospital. He did not die in Derry Gaol, but under the kindly treatment of Sir William Miller came out well and strong. The men who die in Derry Gaol are the suspects and convicts arrested by the right hon. Gentleman. Nobody else dies there; and now we have the damning fact that in regard to a recent death Sir William Miller is afraid to produce the hospital books. There can be no doubt that the books are purposely kept back in order to screen the Government. They would not be kept back except at the instance of Sir William Miller and the General Prisons Board, and I challenge the Chief Secretary to say whether he approves of this attempt to keep back evidence, or whether, having regard to the indignation which has been aroused in the public mind, he will not at once order the records to be produced. We know something of prison records. We know that when the Report of Dr. O'Farrell in regard to Derry Gaol was sent to the right hon. Gentleman he refused to produce it, but promised to give a revised or second edition of it, so to speak. Accordingly, the Report was sent back to Dr. O'Farrell to have the frills ironed out of it and the patches smoothed over. At any rate, we have not been allowed to see the original confidential document. We accuse the Government of keeping back information from improper motives, and we demand the fullest publicity. We ask for the full light of public opinion to be turned upon these proceedings, and we will not rest satisfied with the second edition of a cooked Report. We also demand the production of the prison records which have been kept back from the Coroner's Jury. Is this a specimen of the way in which we should be treated if we resolved to go to law? A great fuss was made because some of the Land League books were not produced at the Special Commission, although every bank book and cheque was laid before the Commission, and every tailor's bill any member of the League had ever paid was gone into. I wish Sir James Hannen much joy from the perusal of them. It is this system of keeping back deeds and acts, and resorting to quips and quibbles while men are being sent to their doom, that makes the administration of the right hon. Gentleman so odious to the Irish people. Why does he not come forward in a frank and open way, and, expressing regret for his past action, show the Irish people that, while he is going to govern them with chains and batons, he will rigorously give them the length and breadth of the law? Unfortunately, that is not his policy. His whole policy is one of screening and covering over with verbiage every high-handed act of official tyranny and despotism.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I think, perhaps, it will be convenient, although the audience is not very large, that I should, without further delay, deal with matters hon. Members have brought before our attention. I understand the hon. Member for Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill), who opened this Debate, complained of my absence from the House. I regret that I should not have been present to hear his opening remarks, but I observe that he thinks it more important that I should listen to him than that he should listen to me, and if my absence was remarkable at the beginning of the sitting, his absence is not less remarkable now. Deferring for the present my observations upon the speech of the hon. Member for Donegal, I turn to the speech of the hon. Member for Longford.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR proceeded: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Longford was very indignant at an incident that is reported in

this morning's newspapers, that the Crown Solicitor has objected to the production of the hospital book in the inquest upon the unfortunate man M'Gee. Of course, I have no information to give to the House on the subject. It had not been brought to my notice until I heard of it across the floor of the House; but my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland has given a promise, which he has since carried out, to telegraph over to Derry the general view of the Government that everything should be done in this and every other inquiry to bring out the facts of the case. The next point referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman relates to the clipping of a bail prisoner in Cork Gaol. That is a very regrettable mistake, and as far as I am concerned it shall not recur; but if every lapse on the part of any official is to be met with dismissal, I think the hon. and learned Gentleman will see we should be really guilty of the harshness of which we are accused. The hon. and learned Gentleman, and I think previous speakers also, have denounced me for having refused a sanitary inspection of Derry Gaol, but I think these denunciations must have been made under some misapprehension. Two days ago the hon. Member for South Tyrone suggested it would not be inexpedient to have some special advice as to the condition of the prison. In my opinion, there is no ground for believing the prison is unhealthy; therefore there is no ground for inspection, but neither is there any objection to it, and, to allay all apprehension, two days ago I communicated with the Prisons Board saying that it would be well to have an examination by an expert.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has that been stated before?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know whether it was stated in the House, but, at all events, I did two days ago communicate with the Prisons Board to that effect. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman criticised my statement as to the rules governing the treatment of first-class misdemeanants. I informed the House last night what I believe to be the fact, that a first-class misdemeanant is not allowed to communicate with a newspaper unless it so happens that his avocation is that of a newspaper editor. The hon. and learned Gentleman quoted his own experience, but I am not aware of the circumstances under which he was in prison.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I was committed for six months by the Queen's Bench in default of finding bail for good behaviour.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I rather gathered from a subsequent portion of his speech that the hon. and learned Member was a bail prisoner. I am not perfectly sure, but I imagine that bail prisoners are not necessarily confined under the same rules as first-class misdemeanants. I express no confident opinion. But it is not my business to justify or explain the action taken by the Prisons Board of 1883. Nor did I take any initiative in the action towards the hon. Member for Camborne in relation to communications to the Press. I stated yesterday that the Governor and the Prisons Board dealt with the hon. Member for Camborne according to the ordinary Irish practice, which I understand from the Home Secretary is also the ordinary English practice in these matters. The hon. and learned Member also mentioned the case of Mr. Stead. I dealt with that last night, but perhaps the hon. and learned Member was not then in the House? I pointed out that Mr. Stead, being the editor of a journal, was allowed under the ordinary English and Irish rules to carry on his work in prison.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I referred to the treatment of the late Lord Mayor of Dublin.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman; that had almost escaped my memory. In reference to this case the hon. and learned Member omitted to mention some material facts. If my recollection serves me aright the ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin was allowed to edit his newspaper during the earlier part of his period of detention, but not during the latter part. This was on a very obvious and equitable principle. The hon. Member was imprisoned for the illegal publication of the reports of suppressed branches, and when the hon. Member was in prison he attempted to repeat the offence for which he had been convicted, and, consequently, the privilege

of editing his paper which he thus improperly exercised was withdrawn. It would have been an abuse of the privileges ordinarily given to newspaper editors if, under the circumstances, the hon. Member had been allowed to continue his conduct.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Surely the right hon. gentleman does not mean to say that my hon. Friend prepared reports of the meetings of suppressed branches of the League in his cell! The League does not meet in gaol.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the ex-Lord Mayor was allowed during the earlier part of his confinement to edit his paper, and the hon. Member was, therefore, responsible for what appeared in the paper. When the paper continued to repeat the offence for which the editor had been imprisoned, naturally the privilege was withdrawn.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Perhaps I may be allowed to say on this point——

["Order, order!"].

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am replying to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Longford, and am quite ready to accept any relevant interruption from him, but the right hon. Gentleman must see that I could hardly continue my speech if debating interruptions in the middle of it are to be allowed. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Longford came not for the first time to the rescue of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and put with great force the contention that while no definition of a political prisoner could be given, nevertheless it was not impossible for any practical man to draw a substantial, equitable distinction between political and non-political prisoners. "Why, then," said he, "does the Government not act on that view, and draw a distinction which would puzzle no man of ordinary common sense." Well, I do not wish to go at length into this argument; but I would point out one flaw in it, and that is that the Government of the day would be made absolutely responsible for the kind of punishment to be meted out in different cases of nominally equal sentences. If a competent Court sentenced two prisoners to six months' each, the Executive might step in and order that one prisoner should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant and the other should not, on the ground that one was a political prisoner and the other one was not. No Executive could properly undertake such a responsibility. The County Court Judges have shown that, if need be, the Crimes Act prisoners can be made first-class misdemeanants, and, in passing sentence, they have all the facts before them and all the safeguards of judicial procedure; but the hon. and learned Gentleman wants the Executive to do what the County Court Judge has, under these circumstances, refused to do. But even if the duty were thrown on the Executive, it would be impossible for them to say that the ordinary offences of the Crimes Act prisoners were political. I do not deny that they might be performed with a political object or on high moral grounds. It is not for me to estimate any man's motives; but it is not the motive nor the object which constitutes the merit or demerit of an action. It may modify our opinion of the offender, but not our opinion of the offence. I have as authority for this statement so competent a philosopher as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, who has delivered himself on the point with his accustomed directness and breadth of statement. The hon. Member for South Donegal has now, I think, returned to his place, and I will therefore deal very briefly with some of the observations he has put before the House. The hon. Member will forgive me for not touching on the greater part of his speech, which traversed the ground gone over yesterday, and renewed accusations which have already been replied to. I will refer only to what was comparatively new in the hon. Member's speech. The hon. Member declared that no more formidable indictment has been made against a Government since the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and thus the hon. Member instituted a modest comparison between himself and Edmund Burke which must have afforded some entertainment to the House. He went on to give us some personal experiences in relation to himself and the hon. Member for North Kildare. The hon. Member told the House that, in spite of the myrmidons of the Government, he had seen the hon. Member for North Kildare while in the clutches of

the Executive, and that, in spite of the objections of the police, he had assured the hon. Member for North Kildare that the country sympathised with him in his sufferings. Well, I express no opinion on his conduct upon the occasion, nor can I see what relation his conversation can have to the Vote. What is the grievance which, as the outcome of this meeting, we are assured the hon. Member for North Kildare is suffering under? It is that the hon. Member for North Kildare was put into an ill-ventilated second-class carriage. Now the Government are not responsible for the ventilation of second-class carriages, and I cannot accept the view that the hon. Member for North Kildare suffered any serious hardship from travelling second-class. In common, I suppose, with many Members of the House, I have often travelled second-class, and found no serious inconvenience from doing so; and I think the hon. Member for North Kildare would be the last person to make this a ground of complaint.

MR. MAC NEILL: The right hon. Gentleman is somewhat misrepresenting what I said. Of course, I was not so foolish as to lay stress on the point; I simply stated the circumstances under which I saw my hon. Friend, and came to the conclusion that he was in a dying state.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, the conclusion of the hon. Gentleman happily turned out to be erroneous. The health of the hon. Member for North Kildare engaged the attention of the medical authorities, and, as the House is aware, the hon. Member was released before the natural termination of his sentence. The hon. Member for Donegal has indulged in denunciation of the treatment of Irish prisoners, and I think I may meet these denunciations of the Irish system by contrasting it with the treatment of English prisoners. If the prison system is wrong, reform should begin in England, rather than in Ireland. Under the English rules some 20,000 persons are in confinement, while in the Irish gaols there are only 80 Crimes Act prisoners, It is no use beginning reform in such a piecemeal fashion as to deal only with the lot of these 80 persons. The hon. Gentleman asserts that under the present rule one prisoner after another has had his eyesight destroyed by whitewashed cells. In Ireland a large number of cells are not now whitewashed, and the custom is gradually obtaining of having the cells tinted. But every single cell in England is whitewashed; and therefore, if there is an error, it is an English error, and not an Irish one. The hon. Gentleman declares that the Irish prisoners are half-starved. It is well-known that the food in Irish prisons is richer and more nutritive than the food in English prisons; so here, again, reform is needed in England, if at all. The right hon. Gentleman complains of the absence of sheds for the exercise of prisoners in rainy weather. There is one prison in Ireland which possesses such a shed; but there is no prison in England which does. Again, I say, if reform is required, let it begin where it is most required. The hon. Gentleman states that the prison doctors in Ireland, especially during my tenure of office, have exercised their functions not to relieve, but to torture the prisoners. The hon. Gentleman cannot have heard the statement I made last night, that the privileges granted by the prison doctors to Crimes Act prisoners are enormously in excess of those granted to other classes of prisoners. The rate of mortality being double in the English prisons what it is in the Irish prisons points to the habit of the English doctors of detaining weakly English prisoners longer than Irish doctors detain Irish prisoners. I do not know which custom is best; but, at all events, the Irish custom is the more humane. Therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that Crimes Act prisoners are treated more leniently than ordinary prisoners in Ireland, and that ordinary prisoners in Ireland are treated more leniently than similar prisoners in England. I would remind the House of what occurred when the hon. Member for South Armagh was imprisoned in Londonderry Gaol. The hon. Member was let out before the completion of his sentence by Sir William Miller, upon whom so much undeserved abuse has been heaped; and the only gratitude evinced by the hon. Member for this act of kindness is a declaration that he had nothing at all the matter with him. This incident, at all events, shows that Sir William Miller is peculiarly sensitive

on the subject of the health of Crimes Act prisoners. The House has been told that I spoke last night on the Prisons Vote with very great indignation. I do not deny that I thought then, and still think, that the accusations brought against the prison officials were such as ought properly to have roused the indignation of those responsible for the defence in the House of men who are necessarily unable to defend themselves. If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast reads in cold blood the speech to which I replied last night, I think he will at least admit that my indignation was not unnatural. But if I was betrayed into any undue violence of language on that occasion, I can assure the House that I did not intend to wound the feelings of any man. My desire was to defend those whose defence is committed to me, and I did not wish to go beyond that duty; but I should be unworthy of the position I hold had I allowed those hostile criticisms to pass unchallenged. If I went beyond what was necessary I regret having done so.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I only wish to say a few words as to the point upon which I rose to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. The late Lord Mayor of Dublin told me only yesterday that during the whole of his imprisonment he was not allowed to edit his newspaper. With the question of the treatment of political prisoners I have already dealt at length, and I will only say that the objection urged by the right hon. Gentleman to the Government having to determine which offences should be treated as distinct from ordinary crimes is a far-fetched objection. If the Government, from the earliest period when these cases first came on under the Crimes Act, had laid down a principle as to who were and who were not political prisoners, the County Court Judges and Resident Magistrates would have taken their cue from the Government. Whether a man should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant or not would not now depend on the Judge who happened to try the case. Let me take the cases of Judge Webb and Judge Kisby. Judge Webb has in two cases treated prisoners under the Act as first-class misdemeanants, but Judge Kisby has in all cases directed that they shall be treated as common criminals. Mr. O'Connor Morris has in almost all the cases that have come before him directed that the prisoners shall be dealt with as first-class misdemeanants. I say, therefore, that the present system results in great inequality, which cannot be justified for a moment. But all this part of the case is immaterial to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, because the right hon. Gentleman has to-day admitted, as he has often before admitted, that he is against treating any of these men as political offenders, and thinks they ought all to be treated as common criminals. I think I am justified in concluding from his statement that the right hon. Gentleman is responsible for the fact that the Resident Magistrates in Ireland have without exception directed that men tried under the Crimes Act shall be treated as common criminals. Men have been treated as convicts under this Act for holding Land League meetings, for publishing proceedings of suppressed branches in their papers, and for other offences; and if you are to come to the conclusion that all these ought to be treated as common criminals, you must also go to the length of saying that there are no possible cases of any kind in which people should be treated as political offenders. I say that is a policy in direct opposition to the policy of any other civilised country in the world. The right hon. Gentleman has for the first time in the history of the country introduced the principle that there should be no class of political offenders who should be treated differently from common criminals. He has given the cue to his Magistrates to treat all offenders in the same way. I can only say I regret the conclusion at which the right hon. Gentleman has arrived. I hold him and the Prime Minister entirely responsible for the great scandal that has taken place, because it is their speeches which have given the cue to the Resident Magistrates and to many of the County Court Judges. We, on our part, will never be satisfied until we have reversed the policy which they have adopted; and I shall certainly do my best, both on public platforms and in this House, to rouse the public interest on this question.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has

ingeniously assumed that we are raising a discussion upon the whole question of prison management. I do not deny that there may be very great need for prison reform in the three kingdoms at the present time, but that is not the question which we are dealing with now. The urgent question which is now before us is the method which the right hon. Gentleman has adopted of treating political prisoners in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman, in one of the many sallies which he was good enough to indulge in at our expense, declared that we are only humanitarians by halves, and asserted that we only took an interest in 80 out of the 20,000 prisoners in the gaols of the United Kingdom. That is an assumption that there have been only 80 persons punished under this Coercion Act. As a matter of fact, I believe the number is about 2,000. The manner in which the right hon. Gentleman made that suggestion is very characteristic of the way in which he endeavours to throw dust in the eyes of the British public. The right hon. Gentleman says we ought not to throw on the Executive the duty of deciding which prisoners are to be treated as political offenders. In every other country in the world that duty is thrown on the Executive, and the reason is that the public sentiment is so distinct and emphatic upon the question of what is and what is not a political offence that there has been no necessity to place on the Statutes any definition of the kind. The right hon. Gentleman last night alluded to the case of General Boulanger. I do not know whether the French law will now allow him to be classed as a political offender, as he is charged, rightly or wrongly, with having embezzled money; but I say that the French Executive would never have a moment's hesitation in deciding whether a man is or is not a political prisoner. England was in the same position until the year 1837, and the Executive up to that date always exercised the duty without any hesitation or difficulty. When William Cobbett and Feargus O'Connor and Mr. Vincent were confined in English gaols the Executive had no Statute to relieve them from saying whether they were political prisoners or not. They decided that they were, and acted accordingly with regard to their prison treatment. When a number of Irishmen were put into English gaols, and when the Executive of the day, not so generous in their treatment of them as they were in the treatment of political prisoners, who happened to be Englishmen, insisted on treating them as common criminals, the effect of public opinion, brought to bear in this House, was such that a law was actually enacted which provided a means of deciding between political prisoners and common criminals. Mr. Bruce (now Lord Aberdare), the very gentleman to whom the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Balfour) recently submitted certain questions connected with prison treatment in Ireland, was Home Secretary at the time, and he appointed a Commission to inquire into the treatment of treason-felony prisoners. Mr. Bruce said he was of opinion that in the case of these political prisoners some relaxation of the strict rules might, in accordance with the practice of both countries, be allowed. The Commission also made up its mind that they were political prisoners, and recommended that they should be treated as a separate class. That is all we want in Ireland now. The great principle we contend for is that of the segregation of these prisoners and the drawing of a distinction between them and common criminals. In carrying out the recommendations of that Commission, Parliament inserted clauses in the Prisons Act of 1877 which made a distinction between persons convicted of sedition and seditious libel, and set apart a special prison for such prisoners. One of the County Court Judges in Ireland has recently said—

> "We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that these are incidents in a great social movement which is taking place in the country. The offences of Mr. Patrick O'Brien and Mr. O'Hea are not to be classed as disgraceful crimes or infamous crimes."

If the right hon. Gentleman would follow the guidance of that County Court Judge, he would adopt a far more wise and civilised method than he has hitherto done of carrying on the Government of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman made very slight reference to the prisoners in Derry Gaol in reply to the many questions that have been raised, and which were brought before the House last night by my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin, in a speech which I

am quite sure deeply impressed the House, and which I am quite sure, if fully reported in the Press, would deeply impress the country at large. But the most serious charge of all the right hon. Gentleman has utterly ignored. We had the right hon. Gentleman last night working himself into a state of passionate indignation in defence of Sir William Miller, and he repudiated as monstrous and infamous the charges made against that gentleman; but he did not take the pains to refute a single one of the numerous and specific charges which my right hon. Friend made, not in any loose hearsay manner, but from the actual official Report submitted to the House, and the evidence of eye-witnesses of the scenes described. The Chief Secretary assumed that the very gravity of the charges carried their own refutation, and that Sir William Miller is a man so far above reproach that nobody would for a moment expect the public to assent to any such charges made against him. But while this was the right hon. Gentleman's method of meeting these charges in this House, what was Sir William Miller's method of meeting the charges made in a public Court yesterday? Sir William Miller keeps an hospital book in which he is supposed to enter every variation in the treatment of a patient in the hospital, and which should contain these particulars in reference to the man who has died, and upon whom an inquest was being held. This book was asked for by the representative of the next of kin; but Sir William Miller instructed his counsel to refuse to produce it. Let Sir William Miller be all that the right hon. Gentleman represents him to be, his own method of defending himself is a stronger accusation than we can make against him. I do not want to use any stronger language, or to make any graver charge than is suggested in Sir William Miller's refusal to produce this book. So much for the worked up and simulated indignation which the right hon. Gentleman exhibited to the House last night. The right hon. Gentleman referred to another matter last night. In dealing with the cases of Irish Members, and other political prisoners under the Crimes Act, he produced a number of ingenious statistics, carefully worked out even to decimals, to prove that the Irish Members and their fellow-prisoners under the Crimes Act were, in the first place, malingerers; and, in the second place, that they were accustomed to receive privileges no other prisoners were allowed to receive; and, in the third place, if either of the other two hypotheses was to be rejected, that they must be persons of extreme delicacy. This was the language of the right hon. Gentleman:—

> "Unless, which he was unwilling to believe, prisoners under the Crimes Act were guilty of deliberate malingering, either they were persons of exceptionally delicate constitutions, or they were treated with exceptional leniency by the prison officials."

And he produced a number of statistics to support his statement. Well, he has been two years administering his Coercion Act in Ireland, imprisoning priests, Irish Members, and persons of all grades and positions, and I should think that if his experience had taught him little, one thing at least it should have taught him—respect for the courage of those he has had to deal with. The charge of cowardice and of malingering is a mean, a miserable, and a false charge to make against us as a people. We have no doubt a good many faults, and it may be demonstrable that we have committed errors in our method and action in Ireland; but surely among our faults nobody with any self-respect can accuse us of shirking any of the consequences our public action may bring upon us, or of being afraid to accept any of the dangers into which we have ventured to lead our people in the movement we are carrying on for the redress of our grievances and the accomplishment of our national aspirations. It is the part of a generous foeman to recognise when he has to deal with an adversary whose courage is worthy of respect. When General Grenfell sent home his despatch about the unfortunate Dervishes he had slaughtered he took care to remark upon the bravery as well as the misfortunes of those he had defeated. But the right hon. Gentleman is not capable, apparently, of so much generosity towards the nation he is oppressing; and, indeed, if we were to accept the hypothesis of the right hon. Gentleman that he is dealing with gangs of cowards, malingerers, or sneaks—for that is what his suggestions amount to—it says

little for his prowess that with all his efforts, and with the powerful weapon of the Coercion Act, he has been unable to get the better of those people. Will the right hon. Gentleman specify any single instance of an Irish political prisoner whom he will venture to describe as a malingerer? He once made the attempt when the hon. Member for North-East Cork was suffering his first imprisonment. The right hon. Gentleman wrote a letter to the Press suggesting that the hon. Member sought shelter under a medical certificate, pleading a weak heart and delicate lungs, to escape from prison discipline and the consequences of refusing to wear the prison dress. But the right hon. Gentleman soon had to change his tone; and now when he flings the charge of malingering against his political opponents, I challenge him, as I did when he made a disgraceful charge against the priests of Clare, to give a specific instance, and if he will not do so, then I say his conduct is unworthy of a Member of the House, let alone that of a Minister responsible for the government of a whole nation. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of malingering especially in reference to the Derry prisoners, because that was the case under notice; but surely he does not mean that M'Gee, who died two days after he left the prison, carried his malingering to that tragic extent, or that the young man Size, who entered the prison strong and powerful, and was released in such a condition that the prison doctor had to supply him with a car to carry him to the railway station, and four ounces of brandy as a viaticum, and who has since died, was a malingerer? Or does he so describe John Mandeville, now in his grave, or Larkin, who died in Kilkenny, or John Powell, the editor of the *Midland Tribune*, now undergoing his third term of imprisonment, who has lost the sight of one eye, and who is in the prison hospital spitting blood? If Powell is a coward and malingerer, one term of imprisonment would have been sufficient, and he would not have committed another offence by publishing in his newspaper that which he thought it his duty to publish. Men who are cowards and malingerers do not subject themselves twice and thrice to prison discipline if they wish to avoid it. What are the privileges Crimes Act prisoners have had over others? Does the right hon. Gentleman count the forcible stripping off of clothes, knocking down and rendering insensible, privileges to which Irish Members under the Coercion Act are entitled to, and from which other prisoners are excluded, or the clipping of hair and beard, or bread and water for resisting those indignities? I do not know whether in his ingenious compilation of figures the right hon. Gentleman took into account the privilege of prisoners to wear their own clothes, to take separate exercise, and to be relieved, on payment of fees, from the odium of performing menial offices; but if he did so, I tell him that these were dearly bought, and that the Executive can claim no credit for them. The right hon. Gentleman thought it conclusive to say that if the hypothesis of malingering was rejected, then the constitutions of Irish Members must be peculiarly delicate. I think this was an unworthy remark to make; but since it has been made, I may be excused if I retort in that *tu quoque* manner which the right hon. Gentleman has himself used with skill and frequency, and ask how he supposes the treatment to which my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork was subjected, would affect his own physique? No doubt many hon. Members and others who have been imprisoned are not very strong; that may be said of my hon. Friends the Members for East Mayo and North-East Cork and Mr. Powell, now spitting blood in his prison hospital, but what an unworthy, unmanly, argument is this to use. I, for one, would never wish to see the right hon. Gentleman subjected to the penalties inflicted upon my hon. Friends; but if it should ever come to be his turn to endure such sufferings, I trust there would be none of us to fling against him the taunt that he must be malingering, or his constitution must be exceedingly delicate. The right hon. Gentleman has now carried on his policy for two years, and I ask him how long does he mean to continue it? Has the opportunity been afforded him of testing the chances of his success? The country has tolerated his experiment for two years; but I am sure the country will not tolerate it for 20 years. If the right hon. Gentleman has succeeded in striking terror by his method of

treating Irish prisoners, if by this means he has created respect for his law among the people, let him go on. But I deny that he has succeeded in terrorising the people. He has put in prison Members of Parliament, priests, editors of newspapers, public men of all kinds, and every citizen who chooses to sacrifice himself for the National cause in Ireland. Even while we are debating, the hon. Members for North-East and West Cork are being tried before a Coercion Court——

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is not confining himself to the Vote for the Prisons Board in Ireland.

Mr. GILL: I will not pursue the point further than to say that the treatment of prisoners in Ireland, harsh, cruel, vindictive, though it has been, has not succeeded in breaking the spirit of the people on whom it has been inflicted. The hon. Member for North-East Cork is probably about to undergo his third term of imprisonment, and the hon. Member for West Cork his second. They are not in the least degree daunted or shaken in their resolution to carry on the policy which has brought upon them these penalties. As for the people at large, among whom the right hon. Gentleman finds his victims whom he tries to stigmatise as criminals——

*Mr. SPEAKER: For the second time I must remind the hon. Member that he is not discussing the policy of the Prisons Board in relation to the Vote.

Mr. GILL: I will not continue this line of discussion. I will only, in conclusion, refer to the condition to which the Chief Secretary has reduced the prison rules in Ireland, by reason of what I may describe as his own malingering. What is malingering? It is endeavouring to escape penalties under a false pretence. The right hon. Gentleman, defeated in his endeavour to carry out his prison *régime*, rather than frankly confess his defeat and acknowledge that rules must be applied to a class of political offenders, has made the prison rules, as at present administered, a complete farce. He will not make the distinction between political and other offenders, and so the perpetrators of the Belfast frauds, described by the Judge as the most extensive and wicked system of frauds that ever came under his notice, are allowed to go about Derry Gaol in their own clothes among the other criminals, simply because the right hon. Gentleman will not admit there are political prisoners in Ireland, and has played ducks and drakes with the rules rather than accept the recommendations of Lord Aberdare's Commission. Public opinion in Ireland and in England has been shocked by the treatment of his Coercion Act prisoners, and the public opinion of the civilised world condemns his policy. The other day the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord R. Churchill) gave voice to what I believe to be the large proportion even of Conservative opinion on this subject, when he said there was disgust with the manner at which the right hon. Gentleman had been carrying on his prison policy. I say then that, after two years, the right hon. Gentleman has produced nothing but failure by his policy as far as Ireland is concerned, and nothing but discredit as far as England is concerned.

Mr. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory): I regret that I was unable, through physical exhaustion, to hear the greater part of the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Balfour's) speech; but I understand that he made no reply whatever to the remarkable address delivered last night by my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork—a speech which I think rose far above the ordinary Party discussions of this House, and which dealt with questions of permanent interest. I think that speech deserves to be answered. My hon. Friend divided prisoners in Ireland into two classes, namely, prisoners of the ordinary criminal type, and political prisoners, and in reference to both these classes he made remarks which, I think, ought to receive the most careful consideration of everybody who claims to legislate in a spirit of humanity for the most helpless class of our fellow-countrymen. The system you pursue in Ireland is to half-starve the ordinary criminals, to give them work to do of the most uninteresting character, and to prevent them having the ordinary means of exercise in the open air. The change which my hon. Friend wants to see effected is one which I think sooner or later the conscience of this country will compel statesmen to adopt. It is that you should give prisoners plenty of work of a kind which is really useful and remunerative to the

community, and that you should give them sufficient food to enable them to do that work. Instead of having to come to this House every year for a large sum of money for keeping up these prisons in Ireland, you should try and make them pay their expenses, and so take the burden off the general taxpayers of the country. The only objection which, as far as I can see, can be made to such a suggestion is that traders outside might possibly complain because articles produced in the prison might, by their quantity, reduce the price of such commodities. But am I to be seriously told that the interests of one or two trades are to be set in opposition to the general interests of the community? Are we to go back to the old principles of Protection once more, and to say that prices must be kept up in order to sustain those who carry on certain industries? No, Sir; if it be for the interest of the community or of the prisoners themselves that they should be employed, I do not think that argument will stand for one moment. I have one suggestion to make to men of all shades of opinion. I am afraid that most of us know very little about the actual administration of the prisons either in this country or in Ireland. I think we ought to know more about it, and that it is our business to know it; and I hope, if I am supported by the feeling of this House, to bring in a Bill next Session to enable Members of Parliament to visit prisons on the same conditions as Visiting Justices, so that we may know what goes on in them, and be able to legislate like intelligent men. The right hon. Gentleman said there were a great many more political prisoners released in proportion to their numbers than ordinary criminals, and that this might be due to the fact that political prisoners had exceptionally delicate constitutions. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman and the House whether no other alternative can be suggested? Did it ever occur to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman that there might be another reason—a reason which strikes at the very foundation of his method of treating political prisoners in Ireland—namely, that those prisoners do not belong to the class from which ordinary criminals are taken, that they are men who have lived lives of comparative comfort, and that, therefore, prison life tells on them in a way in which it could not tell on common criminals? I say there is not a man in this House except the right hon. Gentleman himself—and he is so callous that he will not feel these arguments—who does not see the broad distinction I have hinted at. The right hon. Gentleman has said that in the case of a large number of prisoners of a certain social position in Ireland certain degradations ought not to be inflicted on them. Their hair is not clipped, and they do not have to discharge certain menial offices. But, after all, whilst these things touch the honour and the feelings of men who have been brought up as gentlemen, far worse remains behind. If I were a prisoner I think I should complain most, with my bringing up, of the plank bed, of insufficient food, of insufficient exercise, and of an unnatural and cruel and needlessly enforced silence. These things remain, and the right hon. Gentleman has not attempted to deal with them. As long as they remain, I say there is no equality in the treatment of different classes of prisoners in Ireland, and it must be our duty to raise our voices again and again until something like humanity is introduced into the system of treating political prisoners in Ireland. Let me say, in conclusion, that I think the right hon. Gentleman would act far more wisely if he showed a little more consideration for the feelings of others. We do not feel so strongly against the right hon. Gentleman because he is opposed to us in politics, but because he does not act upon what we regard as the ordinary principles of humanity. As long as we think his administration cruel, as long as we think he does not really inquire into wrongs when they are pointed out to him, so long we shall be opposed to him in the strongest manner. We object to his proceedings, not because he is a political opponent, but because he is a man who, in our opinion, is destitute of the feelings of common humanity.

MR. M. HEALY (Cork): I rise to call attention again to a case which has already been referred to by my hon. Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), but to which the right hon. Gentleman completely gave the go-by when he was speaking. I refer to the refusal of the Deputy Governor of

Cork Gaol to permit certain Visiting Justices to have a private interview with a prisoner who demanded such an interview. The rule on this subject is perfectly plain and clear. It provides that Visiting Justices may from time to time, and at frequent intervals, visit any prisoners and hear any complaints made to them by the prisoners, and, if asked, shall do so privately. The Mayor of Cork and Messrs. Day and Dunn, two City Magistrates, visited Cork Gaol this month, and in the course of their visit a prisoner under the Crimes Act, named O'Brien, asked for a private interview, with the object of making a complaint to them. The Deputy Governor informed the Justices that he could not permit any statement to be made to them in private; and the Justices had to leave the prison without hearing what O'Brien's complaint was. Now, Sir, one of the few protections which prisoners in Ireland have is this right of making statements in private to the Visiting Committee. If there were not such a right prisoners would be absolutely at the mercy of every petty tyrant who happened to be Governor or Deputy Governor of a gaol. The Mayor of Cork wrote to the Prisons Board on the subject, and the Prisons Board have admitted that the Deputy Governor was wrong in refusing to allow the private interview to take place. But they have not inflicted any punishment on the Deputy Governor, nor have they even censured him. I ask whether this is the way in which the Prison Rules ought to be enforced in Ireland? Is this the way to deal with a man who was culpably ignorant of the rules he has to administer? They simply sent him a Circular drawing his attention to the rule. If a Deputy Governor is not supposed to know the Prison Rules, I do not know who is. I should hardly think he is likely to pay more attention to the Circular than he has paid to the rule itself. If this prison had been an ordinary prison, I do not suppose the Deputy Governor would have thought it his duty to interfere. If the Justices, instead of consisting of the Nationalist Mayor of Cork and two Catholic Magistrates, had consisted of the Grand Master of the Orange Lodge and some of his colleagues, the Deputy Governor would never have prohibited a private interview. But because this unfortunate prisoner happened to have been imprisoned under the Coercion Act, and because the Visiting Justices happened to be headed by the Mayor of Cork—who, as every one knows, is a Nationalist—they are a fit mark for the ignorance of these people. The Chief Secretary, in referring to another case of the kind which occurred in Cork Gaol, said he did not desire to speak harshly of the Governor. No; all the harshness is reserved for the prisoners. But if the Governor had been guilty of leniency towards the prisoners a different fate would have waited on him. We know that warder after warder has been removed, and that some of the warders have been dismissed because the Prisons Board came to the conclusion that they were too lenient towards the prisoners. But when the mistake is in the other direction, and the warder offends on the side of rigour and not of leniency, the Prisons Board refuse to reprimand him. When the Deputy Governor is so ignorant of the rules that he is unaware that the Visiting Justices are entitled to see a prisoner in private, the Prisons Board merely send him a Circular calling his attention to the rule.

Mr. O'KEEFFE (Limerick): I desire to take some little part in this discussion, inasmuch as owing to the position I hold in Ireland I happen to be *ex officio* Chairman of two Prisons Visiting Committees, and have had considerable experience of visiting gaols. I apprehend I have paid something like 600 visits to the city and county gaols of Limerick. As regards the statement which has been put forward in this House that Irish prisoners have occasion to complain of an inadequate dietary, I must say one of the very few complaints I have ever received from the prisoners has been that the dietary allowed in the Irish gaols is utterly insufficient for their wants. I find that in the case of every prisoner committed to gaol the first three days' confinement amounts to absolute starvation, because the quality of the food is such—bread and water, and a miserable compound called "stir-about"—that no one is able to eat it. I have frequently been told by prisoners that for the first couple of days in gaol no food whatever has passed their lips. At this late hour of the Debate I will not enter into any of the general aspects of the case. As to

the distinction between prisoners under the Crimes Act and prisoners convicted of ordinary crime, it is in evidence that according to the civilised ideas of every other country there should be some distinction. So long as the present relations between England and Ireland exist, political offences will be committed, and it ought to be a part of the prison economy of this country towards ours that a just and equitable and honourable provision shall be made to distinguish between political and non-political offenders. I would call attention to three specific instances which have come under my immediate notice as showing the injustice of the present method of treating political prisoners in Ireland. The first case is that of a man named Tully, which has been referred to to-day. I will not travel over the ground which has already been traversed. I am not here to make an appeal for mercy on this man's behalf, as he has almost completed his 12 months' imprisonment. I have several times put a question as to his condition in this House, and have always received an evasive answer. I say that this man has almost entirely lost his eye-sight in Limerick Gaol. His offence was a very slight one under the Coercion Act, and though I do not know him personally, as he is a stranger to Limerick—being one of what are known as the Woodford prisoners—he is well known to the two hon. Members for Galway, who declare that he has always been looked upon as a respectable man in his district. Well, this man contracted in gaol an affection of the eyes, and the complaint has been going on month by month until I have it from the members of his own family and from actual observation that in the natural course of things before very long he will be absolutely blind. There are three other prisoners in Limerick Gaol whom I think it a gross act of injustice to detain there, and those are the three men who were held as hostages for the settlement of the difficulty on the Vandeleur estate. I know these men well, having visited them almost daily during the six months they have been in gaol, and I am bound to say, on their behalf, that they would not care for me to make any appeal for a modification of their sentence—that, in fact, if they knew I was even mentioning their names here they would reprobate my conduct. A settlement was arrived at on the Vandeleur estate on the implied basis that these men should be liberated. But though the settlement was arrived at, in violation of its terms these men are still detained in custody. I say that the effect of keeping the men in custody is really to maintain an open sore in that part of the country, and to discourage other tenants from assenting to any species of arbitration. I do not think I am violating confidence if I say that I have reason to believe, from information derived from a certain source, that these three humble peasants of County Clare would be released from custody in the morning if they would only humble to the extent of asking the Chief Secretary to give them their liberty. A newspaper I received from Clare only this morning shows that the agitation in the public mind with regard to this case is as keen as ever. I hold that in the present peaceful condition of the county it is unjust to detain these men any longer in prison. Another case I would mention is that of my hon. Friend (Mr. Finucane). He was sentenced to five months' imprisonment for taking part in what was called an "illegal conspiracy," though the "conspiracy" was evidenced by four public meetings, every one of which I attended, and over the last of which I presided, for the reason that it took place in my Division. Mr. Finucane receive five months' imprisonment, and several of my constituents were also sent to prison. During the first month he was in gaol Mr. Finucane was in the hospital. He was sentenced to a second imprisonment —four months—and of that he spent the greater part in the hospital of Tullamore Gaol. I say it is abhorrent to the feelings of every humane person that Mr. Finucane should have been kept in the prison hospital if he was not considered fit to be in the prison itself. My hon. Friend, who came across from Limerick to this country to perform his duty to his constituents in this House, is at this moment prostrate in his hotel from the effects of the treatment he received in gaol, and the Member for South Longford (Dr. Fitzgerald), who has seen my hon. Friend, declares that he will feel the effects of his imprisonment during the remainder of his life. I am glad to say that though I have visited up-

wards of 100 Crimes Act prisoners I have never heard a word of complaint escape their lips. I remember in one case sympathising with a man who had received nine months' imprisonment for some paltry offence, and his reply to me was, "I don't mind it. Michael Davitt spent nine years in gaol." The Chief Secretary would be surprised at the spirit of heroism displayed by every one of these people—and I refer not only to men but to women also. In the City of Limerick there was a woman named Ryan who had been detained in prison under one sentence for contempt of Court. She is now undergoing a second term. Instances like these show the present prison system in Ireland. The only thing I fear is that when Parliament is prorogued the right hon. Gentleman will be relieved of even the thin barrier of Parliamentary revision, and that his coercive policy will break out with renewed violence. I can assure him, however, that this policy will not wean the people from the struggle they are making; but that they will continue to use every Constitutional engine to effect the purpose they have in view, which is to establish the right of the Irish people to legislate for themselves in their own Parliament.

*Sir J. SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Yesterday there were four specific charges made by the hon. Member for South Armagh (Mr. Blane) against the Irish prison discipline, to which no answer has been made on behalf of the Government. These charges were not made on hear-say evidence; they were made on the hon. Member's own responsibility, as the result of his own observation and experience when a prisoner in Derry Gaol. The hon. Member declared that prisoners bared their arms to show that they were suffering from a loathsome disease, such as it was declared by the Government Mr. Conybeare could not have contracted in prison. When the hon. Member had asked them why they did not go to the hospital to be cured, they replied that if they asked to see a doctor they would be ill-used; they would have their heads knocked against the wall; and that if they gave any trouble about it they would be put on bread and water and punished with solitary confinement. The hon. Member stated that prisoners were knocked about, shaken, and pushed against the wall, as if the object were to provoke them into committing assaults on the warders. The hon. Member also stated that he and other prisoners were paraded and made an exhibition of before visitors to the gaol —before Sir Hervey Bruce and some of his lady friends. The hon. Member was exhibited to these people like a wild beast. These are charges so direct, specific, and circumstantial that I cannot understand their being entirely ignored by the Government. Before this Vote is passed I should like some Member of the Government to make some reply to these definite accusations against the carrying out of the prison rules in Derry Gaol; and something more ought to be said by the Government about the tenants from the Vandeleur estate, who are kept in gaol, although even the landlord has petitioned that they may be liberated, as all the disputes out of which the offences, for which they are imprisoned, arose have been amicably arranged.

The House divided:—Ayes 67; Noes 43.—(Div. List, No. 340.)

Resolutions 4 to 11 agreeed to.

On the Twelfth Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

*Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): As this important Vote was passed last night without discussion, I think I may ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments whilst I say a word or two upon it. A right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench has stated that the treatment of prisoners was not challenged by hon. Members on this side of the House until their own friends had suffered from it. Well, so far as that taunt is well founded at all it is of general application, and it amounts only to this: Our penal system is a social question, and hitherto, unhappily as I think, social questions have not in this House attracted the same attention and excited the same enthusiam as questions of a political or Party character. If it means more than that, then I distinctly challenge the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's statement; because for years past, both in this House and outside it, there have been men of

the highest character and of ripe experience who, whilst admitting the great improvement—and I, for one, should be amongst the last to deny it—which have been made by the English Prisons Board, have yet complained that, on the whole, our English penal system is a failure, and that it is marked, indeed, by some circumstances of positive cruelty. I hope next year to be able to bring the subject before the House, in a comprehensive manner, in the form of a Resolution; but I cannot permit, for the present year, this opportunity, which is the only one I have, to pass without making a few observations on the subject, which I would fain hope will not be without some effect on the English Prisons Board. Looking at the matter broadly, the most salient features of our English system—the most salient defects as I regard them—are excessive centralisation in the first place, and excessive militaryism in the second. To begin at the bottom of the scale we have the warders who are in very many instances old soldiers. Then we have the Governors and Deputy Governors who control the warders and who are, with few exceptions, officers of the Army and Navy. And, over all, you have the supreme Board on which, also, the military element predominates. It is from these two causes—namely, excessive centralisation and excessive militaryism, that most of the evils arise of which I have to complain. The treatment of unconvicted prisoners, who may turn out to be as respectable persons as any Member of this House, is most unsatisfactory, and is well exemplified by a case recently tried in connection with Ipswich Gaol, where an unconvicted commercial traveller was subjected to wholly illegal treatment and to gross indignities. This prisoner, whilst still untried—and who in a recent action against the prison officials recovered £75 damages for this illegal treatment—was compelled to strip naked for purposes of examination by the prison doctor, and to wear prison clothing marked with the broad arrow. An unworthy attempt was made to throw the blame upon a warder, but in cross-examination the Governor had to admit that the warders acted in accordance with instructions received from him. But I want to fix responsibility upon the Prison Commissioners. Do they approve or disapprove of the action of the Governor in this case? If they do not approve of it, why did they defend him in the action brought against him; and how do they propose to punish him? The present system in regard to the flogging of convicts is also very unsatisfactory, for this is inflicted after a secret inquiry held, in the case of convicts sentenced to penal servitude, by a single individual, generally a military man, who probably has strong views as to the effectiveness of the lash in maintaining discipline. There has been a movement in this country in favour of an extension of flogging, which has found expression even in this House, though, to do the advocates of this proposal justice, they did desire that all possible safeguards should be taken in the matter, and proposed to limit the power of sentencing to the lash to the Judges of the Superior Court. Floggings, I contend, are unnecessary in order to maintain discipline; the lash is, in fact, the resort of incompetency, just as it is said anyone can govern in a state of siege. I further contend that short term imprisonment, by reason of the severity of the *régime*, inflicts permanent injury upon the health of prisoners. The present system is not only inhuman, but in the highest degree impolitic, because if men are discharged with minds and bodies enfeebled by their treatment in prison, it is obvious that they are less able to obtain an honest livelihood, and more likely to become dupes of cleverer criminals than themselves. The policy of the Prisons Board has been distinguished, more especially since Sir E. Du Cane became its head, by a love of secrecy and a morbid dread of any influence from the outside world penetrating within the walls of a convict prison. But I say that the more we extend the system of the visitation of prisoners by suitable persons from the outer world the better it will be. There ought in particular to be a lady visitor to every prison where women are confined, and I am sorry to say that, although there are now 28 prisons without these visitors, only two additional visitors have been appointed during the last two years. These visitors would introduce humanising influences into prisons, where they seem now to be ignored. I understand—and I heard

it with pain—that nothing may be introduced into a convict prison, not even the photograph of a imp or child. But surely anything which tends to soften and humanise a man can do him no harm, even within the walls of a convict prison. On the contrary, I cannot but think that a wise and experienced Governor would not exclude, and would not despise, the invaluable influence which might be produced even upon a hardened criminal by the photograph of his innocent child, or any other memento of happier days. It has been said by one who ought to know, that "when a man enters an English convict prison, he has to leave every sentiment of decency, modesty, and shame outside." I, for one, protest against such a system. I believe it is possible to punish men severely and deterrently without adopting a mode of treatment which seems calculated to extinguish the last spark of self-respect.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. STUART-WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): I must protest against the language and tone in which the hon. Member has persisted in urging that on all the questions he has introduced to the notice of the House the Prisons Board has offered an unenlightened resistance to reform. The hon. Member has complained of the excessive centralisation of the system; but the Ipswich case, to which he referred, was an illustration of the evils of the want of centralisation, as in that case the Governor, in the exercise of the discretion vested in him to make certain rules, had made a rule which was in conflict with the statutory rules. Whether the costs and damages which have fallen upon the Treasury in the first instance should be borne by the Governor is a matter for grave consideration. It should be remembered that in the action against the Ipswich Governor the plaintiff's counsel and the Lord Chief Justice made it clear that the charge that was made was not against the Governor personally, but rather against the system. The hon. Gentleman has complained that the prison treatment of short-term convicts is such as permanently to injure the constitutions of persons subjected to it. Before the Committee can judge whether that is true or not specific instances in which permanent injury has resulted from that treatment would have to be proved. But the hon. Member has brought forward no such cases. Dr. Gover, in a recent Report, has shown that the system is far from being so severe as is generally supposed. If it can be shown that the system produces the permanent harmful effects suggested, then undoubtedly there would be a case for reform; but until that has been shown I protest against these general charges being made. I may add that when the dietary was fixed, independent medical practitioners were called in for the purpose of giving advice upon it. With regard to the identification of prisoners for previous convictions, mistakes do no doubt occur; but in proportion to the enormous yearly number of identifications the errors are infinitesimally few. The last case was due to a practice prevalent amongst the prisoners, the reason of which I cannot explain, of exchanging the tickets they wore with the numbers of their cells upon them. Steps are being taken by identifying the men in smaller groups to prevent such an exchange taking place in future. With regard to the "star" class, I cannot remember at the moment what the exact conditions of admission to it are, but I will look into the matter. I do not think there is so much difficulty in visitors getting into a prison as the strict terms of the rules would imply. Those rules, when not dispensed with, limit the admission of strangers to persons "interested in prison discipline and management, having some useful public object in view." But with the concurrence of the Prison Authorities, I have myself occasionally allowed the strict terms of that rule to be relaxed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Hear, hear. Pigott.

*MR. STUART WORTLEY: I am speaking of persons who merely desire to see what the prisons are like, and for the purpose only of contending that abundant opportunity exists for independent criticism of our prison system. With regard to lady visitors, the power of nominating them lies with the Visiting Justices, and the only reason why lady visitors are not appointed to all prisons where women are placed is that none have been nominated by the Justices.

The Prisons Board throw no sort of obstacle in the way of such appointments; but, on the contrary, are desirous that they should be made. With regard to flogging, I think it will be admitted that it must be retained in some cases—such as violent assaults on warders or fellow prisoners. I also think any abuse is sufficiently guarded against by the doctor's certificate and the other regulations which have to be observed. I hope I have now satisfied the House that there is no ground for the charge of inhumanity which has been made.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I think all reasonable men will admit that Members of this House ought to have access to convict prisoners. Our old friend Walter, of the *Times*, and his agents seem to have access to prisoners at all times. Those who get up conspiracies against Members of Parliament have the right to enter our prisons whenever they think fit. Surely Members of this House ought to have the right to enter convict prisons to ask the prisoners if they have any complaints to make and if they have to probe the matter to the bottom. I differ from those who say that our convict system should not be a reformatory system. I think it should be a reformatory system; that it should be conducted in accordance with the feelings of humanity, and that points should be strained in favour of the convicts. The prisoners are shut out from the world, Members of this House have not access to them, and they cannot make complaints themselves.

Question put, and agreed to.

On the Thirteenth Resolution,

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kircaldy): It is totally impossible on this occasion to go at length into the subjects involved in this Resolution, and therefore I will confine myself to one matter which has just cropped up at Suakin. A day or two ago I asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs a question as to the so-called Governor General of Suakin supplying arms and ammunition to the friendly tribes around Suakin, wherewith to make raids on the neighbouring tribes. I followed up that question by asking the Under Secretary whether these raids did not involve the despatch of large contingents of Her Majesty's troops. I did not receive an answer. To-day there appears the following telegram from Suakin:—

"In revenge for the raid on Sinkat, Mohamed Achmet, nephew of the late Mahdi, has left Tokar to punish the Hadendowas. He has with him 1,000 men, consisting of Tokar tribesmen, Jaleen, and Baggaras. Sheikh Kidr, of the Hassanabs, with 300 men, also joins him to co-operate with Mahdi Moussa's force, which fled from Sinkat on the advance of the friendlies from Suakin."

History repeats itself. This is precisely what happened last year. I had hoped the Government had learned a lesson from what took place last year. Why cannot we try a policy of peace; that is to say, instructing the Governor General to confine himself to the town of Suakin? No one can accuse the *Times* of want of Jingoism, and yet I find the correspondent of the *Times* says, "These raids and counter raids are unfortunate." The *St. James's Gazette* takes a strange view, but I will not detain the House longer. It is raids such as these which involved us in little wars with the tribes, and I hope that before separating we may get an assurance that this raiding will be stopped, as far as possible, by the Governor of Suakin. Otherwise we shall have more wars with the tribes on our hands before Parliament re-assembles.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I have seen the telegram in the *Times*, and doubtless, at first sight, it has an alarming aspect. We know, however, that these rumours are not always well-founded. The hon. Gentleman has referred to the policy lately pursued by the Egyptian Government in permitting the tribes called the Hadendowas to make reprisals for outrages and depredations committed against them by the Dervishes and their allies. The Egyptian Government have followed the policy stated in this House again and again of standing on the defensive and maintaining the frontier which was in existence when Her Majesty's Government came into power. But it is another thing when the tribes over which there is no sovereignty exercised, but who are friendly to us, are defending themselves against the attacks of organised and predatory bodies, from which they suffered great loss and their

whole means of existence in flocks and herds are carried away. It is true that certain supplies of arms and ammunition were given to these friendly tribes in order that they might defend themselves and regain their property. As we prevent the importation of arms on the coast, we could hardly deny to our friends the means of defence against a formidable enemy. So far as recent operations have gone, the Government have not deviated from the policy which they have deliberately pursued all along. I hope the apprehensions of the hon. Member will not be realised.

Resolution agreed to.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1887-8.

Resolutions [23rd August] (see pages 365-372) reported, and agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [23rd August] reported.

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1890, the sum of £18,438,592 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution agreed to.

MOTION.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

MR. JACKSON: I beg to move for leave to introduce the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the Service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, and that Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Jackson, do prepare and bring it in."

MR. T. M. HEALY was understood to ask whether further facilities would be given for the discussion of certain Votes.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I have stated that the Government hopes to give hon. Members an opportunity of discussing Estimates which they have not been able to discuss this year owing to the fact that they were not reached till a very late period of the Session, but I must point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that there have been 45 days devoted to Supply this Session. I think the hon. and learned Gentleman will see the extreme difficulty in which the House has been placed by the discussion of some Estimates at very great length.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has not defended the way in which the Scotch Estimates have been dealt with. The discussion of some of them has been deferred, and one of them was taken after 1 o'clock in the morning. The way in which the Scotch Estimates have been treated is nothing short of scandalous. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will endeavour next Session to make up for the very unfair way in which they have been dealt with this Session.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I would submit to the right hon. Gentleman that if Supply were taken regularly during the Session from its commencement a great deal of time would be saved which is now consumed in long discussions on Votes on Account, and in troublesome Motions for Adjournment, and in other ways.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: If the right hon. Gentleman will look back upon the records of the Session he will see that Supply was started very early.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL (No. 376.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Schedule 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this be the First Schedule of the Bill."

*MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.): I feel bound to refer to the Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act, which is proposed to be continued by means of this Bill. I have tried to obtain other opportunities of dealing with the question, but have not been successful. The Act

has been renewed in the Expiring Laws Continuance Acts year after year for six or eight years. It is highly objectionable that such a measure should be so treated. The fact was recognised long ago, and in 1883 and 1884 Bills were brought in to make the law permanent. The year before last the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary admitted that it was most undesirable to renew the Act in this way, and a Select Committee was promised to inquire into the subject. The Committee sat last year, and, after a full investigation, recommended that the Act should be made permanent. At the beginning of last February a deputation waited upon the Chief Secretary in Dublin. I believe that such a deputation had never visited the Chief Secretary's Lodge before, and I think he was impressed with it. He made certain promises with regard to legislation in connection with the Act, and we believed that, as a result of these promises, the subject would not again be dealt with in the Expiring Laws Continuance Act. We were promised the Government would either bring in a Bill of their own or assist some private Member to carry a measure through the House. The Government have not brought in a Bill this Session, nor have they done the next best thing in giving aid to any private Member in bringing in a Bill. I do not blame the Chief Secretary; I believe he has done his best, and that he fully recognises the strong feeling there is in Ireland in favour of a measure of this kind. The Government, however, have failed to carry out the promises they made, nor have they even made an effort to carry them out; they have not devoted five minutes' discussion to the subject or walked once through the Division Lobby.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Sir, I rise to a point of order. I wish to ask you whether, upon the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, which is the subject of our Debate now, it is in order for an hon. Member to raise a discussion upon another Bill which is, I understand, in the charge of the hon. Member for South Londonderry, and upon the facilities that may have been afforded for the discussion on that Bill? Is that in order?

MR. M. HEALY: On the point of order, Sir, I would ask you whether it is not perfectly competent to discuss the question whether a particular Bill should be included in this Continuance Bill, or whether it is of such a character that it should not be so included?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is competent for an hon. Member to discuss the proposition to include any Bill in the schedule. It is not competent for him for him to discuss another Bill of the same character to that which it is proposed shall take its place in the schedule. But I understand the hon. Member was making his observations for the purpose of showing that it would be necessary to insert this in the schedule.

*MR. LEA: That was my intention; but I will not refer to the other Bill further. I will only say this—that the people of Ireland have a very strong feeling that this Act should not remain in the schedule of the Continuance Act, but should take its place as a permanent measure. We had promises from the Government early in the Session, and we believed that these promises would be fulfilled. The great majority of the people of Ireland are wishful that this Act should not remain a temporary Act. It is a well-known fact that every Unionist Member is in favour of a permanent Sunday Closing Act. But I do not think that affords sufficient justification for legislation of this kind; but I think I may add that such a Bill has the support of the majority of Members below the Gangway.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think the hon. Member is now confining himself to the discussion of the particular Act in the schedule. The only question is whether that Act shall remain in the schedule or not for another year. The question of its permanent character is not one that can now be entered upon.

*MR. LEA: Under the circumstances, Sir, perhaps I had better obtain some other occasion. I thought that I should find my opportunity now.

MR. M. HEALY: Do I understand your ruling to be that under no circumstances is it competent for an hon. Member to discuss the merits of an Act that is included in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill?.

THE CHAIRMAN: I gave no such ruling. The question now for discussion is whether the particular Act is one that should be included in the schedule or not.

MR. M. HEALY: I wish to say a few words as to the character of the Act it is proposed to include, and I begin by saying that it is one that should not be included. It is a measure which, from whatever point of view we regard it, should not be dealt with in this way in an Expiring Laws Bill. That, I think, is a proposition which will be accepted both by the supporters and the opponents of the measure. Two years ago this question was raised at the instance of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and there was a general protest against the Act being included in a Continuance Bill, and we submitted to the House that if the measure were carried out at all it should be settled finally in an ordinary Act of Parliament. I do not intend to address the Committee at any length, but I say the Government in this matter have been guilty of what, in my opinion, is a discreditable breach of faith. At the beginning of the Session they promised that this year they would settle the question by a definite measure, and permanently. Throughout the whole Session they have been holding out hopes to the supporters of the measure that they would so dispose of it. Both the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chief Secretary have expressed themselves publicly in that sense, and thus they have lulled the supporters of this legislation into a sleep from which they are now finally roused to find that the measure is still to keep its temporary character in this Expiring Laws Bill. I do not agree that the Chief Secretary has done his best; he distinctly promised on the part of the Government that a portion of the time of this Session should be given to this subject, and that promise has been broken without any reason whatever, and I consider that a deliberate breach of faith.

MR. SEXTON: Generally speaking, I should agree that a social measure of this kind, touching as it does the daily life of the people, should be considered in a definite measure by itself, and not as a part of this Bill. But I do not feel called upon, standing in what I may call an impartial position, on the 24th August to go into the question as between friends and opponents of such legislation. The only question before us now is whether we shall continue the Act for another year or allow it to drop. The time may come when we may discuss the subject in a permanent measure, and the only possible result of striking the Act from the schedule now will be that for the next year there will be no Sunday closing in Ireland at all.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): That is not quite the point that is raised. The hon. Member for South Londonderry does not propose to leave out the Act; he simply discusses the propriety of continually renewing it in this Continuance Bill. I think it would be better for all parties if, instead of putting it among the Acts to be continued, it were made a permanent Act by itself. Of course, I will not attempt to discuss it now. Considering that the subject has been carefully examined by a Committee, that much evidence has been taken, and that the Committee have made a recommendation upon which a suitable Bill may be framed, I think that the time has arrived when the Government might undertake legislation on the subject. I certainly understood the Government to hold out hopes that this subject would have a final settlement this Session. I cannot say that I know that of my own knowledge, for, of course, I did not form one of the Unionist deputation to the Castle. It may be that the Government have been influenced by the signs of opposition to the Bill. Upon this I will only say that the publicans in Ireland are a very strong organisation, and, of course, nothing is more easy for members of an organisation than to communicate with Members of Parliament and to urge them to take a particular course. The great mass of the people not having a money interest in the subject are not so exigent, and do not make such representations to Members of Parliament, and so these notices of opposition do not represent the popular feeling of the localities in regard to Sunday closing. In my own constituency, before I was Member, the locality had practically settled the question for itself in the direction of Sunday closing.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not in order in discussing these matters. They are not relevant to the question whether this Act should remain in the schedule or not.

MR. BIGGAR: I do not wish to pursue the subject further. Really, I have said all that I wished to say, only I will add that I hope that when we come

to this day next Session we shall not be discussing the propriety of including this Act in the Continuance Bill.

MR. O'NEILL (Antrim, Mid): I only rise to express the deep disappointment which is felt in the North of Ireland at the failure of the Government to carry a permanent Bill this Session; the feeling in favour of that course is very strong among all classes. Of course, I do not wish to have the Act omitted now; I wish to press the Government to give the subject a fair hearing in the early part of next Session.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment.

Read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL (No. 365.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I wish now to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the redemption of his promise, or, at any rate, for some assurance in regard to this question of interest on loans, which we raised some time ago. This Bill proposes a reduction to Irish landlords of the drainage charges, and I do not object to that reduction; only I do not see why the only reduction should be made in favour of this class. It is quite right that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should make the reduction; it is the natural corollary of the financial measures of last year for the reduction of interest on the National Debt, but I think that we might fairly expect that a reduction made to the richest class in Ireland should also be extended to labourers. I understand that for this to be done it is not necessary to have a Bill at all, and I think now we may expect some assurance on this point. I understand that the money borrowed for artisans' dwellings is obtained at a lower rate of interest than labourers can get it for the erection of their cottages, and I think the least we can expect is that these classes of loans should be put upon an equality. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may raise an objection on the ground of the difference in time of repayment, but I think something may be urged for the humbler and more necessitous class. I would point out, too, that the reduction to labourers would also mean a benefit to landlords, because landlords pay rates on rents under £4, and half over £4. Still, I know the substantial reduction would be for the advantage of the labourers.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I should like to ask what is the explanation of the difference proposed in the money to be given to the Scotch Fishery Board this year from the amount last year?

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: I really do not see why the Irish landlords should have the interest on the loans they have obtained from the Crown reduced when they did not reduce their rents in proportion to the depression in agriculture.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

*MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): On the Second Reading of the Bill we raised the question of loans for labourers' cottages, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he would have to consider this question in connection with loans for artisans' dwellings and other loans. I have since ascertained that loans for artisans' dwellings in England are made at 3⅜ per cent, but in Ireland for loans of the same class the rate exacted is 4 per cent.

MR. SEXTON: The interest exacted by the Irish Board of Works has had a very prejudicial effect on the erection of houses for National School teachers in Ireland. There are 9,000 of these National School teachers in Ireland, but as yet only about 600 dwellings have been erected. It is sad to see that men, and women too, have to walk in all weathers a distance of four miles or more twice a day between their homes and the school. A reduction of interest on loans for the erection of these buildings would greatly stimulate the work, and there is no class which more deserves all facilities that could be extended to them.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I think it is only fair that in Ireland we should have at least as advantageous terms as those extended for artisans' dwellings. Surely these advances for healthy, clean cottages for labourers are in the nature of loans for sanitary purposes. If the Secretary to the Treasury will consider the question, I think he will come to the conclusion that these loans might very well be made at a lower rate than 4 per cent. I think we ought to get them at 3 per cent. We should be able to get the money for this purpose at the lowest

possible rate so as to cover the Treasury from loss; and considering the rate at which the Government obtain money and the security offered, I think 3 per cent would do that.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): Several points have been raised, not all, I think, relevant to the clause before us; but there is one point which has scarcely been noticed by hon. Gentlemen, and that is that in lending money the Government must look to the security as well as to the needs of the borrowers. It does not follow that poorer classes should pay a lower interest unless they can give a better security.

An hon. MEMBER: They want less money.

*MR. GOSCHEN: But the question of security is not affected by less money being required. I do not urge this as against Ireland particularly; but it would, I think, be impossible to reduce the rate to any considerable extent without serious prospect of loss. I hope we shall avoid controversy on the point as regards Ireland particularly. The proposal in the Bill does not rest on the reduction of the rate of interest on the National Debt, but on the fact that we think, in this matter, some concession is due to the landlords whose rents have been largely reduced by the action of the State. The landlords have a special claim, and I am glad that hon. Members from Ireland do not, at least strongly, object to that claim. In dealing with the labourers' claims they ought not to be compared with the landlords' claims, but with the cases of loans for similar objects elsewhere than in Ireland. Since the question was last raised, I have been engaged in examining the Artisans' Dwellings Act and other Acts of the kind to see what could be done with regard to advances for labourers' cottages in Ireland. But a problem of this kind cannot be settled in a day or two—busy days, too, as they have been since the point was raised. Each concession raises a number of claims for other concessions, and therefore it is necessary to consider the proposal in its bearing on other proposals, to which, if adopted, it might give rise. It is not necessary to have a clause in this Bill to effect the object hon. Members have in view, as the Treasury have power to reduce the interest on the loans for labourers' cottages. With regard to artisans' dwellings loans, the interest is $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent only when the money is repaid in 20 years. The interest is $3\frac{1}{4}$ or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for a longer period. It is true that in the case of loans for labourers' dwellings there is the security of the rates, but in the English Act it must be remembered that you have the security of the houses themselves as well as the rates. It is on that account that the Royal Commissioners recommend that the reduction should be made. I wish to approach this subject in a benevolent spirit, and if I can see my way, without injustice, to make some reduction, I shall be glad to give the matter my most favourable consideration. I cannot, however, make a promise in the matter offhand. I hope what I have said will be, in the main, satisfactory to hon. Members. I do not see that any reduction that is made should go straight into the pockets of the labourers. There are other people equally deserving of consideration; but, as I have said, I will undertake to consider the matter.

*MR. MURPHY: The right hon. Gentleman has not touched on the point I raised, namely, the disparity between the rate of interest on loans for the erection of artisans' dwellings in England and for a similar purpose in Ireland. In England the rate is $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, whilst in Ireland it is 4 per cent. I do not want any pledge from the right hon. Gentleman at this moment, but I ask him to look into this disparity. It should be borne in mind that not one single shilling has ever been lost in connection with these loans in Ireland.

*MR. GOSCHEN: I will undertake to make inquiries on the point, and if there really is a grievance I will see whether it admits of remedy.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I would point out that in a former year the Fishery Board in Scotland granted £11,000 in loans to fishermen. The loans for next year are, however, estimated at £25,000. I wish to know what is the reason of this increase?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I may explain that power will be given under the Bill to grant loans up to £25,000. The sum need not be expended unless circumstances re-

quire that the power should be exercised. Because £11,000 has only been spent in one year it does not follow that more may not be required in another.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: I think there is ground for complaint that in the case of English landlords the rate of interest charged on loans is not to be reduced. The argument of the Government is that the rate should be reduced for Irish landlords because their rents have been reduced judicially. But English landlords have reduced their rents voluntarily to an equal, if not greater, extent. Because of their own motion they have done what is fair and just no favour is shown to them. Land in England is quite as good security as land in Ireland. [*Cries of* "Order!"] English landlords have reduced their rents by 25 per cent, yet the interest paid by them is not to be lowered. [*Cries of* "Question."]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the hon. Member cannot discuss the question of the rate of interest charged to English landlords, as the clause refers exclusively to the case of Ireland.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: The clause does not appear to apply altogether to Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN: It refers to landed proprietors in Ireland alone.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge): I desire to point out that I think it is somewhat hard that landlords who have borrowed money after the year 1881 should be excluded from the proposed benefits of the Bill. Immediately after the passing of the Land Act of 1881 hundreds of landlords in Ireland borrowed money in times of great distress with the object of doing the best they could for their small tenants and labourers. So far as I can see, you exclude those landlords. If this class of borrowers are not permitted to share the benefits to be conferred by the measure, I think great injustice will be done to a body of men who deserve better treatment. I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the words of the clause are or are not intended to exclude a class of loans of a particular kind? If they are not, I shall raise no further objection.

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Gentleman is right in assuming that the clause is intended to limit the Bill to loans not which were made before 1881, but which were sanctioned before December 31, 1881. The Bill will, therefore, apply practically to the cases of loans granted during the next two or three years, because, as the hon. Member no doubt is aware, loans are sanctioned some considerable time before they are granted.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

*MR. GOSCHEN: I move to omit Clause 5, in order that it may be re-cast and made to apply to future loans only. It has happened that loans made to tenants upon their personal security only have been lost. This has happened when tenants have been evicted, or have left their holdings, the State having no right to redress from the landlords. The object of the Government is to attach liability to the landlord in such cases. The principle of the clause when enacted will be that the State shall not fall between two stools.

Motion made, and Question proposed "That Clause 5 stand part of the Bill."

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I do not understand the distinction the Chancellor of the Exchequer draws between existing loans and future loans. In the case of a future loan, as I understand it, it will be competent for the tenant without any privity on the landlord's part to give up the property, and, therefore, the landlord may or may not become liable for the loan. I do not think there is any difference in principle between the past and the present in this matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says that in future the landlord shall have notice of a loan before it is made to a tenant. I presume he does not mean that the landlord shall have the power to veto a loan.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: I hold that it would not be fair to saddle the holder in fee with an obligation that may have been contracted by a tenant without the landlord's sanction or knowledge. The clause as it stands is an attempt to reverse a decision of the Court of Appeal in Ireland, and I am

therefore in favour of leaving it out of the Bill.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It seems to me that we have got into very shallow water. A wide question has been opened up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I examined the Paper this morning to see if there was any proposal on it by the Government for the alteration of the Bill. There was none; but now it seems the landlords are to be able by evicting the tenants to grab all their improvements. ["No, no!"] Yes, that is so. My suggestion is this—the loan is granted in the dual interest of the landlord and tenant. ["No, no!"] Well, assume that the tenant is granted a loan on his own security. The State think that they should have the security of the landlord, too. Now it is proposed that if the landlord evicts his tenant, the State is to be at an entire loss and the landlord at an entire gain.

*MR. GOSCHEN: The omission of the clause will leave the law precisely as it stood before.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Yes, but that is the very thing we object to. The tenant borrows, say, £500, and builds a house with it; the tenant is evicted; the landlord becomes the owner of a house for which he has never paid a farthing, and the State loses its money. This is a defect in the law which this clause has been proposed to remedy, and I cannot conceive that it is inequitable to say that if the landlord takes over the property, he should also take over the liability to pay for it. The decision the hon. Member opposite has referred to is not material—it is the principle which is material. The point is that at present the landlords, by evicting the tenants, thereby become possessed of the property which has been created by State money, and that without the State having any lien upon it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admits that, and he admits that there should be some change in the law which will make a distinction between what he calls present and future contracts. He says that the principle of this clause should only apply to future loans. I say that that is a distinction which cannot be defended. Why should the provisions of this clause apply to future loans, and not to past loans? Future loans as well as past loans will be made solely to tenants; they will, therefore, be made without the landlord's privity and consent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says they will only be made after notice to the landlord; but what is the good of notice to a landlord if the State cannot interfere? Does the right hon. Gentleman say that in the future no loan shall be granted to a tenant without first giving notice to the landlord, and giving him a veto in the matter?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): The enactment of this clause would not confer the slightest benefit on the tenants in Ireland, nor would its omission have the effect which hon. Gentlemen opposite anticipate. If it is omitted, the law will simply be left as it is. The objection to the clause is that it would interfere with existing contracts in such a way that when the attention of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called to it he saw at once that it would be unfair to persons who were not parties to the original transaction.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The hon. and learned Gentleman's remarks remind one of the famous direction once given to a Solicitor General for Ireland, to speak for a quarter of an hour and say nothing. The hon. and learned Gentleman cannot defend the proposition of the Government. In the past landlords have been able to steal the improvements of the tenants and the money of the State, and the proposal now made is that they shall be allowed to remain in possession of their plunder. The Solicitor General for Ireland says the omission of the clause will leave the law as it is and will do no harm to the tenant. Does it not give the landlord a temptation to evict? Is it not an invitation to evict? I am surprised that without notice to anybody this attempt should be made to drop the clause, especially as the Second Reading of the Bill was practically passed *sub silentio*, the only speech delivered on it being one by myself. We will not stand by and see the State swindled in the interests of the landlords and see an additional incitement given to the landlords to evict. I am amazed that such a proposal should have emanated from the Government.

MR. SEXTON: I must say that this affair has an exceedingly ugly aspect. Whilst, on the one hand, the Government have stimulated evictions, in Ireland, on the other, if this clause be omitted, the landlord will be tempted to proceed with evictions because he will not be liable to repay to the State the advances expended in improving the holding. It appears to me quite clear that there is a conspiracy in progress. I never in my experience heard such a proposal made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is supposed to be the guardian of the interests of the State. The whole proceeding has been exceedingly furtive. It was only by chance that the nature of this proposal was discovered, and I say this clause must remain in the Bill. If the State lends money to be spent on a holding and the tenant is evicted, the land should be liable for the repayment of the taxpayers' money which has been expended. I protest against this proposal, and, to begin with, I move, Sir, that you report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

*MR. GOSCHEN: Really, I think hon. Gentlemen opposite are making a mountain out of a mole-hill. If the clause be omitted, the whole matter will remain open for future legislation. The only objection I take to the section is that it is retrospective, and therefore it will be unfair. There is really nothing surreptitious in withdrawing a clause which is contrary to a principle which is generally accepted in this House, namely, that measures should not be of a retrospective character. I trust that hon. Members will not think that any bargain has been made between the Government and anybody else in the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is useless arguing with us. We will not give in on this point. I regard the proposal as one of the most monstrous that has ever been made. I say the tenants will suffer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot discuss the merits of the clause on the Motion to report Progress.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I recognise that, Sir John Gorst, and, therefore, will not do so. Certainly, if ever a Motion was justified, it is a Motion to report Progress to enable the Government to bring forward alternative proposals. We have been kept here very late for several days. The Speaker has been kept here very late, and the officials of the House and everybody concerned are practically in a state of exhaustion. Under these circumstances, we have sprung upon us a proposal which we regard as striking a death-blow at the tenant's interests. I shall oppose it to the uttermost. I was going to leave for Ireland to-night, but I will stop here and give up my engagements in Ireland for next week rather than see the clause struck out of the Bill.

*MR. GOSCHEN: If we can remedy the retrospective character of the clause that is all we desire. We will consent to report Progress, and I will endeavour on Monday to see whether we can deprive the section of its retrospective character.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES NOTIFICATION BILL (No. 293.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. SEXTON: We have been here through a most fatiguing week. We were here till nearly 3 o'clock this morning, and the present Sitting has lasted more than seven hours. Does the Government think that there is no limit to the physical endurance of Members? I, for my part, cannot consent to going on with this Bill. The important business of this Sitting has already been transacted.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): There are five pages of Amendments down——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has not moved anything.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Ritchie, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I would point out that this Bill was read a second time with the universal assent of the House. It has a most important bearing on the public health, and it is extremely desirable that it should pass into law as soon as possible. The Amendments are practically limited to three points, and the great majority of them hang one upon another. The first point is whether or not the Bill should be made compulsory; the second is whether the medical men should make the notification, and the third is whether the measure should apply to Ireland. At the request of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton) the Government considered the question of applying it to Ireland, and, with the view of meeting his wishes, they have put an Amendment on the Paper. If he does not desire it, the Government have not the slightest desire to press that Amendment. We propose to accept an Amendment which will make the Bill generally compulsory, and the whole matter is therefore reduced practically to the question whether or not medical men should have the obligation cast on them to send in a certificate. In view of the fact that the Bill has met with the approval of Members in all quarters of the House, I trust we shall not lose another year but that we shall be permitted to go on with it.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: There is not, I believe, a single medical man in the House now, and they are all most deeply interested in this question. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), the hon. Member for Hackney (Sir W. Guyer Hunter), and others were anxious to take part in the discussion, and none of them are present. I move to report Progress, in order that the measure may be discussed at a reasonable hour.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Halley Stewart.*)

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I trust the Committee will allow the Bill to proceed.

MR. SEXTON: It will take too much time.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: If it is approached in a reasonable manner it is not likely to take up much time. It is a matter of great importance to the health of the country, and there is already abundance of business for transaction on Monday. We cannot postpone the Bill till Monday without running great risk of losing the chance of passing it.

*MR. MURPHY: The Irish Members are unanimously desirous that the Bill should be extended to Ireland as a permissive Bill; but I understand the Government are going to accept the proposal to make it compulsory. Personally I see no objection to that; but I know there is a difference of opinion on the subject on this side of the House.

MR. RITCHIE: I understand that there are circumstances in connection with Ireland which would make a permissive Bill more acceptable there than in England or Scotland, and I would therefore suggest that Ireland should not be included in this Bill, but that a Bill on permissive lines should be brought forward with reference to Ireland next year.

MR. SEXTON: If we bring forward an optional Bill will the Government facilitate it?

MR. RITCHIE: I am not able to say without having seen the Bill; but certainly any Bill which proposed to re-enact the provisions of this Bill in regard to Ireland in a permissive form would, I have no doubt, receive the support of the Government.

MR. SEXTON: What does the First Lord of the Treasury say?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am willing to meet the right hon. Gentleman in any way, but I must be very guarded about giving a positive pledge.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman opposite can hardly expect us to consent to his proposal without having time for consideration, but I will give it full consideration. A Bill in the form of that now before the Committee would certainly be considered.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The time has arrived when we certainly ought to drop business. There is a long list of Orders on the Paper. Are we going to sit here till past midnight? The Government, of course, will say they have been here as long as we have, but they are Cabinet Ministers, and they have all the honour and glory of it. It is only reasonable to ask that the Motion to report Progress should be agreed to.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: Surely the hon. and learned Gentleman can be reasonable. It is not the Government and English Members who have been occupying the time of the House to-day. A large body of English gentlemen who take a great interest in this Bill have been waiting here for seven hours in order to discuss it. Is it unreasonable, under these circumstances, that the Bill should be proceeded with? There is nothing on the Paper after this Order that will occupy any time.

MR. SEXTON: This Bill will not occupy any time, because Members of the House who take the deepest interest in it are absent, and will have been taken by surprise. Most of the Amendments on the Paper stand in the names of Mr. W. McLaren, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Llewellyn, and Sir W. Foster, and they are all absent.

MR. RITCHIE: We are prepared to accept most of their Amendments.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I have been requested to put all Mr. McLaren's Amendments down for the Report stage, as he is unable to be here.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): There are a great many Members who take an interest in this Bill, and who have not put down Amendments because they are content with it in its present form.

MR. M. HEALY: The reasons which have been given for proceeding with the Bill to-night are equally an argument in favour of postponing it till Monday. If it is merely a formality it can be dealt with on Monday just as well as now.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 18; Noes 54.—(Div. List, No. 341.)

Question again proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

Whereupon Mr. T. M. Healy moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair;" but the Chairman, being of opinion that the Motion was an abuse of the Rules of the House, declined to propose the Question thereupon to the House.

Question put, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee divided:—Ayes 54 Noes 18.—(Div. List, No. 342.)

MR. M. HEALY: I wish, Sir, to move the first Amendment standing in the name of Mr. Walter McLaren. The Bill proposes to make the most absurd distinction between London and the rest of England. It proposes that in London the measure shall be compulsory after two months from the date when it becomes law, whereas in the rest of the country it will only come into force upon its adoption by a Sanitary Authority.

Amendment proposed, Clause 2, page 1, lines 8 and 9, to leave out Sub-section (a).—(*Mr. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (a) stand part of the Clause."

MR. RITCHIE: This Amendment is unnecessary, inasmuch as we propose later on to accept an Amendment which will make the measure uniformly compulsory.

*MR. MURPHY: I think it would be better to leave the Bill as it is than to make it compulsory throughout the country.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: When the Bill was read a second time it was not a compulsory but a permissive Bill, and that was the whole argument used in the House.

MR. RITCHIE: The real state of the case is that there has been an unanimous expression of opinion that the Bill ought not to be permissive in any part of the country. The difficulty of an optional Bill would arise in the case of overlapping areas, and the result might be that one Local Authority

might adopt compulsion, whereas the next Local Authority might not. It was in response to an almost unanimous expression of opinion that the Government have consented to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Somersetshire. But they do not wish to make the Bill compulsory against the desire of the House.

MR. SEXTON: The present situation is an illustration of the difficulty of proceeding with the Bill in the absence of the hon. Member who has placed Amendments on the Paper. In the absence of the hon. Member we are not able to say whether or not the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman will be satisfactory.

MR. RITCHIE: I think that the hon. Gentleman who has moved the Amendment has misapprehended the scope of the Bill as it stands. It proposes to make the Act compulsory in London and partly so throughout the country. The reason why it is proposed to make it compulsory in London is obvious. There are 20 or 30 different Central Authorities, and if one Authority adopts the Act and another does not the Act itself would become absolutely useless in the district in which it was adopted. If the hon. Member who has moved the Amendment desires to strike out the compulsion in London and make it optional we must leave it to the House to decide what shall be done.

MR. SEXTON: I should like to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, in these circumstances, it is possible to go through the Amendment Paper at this time? The same difficulty will arise on every Amendment, and it will, therefore, become our duty to divide the Committee.

MR. M. HEALY: This clause as it stands draws a distinction between London and the rest of the country. It proposes that in London the Act shall be made compulsory, and that it shall come into operation within two months from its passing, whereas in the rest of the country it is only to come into operation when it is adopted by the Local Sanitary Authority, at whatever date that may be. I think it is most unfortunate that we should take into consideration an Amendment of that kind under existing circumstances; and in the absence of hon. Members most interested, I do not see any reason why there should be one law for London and another for the rest of the country. I do not apprehend that any serious difficulty would arise from the conflict of jurisdiction, and if there is to be a reform in London why should there not be also a similar reform throughout the country? If necessary, why not entrust the London County Council with the power of enforcing the Act? I should not myself like to make such a proposal to the House, as I am not sufficiently acquainted with the needs of London. But I should like the President of the Local Government Board to explain to the House what Amendments are to be accepted, as I have not had time to master the Amendment Paper.

MR. RITCHIE: There are two points which have been raised: one is the attitude of the London Members as to the position which London occupied in regard to this Bill when it was being debated on the Motion for Second Reading. Now, with regard to that, I am aware that one or two hon. Gentlemen recommended at that time that London should be treated in the same manner as the rest of the country. But they have since withdrawn their opposition, and have informed me that they are prepared to assent to London being dealt with as proposed in this Bill. The Amendments in the name of the hon. Member for Somersetshire (Mr. Llewellyn) the Government, if so desired, will accept, and they will make the Bill apply equally throughout the country.

*MR. MURPHY: I do not think the Government are justified in making the Bill compulsory in face of the opposi-

tion of hon. Members present, and in view of the fact that none of those hon. Members who have Amendments on the Paper in that direction are not here to propose them. If the right hon. Gentleman will leave the Bill as it was originally introduced, leaving it optional to the Local Authority to adopt the Act, I do not think he will meet with any considerable objections.

MR. SEXTON: This clause obviously raises the whole question whether the Bill shall or shall not be compulsory. As the Government have expressed their willingness to act in accordance with the wishes of the Committee, I think the time has now arrived when hon. Gentlemen should give an indication of what their opinion is. So far as my Colleagues are concerned the Representatives from Ireland desire to have an optional Bill.

MR. RITCHIE: The Government look upon the Bill as of such importance that they desire it to become law without delay; and if the right hon. Gentleman who last spoke is prepared to say that he and his friends will accept the Bill as it stands, the Government are so impressed with the great importance of the measure that they will be willing to make terms with them, on the condition that the Bill is allowed to pass.

MR. SEXTON: Then all I can say is that if the Local Authorities are given the option of enforcing the Bill, my hon. Friends will withdraw from further opposition.

MR. SUTHERLAND: With regard to the effect of the Bill in Scotland, I wish to point out that provisions of a similar nature are already in operation in that country.

MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); After the declaration we have received, I think it is hardly right in the absence of hon. Members who are interested in the measure, and understood that it was to be compulsory, for the Government to turn round and make it optional.

MR. TOMLINSON: The feeling of hon. Members on this side of the House is that the Bill is so important that it ought to be passed, either as a compromise, or as a permanent measure. It ought to be passed in some form or other.

*MR. MURPHY: I have no objection to make to the passing of the Bill in the form in which it was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman, and I would suggest that the operation of the Act in this form might be tried for a short time as a tentative measure, and if it was found not to be working satisfactory, why then a short Act might be passed next year making the Bill compulsory, which I would then willingly support.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 2 agreed to.

On Clause 3,

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I desire to propose an Amendment to this clause, providing that the notice shall be given by the nearest "adult" relative. If the word "adult" is not inserted, I think the responsibility may in some cases be thrown on persons on whom it should not fall.

Amendment proposed, Clause 3, Subsection 1, before "relative" insert "adult."

MR. RITCHIE: I am afraid I cannot accept that Amendment. It must be perfectly obvious to the hon. Gentleman that there may be brothers or sisters under age in law, but still of a sufficient age to be capable of giving the notice, and I think it would be extremely disastrous to relieve persons of that age of the responsibility.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: But surely you will not throw the responsibility on a person under age and impose a penalty of 40s. in such cases. I do suggest that the Amendment I have proposed would not materially interfere with the effectiveness of the Bill.

Amendment put, and negatived.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I have another Amendment which I wish to

submit, and I think it will make the clause more clear.

Amendment proposed, Clause 3, line 24, after "becomes aware," to insert "as soon as he reasonably can."

MR. RITCHIE: I can assure the hon. Gentleman that these words are quite unnecessary. Any person not giving notice until he becomes aware will, of course, be amply protected. The efficiency of the Act depends on the promptitude with which notice is given.

*MR. MURPHY: I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the Amendment is quite unnecessary, and I hope it will not be pressed.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. J. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): There is an Amendment to this clause, in my name, which I wish to press, although I fear that it has not much chance of being accepted. I think it will be admitted that the Bill, if carried, will effect a great reform, and be of considerable advantage. It provides that certain notices shall be given to the authorities when disease breaks out, and I desire that in such cases notice shall also be given to the head master or mistress of any elementary or higher school which is attended by a child belonging to the family in which the disease has broken out.

Amendment moved, Clause 5, insert—

"Also of the head master or mistress of any elementary or other school, whether or not in the receipt of a Government grant, at which such patient or any person residing in the same building may be in attendance."—(*Mr. J. Kelly.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. RITCHIE: I assure my hon. Friend that these words are not at all necessary. The details are provided for by other regulations which are not inserted in the Bill. The towns which adopt the provisions of the Act will have power to make rules and regulations which will cover all these cases.

MR. KELLY: I think it is of the utmost importance that this provision should be inserted in the Bill, and I should like to give the Committee one illustration of the importance of giving this notice. In a Grammar School with which I am acquainted a boy attended as usual after fever had broken out in his home, and in two days no less than 11 of the scholars were attacked, and death resulted in one case. Surely it would be the most simple thing in the world when a person is sending a notice to the Local Authorities to write and send a duplicate to the schools which his children are in the habit of attending. It would not do to leave it to the medical attendant, for he might not be aware of what schools the children attended.

Amendment put, and negatived.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I beg to move, in Clause 3, page 2, to leave out from "applies" to end of line 10, and insert the words—

"Give a certificate to the head of the family or other person who appears to him to be primarily liable to give notice under the Act, stating the name of the patient and the infectious disease from which, in the opinion of such medical practitioner, the patient is suffering."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. RITCHIE: This Amendment raises the question of a dual notification. The question is, shall the notice be given by the medical attendant, or by the head of the family, or by both? If it be true that the head of the family will make the proper notification then surely there can be no difficulty in laying the duty also on the medical attendant; but if, on the other hand, the head of the family would not, then surely if the Bill is to be effective it would only be right to insist that the notice shall be given by the medical attendant.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I feel I am labouring at an enormous disadvantage to-night owing to the absence of my hon. Friend the Member

for Ilkestone, but I should like to point out that the casting of this duty on the medical attendant might create suspicion between him and the head of the household in cases where great commercial interests are at stake. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that he has opinions in favour of the duty falling on medical men from those engaged in he profession in all parts of the country; but may I suggest that those opinions come from Medical Officers of Health, and not from private practitioners, who, as a rule, are opposed to this proposal. The case which I put before the Committee is this: The disadvantage which attach to the dual system of notification is that you call in a medical man to advise in cases of illness, and immediately, instead of his being the private attendant in the domestic interests, he is called upon to notify formally to the public Authority the existence of infectious disease. Having studied the statistics which have been prepared by an eminent medical authority, I have come to the conclusion, although I am in favour of the Bill, that there is no distinct advantage gained by the dual system, so far as the diminution of disease is concerned, in those towns where the system has been tried. If the dual system be of the advantage the right hon. Gentleman contends it is, there would certainly appear in the towns where it has been tried, not only a corresponding improvement, but a special improvement. But it is distinctly otherwise; the diminution of disease in those towns is actually less than it is in towns where the single notification system exists, and actually less than in towns where no notification at all exists.

MR. RITCHIE: I have seen the figures, and they seem to me to be for all practical purposes of comparison absolutely worthless. To have figures which are of value we must have parallel conditions, and there are no parallel conditions between the various towns.

MR. H. STEWART: I understand it is beyond dispute that the Government do not intend to make this Bill compulsory, and that being the case it will be open to any Local Authority to refuse to accept it. I will, therefore, not press the point further.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Other Amendments made.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) BILL (No. 312.)

As amended, further considered.

*MR. MURPHY: In the absence of my hon. Friend (Mr. Flynn) may I ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is prepared to accept the Amendment standing in my hon. Friend's name—namely, to leave out from "pilotage," in lines 29 and 30, to end of section?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I have been in communication with the hon. Member (Mr. Flynn), and I informed him I could not accept the Amendment; but I was willing to leave out the subsection altogether. I have been informed that the hon. Member and his Friends preferred to leave the subsection as it stands.

Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

INTERPRETATION BILL [LORDS] (No. 364.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 4.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE, Plymouth): I beg to move the omission of this clause. A number of Amendments are down on the Paper with regard to it. It is the only clause which has given rise to any controversy, and I have agreed to strike it out, and to accept Amendments which

will carry out to the full the desires expressed by hon. Members from Wales.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 4 stand part of the Bill."

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Are the Government willing to accept my Amendment, that the expression "Wales" shall include the County of Monmouth?

SIR E. CLARKE: I cannot accept that. It would only be necessary in the event of this clause standing part of the Bill.

Question put, and negatived.

Several Amendments agreed to.

Clause 13.

MR. AMBROSE (Middlesex, Harrow): I beg to propose to leave out the words from "whether" to "of." At present the clause makes the Act retrospective as to other Acts; that would be a very bad form of legislation, and extremely dangerous.

SIR E. CLARKE: I am sorry my hon. and learned Friend did not mention this to me before moving it. The matter has been very carefully considered indeed, and if he will look at the sub-section he will find that his objection does not really apply.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Other Amendments made.

Clause 27.

Amendment proposed, page 11, line 15, after "jury," insert—

"In Ireland the expression 'returned for trial' shall include, for the purposes of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, section 1, sub-section (1), a hearing before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction."—(*Mr. Sexton*, on behalf of *Mr. T. M. Healy*.)

*SIR E. CLARKE: I cannot accept this Amendment. It refers to a particular Act of 1887, and deals with a sub-section only, and cannot be accepted as the interpretation of a phrase generally used. It is the alteration of the law in relation to a particular section in a particular Act. It cannot properly find a place in an Interpretation Act intended for the purpose of defining the meanings of certain expressions.

MR. SEXTON: It would be a good interpretation of the law, but I withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 33.

Amendment proposed, line 20, after "prosecuted," insert "before Judge and Jury."—(*Mr. Sexton*, for *Mr. T. M. Healy*.)

*SIR EDWARD CLARKE: I think, if the hon. and learned Member in whose name the Amendment stands were present, I should convince him that the effect of this would really not be that which he supposes, and that it should not find a place in this Act.

Amendment put, and negatived.

Clause agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

New Clause (Meaning of Irish Valuation Acts,)—(*Mr. Sexton*, for *Mr. T. M. Healy*,)—brought up, and read the first and second time, and added to the Bill.

New Clause (Meaning of "be it enacted,")—(*Mr. Sexton*, for *Mr. T. M. Healy*,)—brought up, and read the first time.

*SIR EDWARD CLARKE: I hope the hon. Member will not think it necessary to press this. These words occupy a very small space; they are a time-honoured form, and really I do not see why we should not keep them.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Schedule agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

EDUCATION GRANTS (CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND) BILL (No. 390.)

Read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL (No. 387.)

Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

COURT OF SESSION AND BILL CHAMBER (SCOTLAND) CLERKS BILL
(No. 388.)

Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

DUBLIN HOSPITAL BOARD BILL
(No. 389.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. SEXTON: I find that the constitution of the Board differs in some respects from the Board proposed by the Royal Commission, the recommendations of which Commission this Bill is supposed to carry out. The Commissioners proposed a Board of 12, of which five would be Catholics, and this Bill increases the number to 13, of which five will be Catholics. I would suggest that the Lord Mayor and High Sheriff of Dublin should be made *ex officio* members of the Board. Although the Catholics would still be in a minority, there would be something more like an equation. I object to saddling the Board with responsibility in regard to compensation without limiting their liability. Under the present proposal the sum intended for purely hospital uses would be eaten into by claims for compensation. I think the Treasury should themselves undertake this matter of compensation, and leave the hands of the Board free.

*MR. MURPHY: In the negotiations which led up to the introduction of this Bill, it was understood, and in fact promised, that the Treasury would undertake the compensation of officials. The amount reaches a large sum, though I do not mean to raise any question of its being excessive, and I certainly think it is a question the Treasury should deal with, and not leave the compensation as a charge upon the reduced annual grant, which might thus be whittled down indefinitely.

MR. JACKSON: I should be very glad to carry the Bill through this Session, but I am afraid there is not much prospect of that. As to the question of the constitution of the Board, I hope we may be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion; but upon the question of finance, so far as I am concerned, I have never understood that as regards compensations or pensions there should be any alterations in the present position, but that the total grants under this Bill should take the place of the grants now annually made. It would have been unreasonable for the Treasury to have taken from the proposed Dublin Board the assessment of the compensations. It was only reasonable and natural that if the Board were to be charged with them they should have a voice in the matter. However, I understand now there is no objection to the Second Reading, and between this and Monday, when the Bill will come before Committee, I will consider the two questions raised by the right hon. Gentleman.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLOURS) BILL
(No. 238.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

Amendment moved, Clause 2, page 1, line 14, after "port," insert "and, if 50 tons gross tonnage or upwards, shall also on entering or leaving any British port."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MURPHY: No word of explanation regarding this Bill has ever been given in any of its stages. It appears to me to be quite meaningless and uncalled for to require every vessel entering or leaving a port to hoist a particular flag. This Bill is only calculated to send enterprising or officious naval officers in chase of every unfortunate barge that goes out of the Thames

or elsewhere round the coast and offends against this new regulation. I myself was some time ago the victim of a raid made by order of an officious gentleman of this kind, who sent his lieutenant and crew in a steam launch after a small yacht of mine, which they boarded, and hauled down and captured a flag, which somehow had offended the susceptibilities of the gallant captain, though he had no legal authority whatever for his action. I now beg to move the Amendment to the noble Lord's Amendment standing on the Paper in the name of Sir Charles Palmer.

Amendment proposed, to the proposed Amendment, to leave out "fifty," and insert "one hundred."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question proposed, "That 'fifty' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): It is true that there has been no long discussion on the Bill, but this Amendment has been before the Chamber of Shipping for the last two years, and the President of the Chamber has expressed his approval of it. I have been in communication with Members connected with shipping, and in consequence of the discussions we have had they have withdrawn their objections to the Amendments. We have come to the conclusion that 100 is too high and that 50 would be a sufficient limit to adopt.

*MR. MURPHY: Evidently the shipping Members of this House are the representatives of the larger classes of shipping and have not been in touch with the owners of small vessels. It is easy for large ships to comply with these requirements, as they always have on board plenty of colours and plenty of men to hoist them, but that is not the case with small vessels, which have very few hands and very slender appliances.

Mr. Murphy

*LORD G. HAMILTON: We will take care that the Bill is not made a harassing one to small craft, as the hon. Member seems to fear it will be.

*MR. MURPHY: I am afraid that the instructions which are issued will be of a very ephemeral character, whereas the Act of Parliament is permanent. But I do not wish to press the Amendment.

Amendment to the Amendment withdrawn.

Original Amendment agreed to.

*MR. MURPHY: I now beg to move the Amendment standing in my own name. It is necessary, I think, in order to protect small pleasure yachts. The absence of some such provision is likely to give rise to considerable annoyance.

Amendment moved, Clause 2, page 1, line 15, after "colours," add—

"Provided that this section shall not apply to any yacht or boat used wholly or partly for pleasure."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*LORD G. HAMILTON: It would be impossible to accept these words. Every yacht of under 50 tons burthen will be exempted, but there are pleasure yachts of 60 tons and 100 tons, and I think the hon. Gentleman will see the necessity of including them. I may say I should not have brought this Bill forward at the end of the Session if there had not been practical agreement between myself and the fishing and yachting interest on the matter.

*MR. MURPHY: Would the noble Lord accept the Amendment if applied to yachts and pleasure boats if not exceeding 100 tons?

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I am afraid that would make an invidious distinction between pleasure boats and boats used for purposes of trade.

*MR. MURPHY: I understand the noble Lord means to make an exemption in the case of fishing boats. The Amendment I propose would be no more invidious than his own proposal.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: Fishing boats are registered as letters of marque under the Act of Parliament and pleasure boats are not.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Other Amendments agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

STEAM TRAWLING (IRELAND) (RE-COMMITTED) BILL (No. 335.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): Seeing that there is considerable difference of opinion with regard to this Bill in Ireland, I think it would only be reasonable to our constituents and ourselves if it were not taken to-day. I beg to move that the Chairman report Progress.

*MR. MURPHY: Before that Motion is put I would point out to my hon. Friend that the effect of his proposal, if adopted, would be to kill the Bill for the Session. For my own part I do not desire to kill it but only to move Amendments to it. I would rather see it pass in its amended shape than see it dropped altogether.

MR. MADDEN: The Bill will go sufficiently far in the direction of stopping steam trawling without the Amendments. Half a loaf is better than no bread; therefore, I trust that the Bill may be allowed to go on. The Fishery Inspectors will have power to stop steam trawling where they think it should be stopped. I may say that the reason the Bill is introduced is that the effect of the Scotch measure may be to send the steam trawlers over to Ireland from those parts of the Scotch coast where steam trawling is prohibited, and it is deemed desirable to be prepared for their coming. The Bill will enable the Fishery Inspectors to stop steam trawling as distinguished from other trawling. If the Bill is not gone on with now it will be impossible to pass it this Session. I believe it will be a useful Bill so far as it goes.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

MR. BIGGAR: It seems to me that there will have to be some discussion on the details of this Bill.

MR. MADDEN: As there is considerable difference of opinion with regard to the measure, perhaps the best course would be to agree to the Motion for reporting Progress.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL (No. 281.)

Order for Consideration read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST, Chatham): If the hon. Member opposite (Sir G. Campbell), who has an Amendment down, objects, I will not go on with this Bill to-night.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Several Members on the opposite side of the House have Amendments on the Paper.

SIR J. GORST: They have withdrawn them. The Bill has only one clause.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Yes; but I do not want it.

SIR J. GORST: I think we should go on with the Bill.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I will only again repeat my objection to the Bill. I do not think there is any real necessity for it, its object being to reduce the number of the Council of India, and alter the constitution of that Council.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot deal with the general question now.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR G. CAMPBELL: If I am to understand that Gentlemen who have Amendments down have withdrawn those Amendments, and that it is with their consent that the Bill is now proceeded with, I will not attempt to delay its progress.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I do not know whether the Amendment on the Paper standing in the name of the hon. Member for North Kensington (Sir R. Lethbridge) will receive greater favour from the Government than that which I have placed on the Paper. I think it should not be left to the Secretary of State to reduce the number of the Council. I beg to move the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for North Kensington.

Amendment proposed, Clause 1, page 1, line 5, leave out from "may" to "fit" inclusive, and insert "shall on the occasion of every alternate vacancy in the Council of India."—(*Sir G. Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

SIR JOHN GORST: This would, if agreed to, compel the Secretary of State to make an appointment on the occurrence of a vacancy. The Bill leaves him a discretionary power, which, I think, is preferable.

Question put, and agreed to.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to propose, in line 7, to leave out "ten" and insert "twelve." We have been told that the question has often been discussed whether the Council should consist of 7 or 10 or 12, or 15 or 24, but the wisdom of Parliament in 1858, after a long discussion, settled the number at 15. I cannot see why it should now be reduced to 12.

Amendment proposed, Clause 1, page 2, line 7, to leave out "ten" and insert "twelve."

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Question."

SIR J. GORST: The reason why 10 was selected was that the Council was in favour of reducing the number to 10. If 10 is sufficient for the Council we have no right to impose on the Revenues of India any additional salaries.

Question put, and agreed to.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to propose the new clauses I have placed on the Paper. I shall not press them, but I wish to have the proposal put on record.

Bill reported, without Amendment.

SIR J. GORST: I beg to move that the Bill be read a third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a third time."—(*Sir J. Gorst.*)

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I have allowed the Bill to go through, because the Government have the power to force it through; but I enter my protest against it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC HEALTH (CHOLERA PREVENTION) BILL (No. 373.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; Bill read the third time, and passed.

POOR LAW BILL (No. 383.)

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House this day, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at half after Nine o'clock till Monday next.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 5.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [SEPTEMBER 3.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 26th August, 1889.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

Lunacy Acts Amendment.

Merchant Shipping (Tonnage).

Prevention of Cruelty to and Protection of Children.

Factors.

Revenue.

Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment.

Palatine Court of Durham.

County Courts Appeals (Ireland).

Arbitration.

Local Government (Scotland).

General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act (1862) Amendment.

Official Secrets.

COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL (No. 238.)

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL (No. 239.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) BILL (No. 240.)

PUBLIC HEALTH (CHOLERA PREVENTION) BILL (No. 241.)

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª to-morrow.

POOR LAW BILL (No. 195.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with Amendments.

PAYMASTER GENERAL BILL (No. 208.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

COURT OF SESSION AND BILL CHAMBER (SCOTLAND) CLERKS BILL (No. 152.)

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL (No. 204.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL (No. 230.)

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 234)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: An Amendment made; and Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow.

LEASEHOLDERS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 231.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3ª to-morrow.

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENTS IN BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL (No 236.)

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, in moving that your Lordships should go into Committee on this Bill, perhaps I may be allowed to state to the noble and learned Lord opposite, as I promised that I would let him know, that I find its provisions are identical with those of the English Act of last Session, and that this Bill merely extends the English Act to Ireland.

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; to be read 3ª to-morrow.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) (No. 2) BILL (No. 235.)

House in Committee (according to order).

*LORD DENMAN: In the Standing Orders to which I referred your Lordships on Friday last it was declared that no Bill should pass without due consideration, and that the fact of a Bill being brought forward near the end of the Session should form no ground for forcing it on. That Standing Order was passed as long ago as the 5th May, 1668. I think this is the most extraordinarily extravagant Bill I ever read, and I have read every part of it. The powers given to the County Council show that this is, in fact, a supplement to the Local Government Bill of last year. Really the Bill for giving money powers to the County Council is most extraordinary. The additions are, in fact, enormous, and for the County Council to have the power of doling out such sums as these seems to me very extraordinary. I would specially point out to your Lordships the power contained in the 18th clause to raise money on bills up to half-a-million of money. This power is to be exercised solely at the discretion of the Local Government Board and the County Council, with the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury. But there is no limit to the rate of interest which those bills may carry, and it may be heavy, as it is possible they may be very ill-received in the Market. I have read this Bill most carefully, and I consider it a most dangerous measure. I am sure that no amendment could make it a good Bill. From the very first I have depreciated the transfer of powers from Bodies which understand their business to Bodies which are inexperienced, and have great ambition and very large views with regard to the expenditure of money. Under those circumstances, I will not move any Amendment to the Bill, though it is perfectly competent to me to do so, and to another place to accept any Amendment. The Bill did not pass in the House of Commons until 2 o'clock in the morning, and a letter appeared in the *Times* strongly protesting against the hurry with which it was passed Mr. W. H. Lucy, in his description of the House of Lords, wrote that I was the only Peer who thought it a serious part of his duty to attend in the House of Lords. I do not wish to be praised at the expense of others, but I really have attended at great inconvenience, and if I am able to throw light upon any Bill I will do so, notwithstanding all opposition. I must say that though, in several instances, I have been alone in my views, this House and the whole country have come round to them. I am not exaggerating in saying this, and I could specify one thing, though it seems to be rather going out of the record, with regard to the duty of an Assessment Committee. A deputation from Chesterfield met at the Bakewell Union all the Guardians. It was said that rent was to be the basis for every rating. With a clergyman, of Brampton, near Chesterfield, I was the only one who resisted the view that that was the law, and it turned out that it was not. What the land would reasonably let at was the true construction of the Act.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): I am not prepared to justify, on abstract grounds, all the provisions of this Bill; but it has been the practice for many years for Government to accept Bills from the Metropolitan Board of Works, and to pass them on their responsibility through Parliament; and, in accordance with that precedent, the Government has done so now with regard to this Bill of the London County Council. I am bound to admit, however, that there are inconveniences in the practice; and in future years I think it would be better that the London County Council should bear the responsibility of its own proposals.

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3ª to-morrow.

COTTON CLOTH FACTORIES BILL (No. 227.)

Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

REGULATION OF RAILWAYS (No. 2.) BILL (No. 229.)

COINAGE (LIGHT GOLD) BILL (No. 233.)

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES) PREVENTION BILL, *formerly* BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN) PREVENTION BILL (No. 192.)

LORD HERSCHELL : My Lords, this Bill, which passed the other House and came to your Lordships' House, having for its object punishing the giving or accepting bribes for the purpose of influencing the action of members or officers of Public Bodies, was amended in your Lordships' House by applying the same penalties to the bribing, or receiving of bribes by, officers under the Crown. The two cases are strictly analagous, and it seemed open to some objection that such acts with regard to officers and members of Public Bodies should be punishable, while the same acts are not punishable as regards persons holding office under the Crown. However, in the other House of Parliament a different view was taken, and the Amendments were disagreed with, on the ground that the changes so introduced very largely extended the scope and operation of the Bill; and though they might properly, if approved by the House, on full consideration form the subject of future legislation, they could not now receive the discussion which their importance required. Under these circumstances, I do not propose to ask your Lordships to insist upon any of the Amendments, which have the object of extending the scope of this Bill to officers under the Crown, and to acts done in relation to them. But there were a number of Amendments made in the Bill with reference to its original scope and purpose, and which are, I think, improvements in it in regard to that scope and purpose, to which the same observation does not apply. I shall, therefore, ask your Lordships to insist upon those Amendments, upon the ground that the reason given by the other House does not appear to have relation to them.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I quite concur with the noble and learned Lord that it would not be desirable to insist upon those parts of the Bill which extend it to all officers of the Crown. In fact, the Bill in itself is rather drastic, and will depend for its action upon the interpretation which may be given to the adverb "corruptly," which has not yet received a very large amount of judicial interpretation. I only rise for the purpose of saying that I hope one of the Amendments will be insisted upon, as the noble and learned Lord proposes, in the 7th clause, as it left this House—namely, that the consent of the Attorney General shall be necessary for the purpose of instituting prosecutions under this Act. I think that is a very necessary precaution, particularly in cases where injury might be done to people's characters, sufficient ground being shown for a prosecution.

LORD HERSCHELL: I am quite prepared to accept that. Certainly I have no objection to it; but I may say that I have conferred with those who have had to deal with the Bill in the other House, and I understand that considerable objection was taken to that provision.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I have had some communication with the Leader of the other House on the subject, and he offered no objection.

LORD HERSCHELL: I do not doubt that if the Government support it in the other House the matter will go through if we insist upon it. I should not like the Bill to be endangered.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: No. I understand that the Attorney General rather demurred originally to the insertion of that clause in the Bill without his having been consulted; but I do not think there is any objection on the ground of policy.

Commons reason for disagreeing to the Lords Amendments considered (according to order): Some of the Amendments to which the Commons have disagreed, not insisted on; others insisted on; and a Committee appointed to prepare reasons for the Lords insisting on certain of their Amendments: The Committee to meet forthwith.

POOR LAW BILL (No. 195.)

Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES) PREVENTION BILL, *formerly* BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN) PREVENTION BILL (No. 192.)

Report from the Committee of the reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords insisting on certain of their Amendments; read, and agreed to; and a Message sent to the Commons to return the Bill with the Amendments and reason.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, August 26, 1889.

BREWERS' LICENSES.

Copy ordered—

"Of Return relating to Brewers' Licenses (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 428, of 1888)."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 345.]

EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Ordered—

"That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the Revenues of India, be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House."—(*Sir John Gorst.*)

Resolved, "That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into the said Committee."

ROYAL ASSENT.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went;—and being returned;—Mr. Speaker reported the Royal Assent to a number of Bills [see page 461.]

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND.)

Address for—

"Copy of Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Argentine Republic respecting the recent disappointment of intending Emigrants from Ireland."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

POLICE (EXPENSES).

Order [5th August] for presenting Address for Return relative thereto read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

"Police (Expenses),—Address for Return of the Cost of the Police in each of the Boroughs of England and Wales having, according to the Census of 1881, a population of over 100,000 inhabitants, for the year ended the 29th day of September, 1888; in each of the Boroughs of Scotland of similar population for the year ended the 15th day of March, 1889; in the City of London for the year ended the 31st day of December, 1888; and in the Metropolitan Police District and the Dublin Metropolitan Police District for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1889, giving in each case the following items, in Columns numbered as below":—

1. Name of place.
2. Estimated population in 1888.
3. Rateable value.
4. Acreage.
5. Estimated number of inhabited houses.
6. Length of streets, squares, &c., in miles.
7. Strength of Police Force—namely, (a) Average daily number employed at private cost; (b) Estimated daily number employed in ordinary Police duties, including all detectives, Court duties, &c.
8. Gross total cost of police, exclusive of amounts charged against loans.
9. Sums received for special services of both (a) and (b) of Column 7, and from the Treasury for the conveyance of prisoners.
10. Sums paid for rent, rates and taxes, and in erection or purchase of buildings or purchase of ground, exclusive of the amounts charged against loans.
11. Cost of Police, less the two preceding items.
12. Superannuations and gratuities other than those paid out of the Superannuation Fund.
13. Amount of Government Grant towards pay and clothing.
14. Number of Police employed in ordinary Police duties per £10,000 rateable value.
15. Number of population to each officer in Column 7 (b).
16. Number of acres to each officer in Column 7 (b).
17. Number of inhabited houses to each officer in Column 7 (b).
18. Number of miles to each officer in Column 7 (b).
19. Cost of Police in Column 11 per pound rateable value.
20. Cost of Police in Column 11 per inhabitant.
21. Cost of Police in Column 11 per acre.
22. Cost of Police in Column 11 per inhabited house.

23. Cost of Police in Column 11 per mile.
24. Cost of Police in Column 11 per constable employed in ordinary Police duties.
25. Cost of Police in Column 11 per constable employed in ordinary Police duties, less the cost of superannuation deficiency (Column 12).
26. Cost of Police to the Local Rates, being the difference between the amounts in Columns 11 and 13.
27. Cost of Police in Column 26 per pound rateable value.

And, in the case of Dublin only, giving particulars of any local or incidental charge paid over to the Exchequer as an extra receipt beyond the amount of the Police Rate given in Column 26."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

QUESTIONS.

INDIAN UNCOVENANTED CIVIL SERVANTS.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether it is true, as stated in a recent telegram from London to India, that an Uncovenanted Civil Servant in the Public Works Department, Madras, has won his test case against the Government, and has obtained the concession that his leave allowances are to be paid in sterling?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): It is not the case that anyone has brought or won a test case against the Government of India. The Secretary of State has resolved that the Civil Servants from Cooper's Hill of the years 1871 and 1872 shall receive further allowances in sterling, because their agreements contain the statement that "all payments made under these presents shall be made at the rate of 2s. to the rupee."

SIR R. LETHBRIDGE: Are the Civil Engineers of 1871-72 the only classes of officers who are to receive the benefit of this concession from the Government?

SIR J. GORST: If my hon. Friend requires any further information I must ask him to be good enough to put a question upon the Paper.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES IN INDIA.

MR. HENRY J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what was the ratio of admissions for venereal disease among British troops in India' and also among Native Troops, during the first four months of 1888?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Among British troops 349 per 1,000. I have no information as to Native troops.

In answer to a further question by Mr. H. J. WILSON,

SIR J. GORST said: No Report has been made up with regard to Native troops.

IRELAND—CASE OF MICHAEL MORONEY.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain why Michael Moroney, who was arrested within a quarter of a mile of his own house on his way home from Crusheen, but a half-mile distant, on Sunday night, 18th instant, was detained in the police cells, Cusheen, till 5 o'clock next morning, and then taken on foot into Ennis, eight miles distant, where he was detained in the police barracks until 11 o'clock, and then discharged without being brought before a Magistrate, or any charge whatever being preferred against him; and what was the reason of this conduct on the part of the police?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Constabulary Authorities report that Moroney was not arrested on the night of the 20th, but on the night of the 18th inst. He is a noted suspect of the district, and was arrested on suspicion of having taken part in an attack made early that morning on the houses of four farmers, which were fired into, and also four stacks of hay burnt. He was only detained at the barracks until he could be brought before a Magistrate. The nearest available Magistrate was Mr. Hodder, R.M., Ennis. The case was reported to him, and he ordered the man's discharge.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): This man was arrested at 11 o'clock in the evening and kept in custody until 11 o'clock the next morning. If the police suspected him of having committed any offence, had they any evidence to warrant their suspicions?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware. I have given all the information I have.

MR. LEAMY (Sligo, S.): I understand from the reply of the right hon. Gentleman that the police reported the arrest of this man to the Magistrate, and that the Magistrate at once ordered his discharge. Why was he not taken before the Magistrates?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is possible that when the police reported the arrest the Magistrate ordered the man to be discharged without having him brought before him. I did not gather that to be the fact, but it is possible.

THE KILDYSART BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been drawn to a paragraph in the *Evening Standard* of 22nd instant, in which it is stated that—

"At a full meeting of the Kildysart (County Clare) Board of Guardians to-day, a number of policemen entered and stationed themselves round the room. On being asked their business, they replied they were there on duty in obedience to superior orders. Asked if they expected a riot, they replied they did not;"

whether this statement is true; if so, by whom were the superior orders given; and will he take steps to prevent future trespass on the premises of the Guardians by the police, and to preserve inviolate their rights and liberty in the transaction of their legal business?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that a number of labourers attended the meeting in question in connection with a scheme under consideration for the erection of labourers' cottages. Two policemen were sent on patrol duty to the neighbourhood in case any disturbance might arise. No order was given to the two policemen to enter the building. They left immediately when their presence was objected to.

THE OLPHERT ESTATE.

MR. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on the morning of Tuesday last, six of Mr. Wybrant Olphert's emergency men, with the bailiff Cunynghame, accompanied by 14 men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, visited a townland on the Olphert estate, in Donegal, and proceeded at once to shovel turf which had been cut by the people of the adjoining island of Innisboffin into the swamp, so as to prevent the islanders, who are tenants of Mr. Olphert, from raising the turf again; and on what grounds the Royal Irish Constabulary were enabled to assist the emergency men in this work of destroying the tenants' turf?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It appears that the bog in question is the property of Mr. Olphert. Some of the islanders were convicted and fined in December for damaging it by removing turf therefrom. Notwithstanding this, the islanders have renewed their illegal conduct, and Mr. Olphert did take the steps indicated in the question to prevent it. The police did not assist in the matter. They are the ordinary protection party which it has been necessary to provide for the men employed by the landlord on the estate, and their presence was only in that capacity.

CROWN PROSECUTION AT LURGAN.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the prosecution by the Crown of Sergeant Byers, charged at the Lurgan Petty Sessions recently with having fired several shots at three fishermen, named John Campbell, James Robinson, and John Robinson; can he explain why District Inspector Bigley, whilst conducting the prosecution, refused the assistance of Mr. J. G. Menary, the solicitor for the fishermen, present in Court, and finally entered the witness-box to give evidence for the accused; has his attention been called to the evidence that the statement of complaint made to Head Constable Green was given by the Police Authorities to the solicitor for the accused, and by him used against complainants; did the Sessional Crown Solicitor take any part in the prosecution; and, if not, will he state why?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that Mr. Bigley did not refuse the assistance of Mr. Menary, and that as a matter of fact the latter did aid in the prosecution by suggesting questions and examining and cross-examining the

witnesses. After the termination of the evidence for the prosecution, Mr. Bigley was required by the Court to give evidence as to the state in which he found the ammunition of the accused. His evidence was limited to that fact. The statement taken by Head Constable Green was produced in Court and used by the solicitors on both sides. The Bench consisted of nine Magistrates. The case was dismissed. I have no report on the last paragraph, but will make further inquiries if the hon. Member will repeat the question.

In reply to further questions by Mr. BLANE,

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said the charge appeared to have been a frivolous one.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

MR. BLANE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the total honours gained at the Royal University Examinations, 1889, by the University Colleges of St. Stephen's Green and Blackrock; the total honours gained by the Queen's Colleges of Galway and Cork at the same examinations; and the total cost to the State of each College?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: So far as I can ascertain, the honours gained by students at the Royal University Examinations, 1889, were as follows:—University College, Stephen's Green—First-class, 9; second-class, 26. University College, Blackrock—First-class, 7; second-class, 8. Queen's College, Cork—First-class, 3; second-class, 9. Queen's College, Galway—First-class, 3; second-class, 12. In addition to the foregoing, at the matriculation examinations there were obtained by the students of University College, Stephen's Green, 2 first-class and 4 second-class honours; by the students of University College, Blackrock, 8 first-class and 17 second-class honours; and by Queen's College, Cork, 1 second class honour. The Queen's Colleges do not, it appears, prepare, as a rule, students for matriculation in the Royal University. The cost to the State of each of these Queen's Colleges is between £8,000 and £9,000 a year. The Stephen's Green and Blackrock Colleges receive no direct aid from the State.

MR. BLANE: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that the total honours gained by the University Colleges of Stephen's Green and Blackrock were 50, whereas those gained by the Queen's Colleges of Galway and Cork were only 19?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now answering his own question.

PERPETUAL PENSIONS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any and what steps have been taken to give effect to the Treasury Minute, July, 1888, relating to Perpetual Pensions?

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The work of the Treasury has been too great to allow me to give to each case the full attention which I consider the matter deserves. I will, of course, deal with the matter now that I have more leisure, and will consider it in the Recess.

MR. BRADLAUGH: May I take it for granted that during the Recess the matter will be investigated?

*MR. GOSCHEN: No time will be lost in looking into the whole question.

THE NEW GENERAL POST OFFICE.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham): I beg to ask whether it is true that Messrs. Brass and Sons are the contractors for the new Post Office, and whether that firm is making arrangements for the sub-letting of the working and fixing of the stonework; and, if so, whether he will take steps to put an immediate stop to the introduction of the sweating system in this Government contract?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigtonshire): Messrs. Brass and Sons are the contractors for the new Post Office; but there is no reason to believe that they are making arrangements for the sub-letting and fixing of the stonework. The granite is sent from the quarries in Cornwall ready worked, according to the usual practice, and the setting will be done by Messrs. Brass's men. The Portland stone has not yet been ordered.

FEVER IN THE DUBLIN BARRACKS.

GENERAL FRASER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if it is the case that, between the first week in July and the present date, the number of cases of enteric fever in the Dublin Barracks has increased 300 per cent; and, if so, what measures it is proposed to adopt to remove the troops from such insanitary quarters?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Up to the end of June in the present year the number of cases of enteric fever, both in the Royal and in the Richmond Barracks, fell far below the number last year, and especially in the former. In July there was a fresh outbreak, I am sorry to say. My hon. and gallant Friend asks what measures it is proposed to adopt. He must surely be aware that the whole of Richmond Barracks and Royal and Palatine Squares in the Royal Barracks have been evacuated. Will the House forgive me if in the shortest form I enumerate the principal measures taken? It appeared probable that some of the cases arose, not in any barracks, but in the guard-rooms at the Bank, the Castle, and Mountjoy Prison. These are not under the War Office; but measures have now been taken to remedy the serious sanitary defects which were found there. At the Royal Barracks, Mr. Field's Report was generally favourable to the sewerage system. But it has been decided to give up Royal Square as a barrack, and to utilise it for stores only. Palatine Square, where great want of ventilation existed, has been improved by demolition of part of the buildings, and by sanitary improvements over the whole. Certain improvements have also been effected in Cavalry Square, though there has been no recent case there. At Richmond Barracks the drains have been reported as somewhat old-fashioned, and, in part, defective; but it was not possible to say whether typhoid fever could be attributed to them. The works of improvement are being actively carried on, as well as the subsoil drainage which was recommended. Other improvements have taken place in Ship Street and other barracks, and the water supply in all cases has received very careful attention. The House, therefore, will see that much has been done, and although, owing to the state of the river, I despair of eradicating enteric fever altogether at present, I can assure it that I will spare no pains in taking the necessary precautions.

MR. SEXTON: As the right hon. Gentleman has attributed the prevalence of fever to the state of the river, I desire to ask whether he will use his influence with the Government to obtain for the Corporation of Dublin a drainage loan?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I shall be very glad, as far as lies in my power, to co-operate with him in any way to produce a better state of things there.

MR. MAC NEILL: Are not the troops at present under canvas in Phœnix Park under circumstances of great discomfort, and ought they not to be properly housed?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: It is the first time I have heard that in the summer months troops have found it disagreeable to be under canvas.

COMPULSORY RETIREMENT IN THE ARMY.

GENERAL FRASER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the senior Majors of Line Regiments, who are second in command of their battalions, will be compulsorily retired at the age of 48, whether these officers occupy the same position and perform precisely the same duties as those who were formerly appointed second Lieutenant-Colonels, but who are not liable to retirement until the age of 55; and if there is any reason why the senior Majors now serving should not in justice have the same advantage extended to them?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: The senior Major in a battalion performs practically the same duty as the second Lieutenant-Colonel who was created in 1881 and abolished prospectively in 1887. As a Major he has to retire at 48 years of age, having been exempted from the obligation which previously held of retiring on the completion of seven years in the ranks. The preamble of the Royal Warrant expressly bars any vested interest in the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and the senior Major is as well off at least—if not in most cases much better—than he would have been if the changes of 1881 had not taken effect. His retention to 55 would pro-

bably involve the compulsory retirement of other Majors.

THE ZULU CHIEFS.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the allegations made on behalf of the Zulu Chiefs recently tried before the Special Commissioners, he will suspend final decision until Parliament has had the opportunity of considering the Papers which he has promised shall be presented?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The course suggested would involve the detention of the prisoners in their present prison for a lengthened period. and Her Majesty's Government can give no further assurance than that the prisoners shall be treated with the utmost leniency consistent with what may be determined to be the true character of their offences, and with the safety of Zululand. Care will be taken that they are not treated harshly or vindictively.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Is there any truth in the rumour that it is contemplated to send any of these chiefs to St. Helena?

BARON H. DE WORMS: I must ask for notice of that Question.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I can only say that if any such step is taken, I shall feel it my duty to raise the whole question on the answer to the Address next Session.

BILLETING OF SOLDIERS.

MR. SEAGER HUNT (Marylebone, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is prepared to inquire into the amounts allowed to the owners of licensed premises for the board and lodging of soldiers billeted upon them, and for foraging horses, with a view to ascertaining whether it is possible for a licensed victualler to comply with the Act without incurring a loss?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I answered a similar question two years ago, and pointed out that the sum paid to an innkeeper for a soldier's billet was fixed in 1873, after a very full inquiry by Lord Cardwell, since which time the price of provisions has fallen by more than 30 per cent. As regards horses, they are provided in billets with exactly the same rations as the Government provide for them in barracks. The innkeeper receives considerably more than the average contract price of the forage rations. I do not therefore think that any further inquiry is at present necessary. Only one complaint has been received recently, and that was from an innkeeper who has protested against being struck off the list of billets.

THE CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury to state whether the question of restoring the Saturday half-holiday to Civil Service Writers has received the attention promised by him on the 22nd of November last; whether he can now announce the decision arrived at with regard to renewing a privilege which has been allowed to them for a period of 15 years, but which, some time ago, was under Treasury Circular withdrawn from them; and whether the paragraph in the Treasury Minute issued on the 22nd of August, relating to the Saturday half-holiday, applies to writers as well as to the Upper and Lower Divisions of the Service?

MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir; the question has been considered by the Treasury, and it has been determined to allow an alternate Saturday half-holiday to the writers.

THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE FOUNTAINS.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he is aware of the generally foul condition of the water supplied to the fountains in Trafalgar Square; whether it is a fact that the source of supply is a well in the rear of the National Gallery, and that the water, which may be termed bilge water from the pumping engine, falls by gravitation to and from the fountains, forwards and backwards, the same water doing service for a long period; whether from the well itself, water is supplied to several of the Government Offices; whether, seeing that most of the wells of London have been condemned, and are now no longer in use, there are periodical examinations of this particular water, so as to insure its fitness for

human consumption; and with reference to the fountains, whether, seeing that the main of the Chelsea Company, with adequate pressure, is in close proximity, it would not be an economy to contract for a supply of pure water; and whether, seeing that public meetings are no longer allowed to be held in the Square, Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of converting it into a public garden, in a manner similar to that of Parliament Square?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The water supplied to the fountains in Trafalgar Square is not generally in a foul condition. The ordinary source of supply is from the artesian well at the back of the National Gallery, and the water used for the purpose is the condensed water (not bilge water) from the engines of the pumping station in Orange Street, which falls by gravitation to and from the fountains; but this supply is supplemented whenever required by water from the Chelsea Water Company's main. Water is supplied from the artesian well in question to the Royal palaces and public buildings in the West-End, and from repeated analyses it has been found to be of excellent quality. It would not be economical to contract with Water Companies for the supply required for the palaces or public offices, nor, if it were so, would the water supply be purer than that obtained from the artesian well. I will mention the suggestion in the hon. Member's last paragraph to the First Commissioner.

IRELAND—DERRY GAOL.

MR. MAC NEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a Falcarragh prisoner named Connor is at present ill in the hospital of Derry Gaol; and whether, before his removal to the hospital, he was detained for four days in a flagged basement, all the while suffering from chest disease?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The General Prisons Board report that there is no prisoner named Connor in Londonderry Prison. Assuming that prisoner Daniel Cannon is referred to, the medical officer reports that this prisoner is at present in hospital convalescent from an attack of bronchitis. He first complained on August 15, and was the same day removed to the prison hospital. He was not detained a single day in his cell suffering from chest disease.

MR. SEXTON: I see that Dr. O'Farrell has gone again to Derry. Will he inspect the prison?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; Dr. O'Farrell has not gone to inspect the prison; the inspection will be made by somebody having special technical knowledge.

DR. TANNER.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on the 29th ultimo, Dr. Tanner, M.P., was severely injured in Tipperary by being thrown from an outside car on which he had been placed by the police, and which was being driven at a gallop; and, who is responsible for the occurrence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that the horse was not being driven at a gallop nor at a furious rate. The horse, when rounding a corner, swerved upon some women and children setting up a cheer and waving handkerchiefs, and Dr. Tanner, standing up on the footboard, either jumped or fell off the car. So far as the police are aware he received no injury, nor did he make any complaint there or subsequently in Tipperary.

MR. SEXTON: Is it the fact that Dr. Tanner, who was sitting on one side of the car, and a policeman who was sitting on the other, were both thrown off and received injury? Dr. Tanner desires to bring an action for damages, and I wish to ask who is to be held to be responsible?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot answer that question off-hand. If Dr. Tanner proposed to bring an action no difficulty will be thrown in his way by the Government.

OUTRAGES IN CLARE.

MR. COX: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how many agrarian outrages, firing at the person or into houses, have been committed in the County Clare since the 1st instant; how many arrests have been made in connection with these outrages; and how many persons have been made amenable?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that since the 1st

instant there have been six cases of agrarian outrage by firing into dwelling houses and one case of firing at the person (agrarian) in the County Clare. There have been 11 arrests made in connection with these outrages, but in one case only has a person been made amenable and returned for trial. In this case some 13 persons were concerned and seven arrests made, but six of these persons were subsequently discharged. In all the cases of outrage active inquiry is being continued and further arrests may be expected.

MR. COX: May I ask whether these alleged outrages did not occur in the districts where extra police were located?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it is very likely. The extra police were sent to districts that were known to be disturbed.

MR. COX: Did not the cases arise after a question had been asked in the House as to when the extra police would be removed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot say; but I have given the hon. Member the dates.

MR. COX: My point is that as long as extra police are kept in the district there will be outrages, for the police will commit them.

THE LAND COMMISSION.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what arrangements the Land Commissioners propose to make for the hearing of fair rent applications in the County Cork during the coming legal year; whether, during the past year, the Sub-Commission working in the County Cork has had 25 Poor Law Unions in its circuit as against an average of 17 Poor Law Unions in the case of other Sub-Commissions; what percentage of the total number of fair rent applications, lodged from the County Cork since the 1st September 1887, have been disposed of per month during the past 12 months; and what percentage of the total number of such applications from the rest of Ireland have been disposed of per month during the same period?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Land Commissioners report that the circuit lists for the coming legal year have not yet been prepared. The Commissioners will make the best practical arrangements in their power for the hearing of fair rent applications, having regard to the claims of the various districts in Ireland. During the past year the Sub-Commission working in the County Cork has had 24 Poor Law Unions in its circuit, as against an average of 17 Unions for the rest of Ireland. The total number of fair rent applications lodged from the County Cork from September 1, 1887, to July 31, 1889, was 6,661. During the 11 months ended July 31, 1889 (the date of the latest Returns), 1,596 cases have been disposed of from the County Cork, being at the rate of 145 per month. The total number of such applications from the rest of Ireland for the same period was 60,607. Of these, during the 11 months mentioned, 16,389 cases have been disposed of, being at the rate of 165 a month per county.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION — THE WITNESSES MULLETT AND NALLY.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now say if the prisoners James Mullett and Patrick Nally were visited by Mr. Thompson, Mr. Shannon, Mr. Walker, or any other agent on behalf of the *Times*, some time before their removal, as witnesses for the *Times* at the Royal Commission; whether each prisoner was brought into the presence of such agent without having been told the name of the agent or the object of his visit; whether this agent promised Mullet and Nally that each

"Would have his liberty, and would be put into a good position besides, if he consented to serve the *Times*";

whether he told Nally that his parents were

"Growing very old, and that they desired to see him before they died,"

and that Nally replied that

"They (his parents) would rather see him a corpse than to know of him swearing falsely against anyone";

whether he is aware that the agent for the *Times* afterwards, in February last, went to Mrs. Mullett, wife of James Mullett, and asked her to use her influence with her husband, whom he had seen,

"To swear what would be beneficial for the *Times*, that it would be of great benefit to her and to him, and that his (Mullett's) imprisonment would then cease at once";

and whether, considering the nature of these allegations, he will grant an independent inquiry by a Committee of Members of this House into all the circumstances in connection with these visits of agents of the *Times* to persons undergoing terms of imprisonment?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not yet received a Report upon this subject, and must, therefore, ask the hon. Member to postpone the question.

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. STACK (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether, seeing that there is direct railway communication between Listowel, Limerick, and Ballybunian, he will arrange for a second delivery of letters daily at the latter place?

SIR H. MAXWELL: In reply to the hon. Member's question, I have to state that the Postmaster General some time since made an offer to the Listowel and Ballybunian Railway Company for the conveyance of mails over their line. This offer was declined by the Company, and the Postmaster General subsequently renewed negotiations; but it is doubtful whether, under any agreement which can be concluded, the number of letters for Ballybunian would be sufficient to justify the expenditure involved in establishing a second daily delivery.

ROYAL ENGINEERS—THE CASE OF EX-PAYMASTER BROWNING.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will grant the inquiry asked for in the Petition of Mr. W. H. Browning, late Lieutenant Colonel and Paymaster of the Royal Engineers at Chatham?

*Mr. E. STANHOPE: No, Sir; certainly not. Ex-Paymaster Browning had a most fair and exhaustive trial, with every possible opportunity of showing whatever there was in his favour. His defalcations were systematic falsifications of his accounts, and extended over many years.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I beg to give notice that on the Appropriation Bill I will call attention to this subject.

INDIAN NATIVE SILK.

SIR R. LETHBRIDGE (for Mr. HARRY DAVENPORT, Staffordshire, Leek): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. Mookerji, a Native gentleman who, after having at the expense of the Indian Government received special training on the subject and been placed at the head of an establishment in India intended to promote the cultivation and preparation of Native silks there, is now employed by private English and Indian merchants, the support and control of the Central and Provincial Governments having been withdrawn; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence which has taken place between the Indian Government and the Governments of Bombay and Madras, and also with the President of the Silk Association of Great Britain and Ireland during the present year, on this subject?

SIR J. GORST: No information has been received as to what arrangement has been concluded by Mr. Mookerji with the Government of India since his return to that country. But the Secretary of State has drawn the attention of the Government of India to the suggestion made by the Secretary of the Silk Association, that experiments with a view to the development of the Bengal industry should be conducted under Government supervision. Papers can be laid on the Table of the House if the hon. Member wishes it.

OVERTIME AT THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether his attention has been called to the alleged prevalence of overtime work among the telegraph clerks at the Central Telegraph Office; and, whether he will grant a Return of all instances of overtime work of such clerks on week days and on Sundays, during two months within the year from 31st July, 1888, to 31st July, 1889, with the number of hours of such overtime work?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I have to say that no representation or complaint as to an excessive amount of overtime in the Central Telegraph Office has reached the Postmaster General in the

ordinary and regular method. There has, no doubt, been a good deal of overtime work owing to the increase of business; but the Postmaster General is not aware that it has pressed unduly on the staff. I am to add that the Postmaster General would be glad to consider with the hon. Member what useful information he can afford him on this subject.

THE IRISH FISHERIES.

MR. PATRICK JOSEPH O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the salmon pass, erected by the Board of Works in the weir-wall on the Shannon at Killaloe, has been approved of by the Irish Fishery Inspectors; whether, before its erection, the Fisheries Inspectors were consulted as to the site of the pass; and whether instructions will be given to Sir Thomas F. Brady and Mr. Allan Hornsby, who are at present engaged in an inspection of the tributary rivers falling into Lough Derg, to inspect said salmon pass at Killaloe, and report to the Government as to its utility or otherwise, and if it has been put down in conformity with the Act of Parliament regulating such matters, and as to the cost of its erection?

MR. JACKSON: I have not been able to obtain information, and I have no power to issue instructions to the Fishery Inspectors.

AFRICA.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Secretary of State has had before him a proposed Crown Charter, now lodged in the Privy Council Office, which would create a great territorial and commercial company to acquire territories north of Bechuanaland, and west of the Portuguese territories in East Africa, and in any other parts of Africa; whether the grant of such a Charter, or any modification of it, has been approved; and, whether Parliament will have an opportunity of dealing with the matter before a private company is enabled to involve the country in great responsibilities?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Her Majesty's Government have decided to grant a Charter to a company which has been incorporated for the purposes of trade and colonisation in the territories north of British Bechuanaland and of the South African Republic. The terms of the Charter have not yet been settled. They proceed generally on the lines of the Niger and Imperial East African Companies' charters; but special provisions will be inserted for securing Imperial supervision over the relations of the company with Native tribes and neighbouring Foreign Powers. Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that the establishment of a powerful company of this kind affords the best prospect of peaceably opening up and developing the resources of those territories, and of securing British interests concurrently with the advance of trade and civilisation. The Charter will not permit the company to acquire any territory without the express sanction of Her Majesty's Government, nor will it supersede Her Majesty's protectorate in Khama's country, or affect the position of British Bechuanaland as a Crown colony.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to give notice that I will call attention to this subject on the Appropriation Bill.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask whether, considering the enormous territory over which Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, and others, ask Her Majesty to grant them a Charter of Incorporation which practically gives them complete government and control, only stopping short of actual sovereignty, over a territory now declared partly under British protection and partly under British influence, with the right of unlimited extension over the rest of Africa, also a monopoly of all the minerals in a country larger than France, Her Majesty's Government will abstain from advising Her Majesty to grant such a Charter until the whole policy of granting such a monopoly can be discussed in the next Session of Parliament?

BARON H. DE WORMS: It is proposed to amend materially the draft Charter originally submitted, and, as amended, it will not give the company any power of government and control, nor permit such powers to be acquired in any district unless the sanction of Her Majesty's Government is previously given after full consideration. The issue of the Charter will not supersede the British protectorate and the British influence in the territories within

which the Company will be enabled to operate. There will be no right of unlimited extension, nor will the Company have any such monopoly as would annul any prior concession which can be shown to be valid. I find on inquiry at the Privy Council Office that the hon. Member for the Lichfield Division addressed a letter to that Department on the 17th inst., petitioning against the grant of this Charter on the ground that it does not recognise an alleged concession to himself. That Petition will be dealt with in the usual course; but it is most important on public grounds that the Charter should be granted without delay, and its issue cannot be postponed until next Session.

SIR J. SWINBURNE: I have already given notice that I shall call attention to this matter on the Appropriation Bill.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT—LIABILITY TO REPAIR FOOT-PATHS AND FOOT-BRIDGES.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether it is the duty of County Councils and of the Highway Boards under them to repair foot-paths and foot-bridges, and to provide accommodation for foot passengers when necessary?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): There appears to be no general obligation on Highway Boards to make separate provision for the passage of foot passengers; but existing foot-paths by the sides of highways are in general to be maintained by the authority which maintains the carriage roads, and in some cases where a foot-path, not by the side of a highway, has, in fact, always been repaired by the Highway Authority, the maintenance of it by the authority would appear to be obligatory. As regards County Councils, their duties would be limited to foot-paths by the side of main roads, and to such foot-bridges as are county bridges.

SUNDAY POSTAL LABOUR IN INDIA.

SIR R. LETHBRIDGE: I wish to ask whether the attention of the Secretary of State for India has been drawn to the statement that the India Government propose to make Sunday a day of despatch for the mails from Bombay, and whether the Government will veto a proposal which will outrage the religious feelings of a large portion of the community?

SIR J. GORST: The question of the day of despatch of the Indian mail from Bombay is under the consideration of the Government of India in India, and no proposal from them has yet been made to the Secretary of State.

THE TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

MR. BROADHURST: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any, and what, County and Borough Councils and Urban Sanitary Authorities have been consulted as to the desirability of passing the Technical Instruction Bill; whether he is aware that the Manchester Corporation have petitioned against it; and whether he has seen letters in to-day's *Daily News* from the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), and from the Chairmen of the Huddersfield, Nottingham, and Spalding School Boards, in opposition to the passing of the Bill at this late period of the Session?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): The hon. Gentleman has had some official experience, and he is aware that it is not the custom for a Government to address Local Authorities as to a question on which the Government have asked the opinion of the House. I am not overwhelmed with the hon. Gentleman's authorities, and the Government, notwithstanding the four letters in the newspapers, still intend to persevere with the measure, which they believe to be of importance to the industrial interests of the country. He draws my attention especially to a letter from the right hon. Member for Sheffield. I am not able to say whether that letter is genuine or not; but I prefer to rely upon the right hon. Gentleman's conduct in this House, where he strongly urged the hon. Member for East Northampton to refrain from opposing the Second Reading of the Bill, and expressed his strong desire that the measure should be passed. It is possible that the hot-water treatment which the right hon. Gentleman is under-

going has altered his opinion on the subject. I am sure that if the right hon. Gentleman had entertained any very strong opinion on the subject he would have returned to this House, and that, in common with those hon. Members who desire the industrial progress of this country, he would have done everything in his power to forward this Bill, notwithstanding the very limited operation which it is proposed to give to it.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): Have the Government received copies of the resolution passed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Manchester City Council condemning one of the proposals of the Bill, and urging that relief ought to be given to the School Boards?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am not aware whether we have or have not received a copy of the Resolution to which the hon. Member refers; but I prefer to rely upon the support of the hon. Members for Manchester, rather than that of a Parliamentary Committee of a Local Authority, much as I respect that Local Authority. I think that the hon. Members for Manchester are better fitted to speak in this House upon the subject.

THE WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL. [LORDS] (No. 354).

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Western Australia Constitution Bill will be taken after 12 o'clock to-night?

*MR. W. H. SMITH: I should wish, in reference to the question of the hon. Baronet opposite, to ask the permission of the House to move to discharge the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of this Bill. I cannot but recognise that the Bill is a very important one in more ways than one. It affects an important community, and it is a measure in which the Australian Colonies take the deepest interest. If at the end of a Session and in a very thin House we were to ask that the Bill should be read a second time we should be scarcely doing justice to a question of this gravity. It is, therefore, more respectful to the colonies themselves, and in accordance with the interests of Western Australia, that I should ask that the consideration of the measure should be postponed until the early part of next Session, when we hope to reintroduce the Bill, and, if necessary, to refer it to the consideration and examination of a Select Committee. I beg to move that the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of the Bill be read and discharged, and that the Bill be withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order of the Day for the Second Reading be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. PICTON: It is well known that this subject has excited much interest in Australia, and unless some progress is made with the measure the greatest difficulties may arise not only in Western Australia, but in other colonies as well. I hope that before next Session the Government will consider the propriety of separating the waste lands from the rest of the colonies. There is the strongest feeling in this country against depriving the poor man of his right to the waste lands in the colonies, and as to the necessity for Home Rule in the colonies in this respect.

*MR. SPEAKER: The question of Home Rule does not arise on this Motion, which is merely that the Order be read and discharged, and the Bill withdrawn.

MR. PICTON: Then I will only express the hope that the Government in re-considering the matter will make a proposal which shall form the basis of a real settlement. I also hope that their proposal next Session will be brought forward sufficiently early to ensure its full discussion.

SIR J. M'KENNA was understood to say that he doubted the propriety of withdrawing the Bill.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: If the matter is to be discussed it would be better that I should withdraw the Motion for the discharge of the Order.

MR. CHANNING: Hon. Members may remember that I have devoted some time to the consideration of matters relating to Australia, and I confess that the delay which has occurred in settling the question is a disappointment. I think the Government in postponing the settlement are incurring very great responsibility.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.): I think the Secretary for the Colonies would have best consulted the interests of the Colonies if he had brought in the Bill at an earlier period of the Session. It

is loudly called for by the people of Australia who have already received Responsible Government, and by Western Australia itself. I think the Government have done anything but treat the Colonies to that respectful consideration to which they are entitled.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: The question is certainly one of enormous importance, and it must be dealt with by the Government at an early day.

MR. BROADHURST: I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will give an undertaking on the part of the Government that the Bill will be re-introduced at an early period next Session, and in this House, so that there may be ample opportunity for discussing it.

*MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Member has failed to observe that I have already given that pledge.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill withdrawn.

IRELAND—CASE OF MR. JOHN POWELL.

MR. PATRICK JOSEPH O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the critical state of health of Mr. John Powell, namely, suffering from congestion of the lungs and spitting of blood, he will order his immediate release from Limerick Gaol?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The General Prisons Board state that the Medical Officer of the prison reports that Mr. John Powell is not suffering from congestion of the lungs, but was on the 19th inst. placed under hospital treatment in consequence of slight blood-spitting, which the prisoner told the Medical Officer he had had several times before.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask whether this unfortunate gentleman is now suffering his third term of imprisonment, at the beginning of which he was only recovering from the effects of his previous detention, and whether this term has been imposed for a letter which appeared in his newspaper during his absence; and whether, in the circumstances, the right hon. Gentleman will not reconsider the case?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot answer the last question without notice, as it refers to the moral responsibility of this gentleman for what appears in his newspaper. But with respect to the statement that Mr. Powell is only recovering from the effects of his previous imprisonment, I am informed that Mr. Powell was better when he was discharged than when he entered.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give notice that when the Address is moved next Session, I shall call attention to the unjustifiable and in part illegal conduct of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and his subordinates with regard to the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland, and that I shall move an Amendment to the Address on the subject.

H.M.S. *SULTAN.*

SIR J. SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Can the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty state whether the *Sultan* has been towed into dock yet?

*LORD G. HAMILTON: No, Sir; I have received a telegram, dated yesterday, to this effect:—

"*Sultan* still afloat off Comino; water not sufficiently reduced to justify moving her. Pumps giving trouble."

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Cotton Cloth Factories Bill, with Amendments; that they do not insist on certain of their Amendments to the Bribery (Public Bodies) Prevention Bill to which this House hath disagreed; but do insist on certain other of their said Amendments, for which they assign their reasons.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.
(No. 350.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): Sir, I beg to move to report Progress. I think after the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the inconvenience of pushing forward the Western Australia Bill at this late period of the Session, we had a right to expect that this Bill would not

be pressed. I would remind the Committee that the Second Reading of this Bill came on very unexpectedly. It had a decidedly low place on the Paper on the Wednesday afternoon, and it came on by mere accident at a time when the majority of the Members specially interested in the subject were absent. Certain protests were made by those who happened to be present against taking it at such a moment. I contend that this Bill has had no Second Reading Debate at all; it was merely a superficial conversation and nothing more. That is not a fair treatment of a Bill which means nothing less than the diversion and distortion of the educational progress of this country from the properly constituted authorities, the School Boards, and to give it to bodies——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member can hardly pursue that line of argument on a Motion to report Progress.

MR. PICTON: I desire to take whatever line you think in order. I think this a Bill of such grave importance and so pregnant with future consequences, that we ought not to proceed with it now. The country has only just begun to understand the meaning of the subject. The School Boards are not in Session at this time; they are taking their holidays. No one will deny the importance of the City of Manchester, in relation to such a subject. Yet the First Lord of the Treasury has endeavoured to minimise the importance of the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee of the Corporation of that City, which is not favourable to the Bill. The Mayor of the City has informed me that that opinion was shared by all political parties in the Council. But at a time when we all wish to hurry on with the Appropriation Bill, and get away to the country in pursuit of health, we are asked to proceed with a Bill of this importance; and no one can tell what irreparable mischief may be done by insufficient consideration. I do ask that this measure shall not be imposed by brute force upon the minority of this House, considering the amount of feeling that exists against it. I beg to move that you report Progress.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

*MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, there can be no question that the large majority of the House anxiously desire that this Bill should pass—a very large majority indeed. Let us go at once to a Division and see who it is that opposes the Bill. We should then ascertain the feelings of the Committee. We are not entitled to consider the opinions of those who are not in that House and who are not attending to their Parliamentary duties. I should be the last person to press a Bill that is not earnestly desired by a very large proportion of hon. Members, without regard to political colour. It is a measure for social improvement altogether apart from any question of religious teaching or other disturbing elements.

MR. MATHER (Gorton): There are Gentlemen on this side who do not want to report Progress. The main objects of the measure have been very thoroughly discussed and analysed during the last two or three years, and I believe that the time has arrived when those who have felt an interest in the promotion of technical education are prepared to pronounce a distinct opinion. I believe the Bill, as it is amended, is capable of doing great good to the country.

*MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): Sir, this Bill, if proceeded with, will inevitably lead to a Debate of a somewhat heated character. The subject is warmly debated in the country, and there is the strongest possible feeling with regard to it among many Local Bodies. The course I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman is to pass a one clause enabling Bill, which would facilitate the subsidising by Local Education Bodies of such institutions as may be scheduled by the Department—institutions with regard to which the burning questions involved in consideration of education do not arise. The right hon. Gentleman by adopting that suggestion would be taking a step that would be productive of good and practical results in the large towns. I do think it unwise at this late period of the Session to press forward a Bill which is bristling with propositions that must result in controversy.

To push it forward because several influential Members on this side of the House are strongly interested in certain institutions is a great mistake in tactics. It would be far better to postpone until next Session the consideration of all these serious controversial topics and issues, and to adopt the suggestion which I have ventured to make of subsidising institutions temporarily for the purposes of technical education. The Government would then be able to bring forward next Session their measure without being under the suspicion of taking the slightest advantage of the minority in respect of these important issues which will have to be settled.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): Though this Bill does not apply to Scotland, I feel myself bound to support the hon. Member (Mr. Picton) in his motion, for this Bill is opposed by many both inside and outside this House, I think it is a matter of absolute loyalty to hon. Members who oppose this Bill to support them in their objection. As I understand the usual practice is to place the Appropriation Bill as the First Order; and I see that the Government have placed this Bill first so that the Appropriation Bill may be used as a lever for carrying this contentious Bill though the House.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Darwen): Sir, this is not the first Technical Education Bill which has been before the House. The Bill received assent on the First and Second Readings, the whole subject has been before the House and the country; and I do not think anybody can really say that the subject has been sprung upon us. I venture to urge the hon. Gentleman not to put us to the trouble of going to a Division, but to allow a discussion of a Bill on which we have shown a very conciliatory attitude.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester): I, on the other hand, hope my hon. Friend will divide the House. When the First Lord of the Treasury was asked whether he was acquainted with the views of the Corporation of Manchester he said he would rather listen to the Members for that City. Now I, as one of those Members, strongly support the views of the Corporation. Their objection to the Bill is that it leaves the care of technical education to other bodies than the School Boards. Wherever School Boards exist this matter of technical education surely ought to be placed in their hands.

*SIR H. ROSCOE (Manchester): I might perhaps say, in answer to my hon. Friend who has just spoken, that it is at least doubtful in my opinion whether the putting of the whole of the secondary or technical education under the School Boards would be a satisfactory solution of this question. It is true that the Parliamentary Committee of the Corporation of Manchester strongly object to certain provisions of this Bill and desire that the whole subject should be left to the School Boards. It is, as yet, a matter of opinion as to whether institutions for technical instruction ought to be placed under the School Boards, and the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction did not recommend it, for in one of their recommendations it is stated that the Local Authorities should be empowered to establish institutions for technical instruction, including agricultural colleges and schools. Half a loaf is better than no bread, and I really think this is a useful measure. I trust my hon. Friend will not divide the House, and I really think it is possible even at this time of the Session to get a Bill which will be of great use in our industrial centres.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (E. Donegal): If I could hope to influence the hon. Member for Leicester, I would urge him not to waste the time of the House at this period of the Session by pressing his Motion to a Division. No doubt it is inconveniently late, but it is never a bad time to do a good thing, and I shall certainly support this Bill, however long I have to remain in the House. It is true that the Bill does not extend to Ireland any more than Scotland, and therefore I am as independent as the hon. Member for Dundee, but in my judgment it will confer a substantial benefit upon this country. We have the whole evening to discuss it, and for my part I deprecate the waste of precious moments. It would be sufficient to Debate the first Amendment.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): Mr. Courtney, the Second Reading of this Bill was taken without the least notice. I think, therefore, that a fair opportunity should be allowed for stating the objections to proceeding with the Bill at this late period of the Session.

If we had had a Second Reading Debate very much time would have been saved on the later stages of the Bill. It is exceedingly unusual for an attempt to be made within five days of the Prorogation to drive a Bill of this kind through by sheer force without any argument at all. Great weight, I think, ought to be attached to the opinion expressed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Corporation of such an industrial centre as Manchester. This is an attempt to force a Bill through against the desire of a large section of the House. There are also many people outside the House who are entitled to be consulted on the subject. The question is so important to the industrial interests of this country that it is most unreasonable to pass the Bill in the absence of many members at this period of the Session. My complaint is that the subject is sought to be jammed down our throats within five days of the close of the Session, and I object to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman that we should go to a Division to test our strength, as if this was a proposition which could be decided by the counting of heads in either Lobby. I hope my hon. Friend will go to a Division.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): Sir, hon. Gentlemen complain of the conduct of the Government in this matter as intolerable. It seems to me that what is really intolerable is the conduct of a very small section in this House who endeavour to obstruct the consideration of a very important measure which has really received the assent of a very large majority of this House. I hope the hon. Member for Leicester will listen to the appeals that have been addressed to him not only from this but the other side of the House, and by the Members for Manchester and the other great cities of the North. I do hope he will listen to those appeals, and allow us to debate the merits of the Bill.

MR. PICTON: Mr. Courtney, I desire to make an explanation. I ought to have said that it was not the present, but the late Mayor of Manchester (Sir John Harwood) who informed me that the Parliamentary Committee of the County Council of Manchester represented all the different sections of political opinion in that body on the subject of this Bill. Now, Sir, though we know our numbers are small on this side of the House by reason of hon. Members having been compelled to leave in search of health, we will take a Division on every important Amendment. Some hon. Members have been compelled to leave, as their health and strength would not permit them to remain longer. The right hon. Gentleman says those Members who are absent show their want of interest, and ought not to be considered. Will he tell me that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) attaches no importance to this subject? He has been obliged to go away on the ground of health. My hon. Friend behind me talks as if we had only to take one or two Divisions and the matter is done.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): Mr. Courtney, I hope that, notwithstanding the very strong expressions that have fallen from my hon. Friend the Member for Leicester, he will permit me to make an appeal to him not to press his Motion to a Division. I admit that the Bill is not all that could be desired; but I must in justice acknowledge that the right hon. Gentleman has frankly recognised the most contentious of the difficulties that have hitherto stood in the way, and endeavoured to find a common standpoint from which a practical measure can be carried. The chief opposition to this Bill is on the ground that it does not entrust technical education to the School Boards, and on this point I think it is very important that the Committee should have their attention drawn to the Report of the Commission on the failure of the Technical Education Act in Scotland. They say that they do not find that the School Boards are anxious to enlarge their sphere of action by making use of the provisions of this Act. Then rather than confess an utter failure, the Commissioners say:—

> "It is probable, also, that the School Boards are anxious to consider this not so much as a separate question, but rather as one belonging to the larger sphere of higher education."

I venture to think there is a great deal of misapprehension about the character of the proposals and the probable effects of this Bill; and by going on with Committee and discussing the various proposals we are much more likely to arrive at a harmonious conclusion than would seem to be possible under the Motion before the Committee. I earnestly appeal to my hon. Friend not to put him-

self in the position of an irreconcilable opponent of a practical measure.

*Mr. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): Sir, the right hon. Gentleman suggested that those who oppose this Bill are not the friends of technical education. I do not think he has any right to say that. I would point out that quite early in the Session the Vice President of the Council said that the Government would not care to take any retrogressive step in reference to the matter, and that he would not go behind what he called the settlement of 1870. We contend that we are bound to oppose this Bill, because you do go behind the Bill of 1870. I was a member of the Sheffield School Board for 12 years, and I know something of the routine of School Boards. I say that School Boards are now practically out of session. Contentious questions are not raised just now, and only routine business is transacted. The Chairman of the Sheffield School Board is conductor of an influential paper in Sheffield, and that journal has been offering every opposition to this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman taunts us with being the minority, but wisdom does not always follow the majority. It is possible we may be wrong; but it is, at any rate, incumbent upon us to oppose what we believe to be wrong. The hon. Members for Manchester are deeply interested, no doubt, in getting money for their institutions. Manchester is a very important place, no doubt, but it does not suit other parts of the country to follow it in this matter; and I earnestly hope my hon. Friend will proceed to a Division.

*Mr. DIXON (Birmingham): I admit this is a very difficult question, and it is very well known that I sympathise very greatly indeed with the opinions maintained by those who wish to prevent the progress of the Bill. No doubt the Manchester Town Council have passed a Resolution against the Bill, and there have been other expressions of opinion of the same tendency, but those are against the Bill in its present shape. As an old member of the School Board, and one who takes a deep interest in this subject, I can say that the Bill, with the Amendments which the Government have promised to introduce, though it will not realise all my hopes and aspirations, yet will be a valuable measure. I agree with the hon. Member (Sir H. Roscoe), half a loaf is better than no bread, and I hope we shall now proceed with the Bill in Committee and make it as good a measure as we can.

*Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): Sir, I rise to point out that the hon. Member for South Manchester signed the Report of the Commission to the effect that the Local Authorities should be empowered if they thought fit to establish technical schools and science and art classes "where School Boards do not exist." That is a very different thing to saying that Local Authorities shall be authorised to establish those schools where there are School Boards. Until School Boards were established, the Local Authorities might be empowered to establish Technical Schools, though that would be for a long time in some cases. The noble Lord the Member for Darwen told us that the conclusions of the Parliamentary Committee of the Manchester Town Council would be promptly disarmed. No disavowal has come from that body yet, nor have they in any way gone back on their conclusions, which were against the Bill. This Bill is very contentious, and it should not be taken at this period of the Session, and we are not unreasonable in asking for the postponement of the measure.

Mr. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): Sir, I wish to point out that many hon. Members have gone away under the impression that a Bill, with so many Amendments down in respect of it, would not be proceeded with. I say that of my own knowledge, though I am not pledging the Government to that statement. Had we been on the other side of the House we would not have proceeded with the Bill because of the time limit which would have been imposed by the House of Lords, where we would have been in the minority. We would not have attempted to proceed with a Bill to which there was objection on the part of a section of the House, and, being on this side of the House, we claim that we are entitled to the same consideration which we would have extended.

*Mr. CAUSTON (Southwark): I appeal to Her Majesty's Government not to proceed with a measure to which there is such a large amount of opposi-

tion at this period of the Session. Many hon. Members who have Amendments on the Paper are absent, after the pledges that have been given with regard to contentious business, from the House, believing, of course, that an important Bill would not be taken to which there were five or six pages of Amendments. If this discussion takes place, I ask the right hon. Gentleman when the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill will be taken? No hon. Member is more in favour of promoting technical education than myself; but I think that it is scandalous to take a measure of the importance of this Technical Education Bill at so late a period of the Session.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury): Sir, I stand in the same position that I occupied on the Second Reading; and my reason for going into the Lobby with my hon. Friend the Member for Leicester is simply that I object to rushing legislation. For the last fortnight we have had a rushing of business in a manner which is not at all conducive to good legislation, and totally apart from the question at present at issue. I would vote with any hon. Gentleman who tries to prevent this rushing of legislation. This Bill which is of vital importance to the industry and commerce of the country ought certainly to have found a place amongst the Bills introduced early in the Session. If this question could be kept over until the last days of August, why can it not be kept over for a few months more when we can have a full discussion upon it? We may be told by the hon. Member for Hanley (Mr. Woodall) that we do not know the Bill as printed. I admit we do not. And we do not know what Bill we are going to get from another place. I should like to know from the hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Mather) and the hon. Member for Hanley how many Amendments will be made in another place, and whether any Amendments we may make here are certain to get safe and sound through the House of Lords. We are really called upon to submit to a political confidence trick; we are to shut our eyes and find what will be given to us. I take the deepest interest in this measure, and desire that it should be thoroughly discussed. I totally object to the attempt to rush through a Bill of the first importance at this period of the Session.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I shall certainly vote against the Motion to report Progress, but I would not have intervened in this discussion but for some words which fell from the hon. Member for the Holmfirth Division (Mr. H. Wilson). The hon. Gentleman seemed to wish Irish Members to understand that they would get into discredit in the country if they voted for this Bill proceeding. I am bound in answer to that to say I have received a special appeal from my constituents to support the passing of this Bill on the understanding that the Government accept the Amendments which they have stated they do accept, and that they accept them on behalf of this House, and of another place.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 18; Noes 98.—(Div. List, No. 343.)

*MR. CHANNING: I beg to move to leave out "A Local Authority" in line 5, page 1, and insert "A School Board, or, where there is no School Board, any other Local Authority as hereinafter defined in this Act." I would like to draw attention to the last few words of the Amendment. "Hereinafter" of course refers to my own Amendments to the definition clause by which I expressly exclude Boards of Guardians from the authorities. The Committee will at once see that what I propose is, that the School Board shall be the authority, where it exists, for the provision of technical education in its own district, and that it shall only be in default of action on the part of the School Board that action shall be taken by another Local Authority, or that where there is no School Board another Local Authority shall act until, as I hope, we set up Educational Authorities to deal with educational issues in every district of the country. I am sorry there was no reply made in the discussion on the motion that the Chairman do leave the Chair to my suggestion that the Government should frankly confine the Bill to subsidising educational institutions which are distinctly for secondary education, and which lie entirely beyond the sphere of the chief controversy in which the educational world has been engaged for

so many years. I hope the Government have not lost sight of that suggestion. I think it is a suggestion of some practical value, because I am of opinion it would be very advantageous if we could limit the Bill expressly to the work of secondary education in which the burning issues may not be raised. No one underrates the great urgency of the question of technical education. It is demanded by the manufacturers, by the agriculturists, and it is demanded by the present character of our education. The present character of our education in elementary schools, the pressing want of manual and technical teaching in those schools, constitutes one of the strongest reasons for urging on any Government or House of Commons the duty of placing this question in the hands of authorities elected by the people and specially interested in seeing that technical education is given to children. But what have we in this Bill? We have an ignoring of some most important points. Why, may I ask, in a Technical Education Bill, is there no reference to the very first recommendation of the Royal Commission on Technical Education — namely, that there should be some employment of the great endowments now standing at the disposal of the Charity Commissioners for this purpose. We are asked to make great contributions from the rates for technical education. Why have the Government not thought it worth while to insert some provision for supplementing the rates by some re-adjustment of endowments? Perhaps I am hardly justified in entering into that matter now; but I do protest against the form and the matter of this Bill. It seems to me that the Bill will practically result in a minimum of good and a maximum of friction between the various Local Authorities concerned in education, and in the maximum of interference, within the narrow scope of such a Bill as this, with those great principles which were laid down, as we thought, upon a solid basis nearly 20 years ago. We are reminded that we have had Technical Education Bills again and again before the House. It seems to me that, as we have gone on, each Bill has represented a lower and a worse stage of these proposals. We are offered less in this Bill, and are asked to surrender more, and that is just the point I wish to enforce on the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss the whole Bill at this moment. I understand his Amendment is to make the School Board the authority, and to that he must confine his remarks.

*MR. CHANNING: I was about to show how the Bill affects the position of School Boards. I maintain that the Bill is not so much a Bill for the promotion of technical education as it is a Bill for undermining the position of School Boards before the country. Every one who has read the Report of the Royal Commissioners on Elementary Education knows that the real point aimed at by the majority of the Royal Commissioners, and aimed at also in this Bill, is the removal of the footing upon which the School Boards rest. It would have been perfectly easy for the Government to have avoided this issue; but they have persisted in adopting the scheme laid before the Royal Commission by Sir Francis Sandford, Lord Lingen and other opponents of the School Board system, for undermining, bit by bit, the position of Local Authorities who are elected for educational purposes, and who are therefore alive to the issues which are in the minds of the electors when they vote upon questions of this kind. Just to illustrate the absurdity of this theory I will refer to an election which occurred in the past winter in a large town in the Division of Northamptonshire which I have the honour to represent. There was an election to the School Board, and also an election to the County Council in the town of Wellingborough. Those who are represented by the Party opposite were in a very large majority at the County Council election, but at the School Board election on the contrary, there was a majority of nearly two to one in opposition to the reactionary policy and advocating the most advanced policy in educational matters. I refer to this only to illustrate the point on which I insist—namely, that when you have a School Board election you have placed before the people issues which are wholly different from the issues voted upon in either Local Board or County Council elections. I say that a Local Authority other than the School Board is less

capable of dealing with these educational questions and of representing the popular feeling than the School Board elected by the people to deal with educational matters. My hon. Friend (Mr. Mather) has stated in a letter to the Press that his Amendment does not deprive the School Boards of the power of taking the lead in this matter of technical education; but I say that, even with his Amendment in it, the Local Authority may say whether it will raise a rate or not for technical education, and it will therefore be entitled to prohibit any extension of technical education within its district. The Local Authority may turn its back on the School Board and say, "We will not give you any money." Another part of the campaign against School Boards initiated by Sir Francis Sandford in the Transfer Clause, and I hope the Government are at least disposed to withdraw that part of the Bill because it raises issues of such vital importance, and of so highly controversial a character. At any rate, I do not understand that there will be any disposition on the part of the Government to withdraw one part of the Bill, to which I take the strongest objection, and that is the extension of this provision to the denominational schools. I have for some years been a member of a School Board myself, and have the very strongest belief in the School Board as the proper educational instrument of the future. Last year a distinct proposal was made in the Local Government Act for the suppression of School Boards by enabling a reactionary majority on the School Board to hand over its power to the County Council. My course has been throughout to defend the existence of the School Board as an educational instrument, not only in the present but in the future. I think that the efforts of some of the School Boards with which I am acquainted, such as that of Brighton, to carry out higher education even at the risk of being surcharged have been most praiseworthy, and I think that a Bill which even with the Amendment of my hon. Friend, is certain to narrow the authority and power of the School Board to provide higher elementary education would be most disastrous. The policy should be to encourage the School Boards to go beyond the standards of elementary education, but the whole effect of this Bill, even with the Amendments of my hon. Friend, will be to curtail and to narrow the functions of the School Boards, as has been pointed out to me and to other Members in repeated letters from perhaps one of the most weighty authorities in educational matters in the country, Mr. Lyulph Stanley. There is nothing to prevent the Local Authority under this Bill setting up a school side by side with the School Board for the purpose of giving technical instruction. The Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman has placed on the Paper I gladly admit does withdraw one of the evils pointed out by Mr. Stanley, but it does not prevent this result, that as soon as the children have reached the standard of exemption, which is far too low in the greater part of the country, they can be drawn off into technical schools carried on by the Local Authorities. We are asked in this Bill to adopt this policy instead of handing over the whole system of continuation schools and secondary education to the School Board. I say it is a great and a crying evil to lessen the power of the School Boards to really improve and extend and expand the education of the people, and I do protest against the action of the Government and the action of some of my hon. Friends, who, in their extreme anxiety to secure half a loaf, are really sacrificing a great many educational loaves in the future. I deny that there is any right to sever and mark off technical education from elementary education. Anybody acquainted with the work of the schools of the country and who knows how vitally important it is not to educate children merely in book-learning but to impart also some practical training must be aware of the importance of introducing and carrying out as much technical education and manual as we can in our elementary schools, and also of enabling Board Schools, as far as possible in their own neighbourhood, to adopt a higher, a wider, and a more expanded policy of technical education. Therefore, Sir, I protest against this policy of passing over the School Board and handing over these important functions to a Local Authority which does not sympathise with the people or represent the people in the same sense. I feel it almost a duty which I owe to my right hon.

Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) to contradict in the most emphatic way the opinion expressed most erroneously by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that my right hon. Friend approved the principle of this Bill. In a letter written by my right hon. Friend upon this point to my Friend Mr. Lyulph Stanley my right hon. Friend says, "I like the Bill just as little as ever," and he complains that his emphatic protest, which I listened to in this House, was not reported in the newspapers on the following day. I regard this Bill as a Bill in favour of denominational schools as against Board Schools. It is a violation of the compromise which was arrived at when the Education Act was passed, and it is dealing most unfairly with the House and the country to introduce at this period of the Session so great and important a change. It is a proposal to divert the rates from the Board Schools to the denominational schools, and is thus a distinct re-opening of the controversy of 1870. I have drawn attention to the work of some School Boards in promoting higher and technical education. Those who pay attention to this matter must have read a recent letter from my friend the Chairman of the Nottingham School Board. That Board has incurred the risk of surcharging by giving manual instruction; so has the Liverpool School Board, and so I believe has the London School Board. When we take into consideration the great efforts which have been made by School Boards to introduce among the people a great extension of higher education, our policy ought to be to place increased power in their hands, instead of enabling institutions which simply exist for the benefit of a sect to obtain building grants and access to the rates on false pretences. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 5, to leave out the words "local authority," and insert the words

"School Boards, or, where there is no School Board, any other local authority as hereinafter defined in this Act.—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed "That the words 'local authority' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. Channing

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I think it due to the Committee that I should at once utter a few words in regard to this Amendment. I may say at the outset that in my opinion, if ancient controversies in connection with this matter are not opened up it will be through no fault of the hon. Member. I shall for my own part pursue the policy I have pursued in the past few years, and endeavour as much as possible to avoid these ancient controversies, and to deal with the question from a practical and sensible point of view. The points on which the hon. Member has dwelt are not by any means new points to anyone who has been anxious to deal with this vexed question, the difficulties of which, after much labour, we have not yet been able to overcome. It is on account of this failure that I now have to present this Bill in the mutilated form in which it is, and if there are any proposals in the Bill which tend to rake up ancient controversies they have been inserted under a misconception on my part, because I cannot for the life of me see all the dangers which have been conjured up by the excited brain of the hon. Member. The hon. Member makes a great complaint with regard to the powers given to Local Authorities, and has told us that this clause will cause a maximum of friction and undermine the position of School Boards. As a matter of fact, the Bill proposes to do no more and no less than extend the curriculum now existing in the Science and Art Department at South Kensington throughout the country. This system, with regard to which the hon. Member has conjured up such vague terrors, has existed for many years without one single complaint, or shadow of complaint, being made on the subject of denominational instruction. If this were a Bill to undermine School Boards, there would not be a single School Board existing now, because the system has lived and flourished for the benefit of our commercial community for years and years. What are the facts? I have before me a Return of the number of School Boards, exclusive of those in Scotland, now dealing with these special classes of instruction, and I find that there are 126 Board Schools, teaching in the aggregate 486 science subjects and

65 art subjects. In these schools there are 12,740 pupils being taught science and 5,844 learning art. The total number of Science and Art Schools is 1,993. The total number of scholars under the Department is 109,936 in science and 76,364 in art schools, and of this number only about 18,000 are under Board Schools. Only one-tenth of the whole number of students in science and art are thus being taught under School Boards. Is it reasonable to suppose, as some hon. Members opposite appear to do, that a slight extension of the system under which science and art are taught will break up the settlement of the Act of 1870 and undermine the School Board system? I ask hon. Members to dismiss these vague fears from their minds. The hon. Member says the Government should pass an *ad interim* measure, and only subsidise those schools in connection with which no vexed questions can arise. That course, however, would result in the infliction of injury upon some of the best School Boards that are now conducting science and art classes.

*MR. CHANNING: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to correct his impression of what I said. What I meant was that the aid might be confined to the larger colleges, and that the question of elementary schools might be postponed for fuller consideration next Session.

SIR W. HART DYKE: Well, my reply is that I do not see why these schools should be shut out this Session. There appears to be some fear in the mind of the hon. Member that the Bill will have some restrictive action as regards the present conduct of education by School Boards. I never had any intention of doing anything of the kind, and there are Amendments on the Paper on the subject which I shall be very glad to accept. Neither in the case of denominational, nor in the case of Board Schools, do we wish to retard educational progress. If the Amendment were agreed to we might see a similar state of things in England to what is now witnessed in Scotland, where the Technical Instruction Bill has as yet only been availed of by two School Boards. I do not believe that the effects of the present Bill will spread over any large area of the country, but there are certain great commercial centres upon which it will confer a great boon. There are certain institutions where science and art are taught which are now struggling with difficulties, and which will, I hope, by means of this Bill, succeed in gaining a permanent footing.

MR. BROADHURST: The right hon. Gentleman has not altogether succeeded in removing the doubts and difficulties which have been brought before the Committee by my hon. Friend (Mr. Channing). He has not by any means made it clear that the rate which the Bill will authorise local bodies to raise can in no way be used for sectarian purposes. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman himself is perfectly honest. He believes in what he has been saying. But we all know he has behind him in his Department men of life-long experience, who can see much further than ordinary Members can in this matter how machinery can be used for Party purposes and sectarian objects. It is because we believe that the machinery of the Bill will be set in motion for sectarian and Party purposes that hon. Members on this side of the House are so greatly disinclined to pass the measure at this late period of the Session. If the Amendment were accepted by the Government much of the objection to the Bill would at once disappear. Why does the Government propose to set up for educational purposes a new authority side by side with that which already exists? We must remember that in some parishes where the guardians are the Sanitary Authority the *ex officio* Guardians can overrule the elected guardians. Will it be safe to entrust the interests of education to the hands of bodies of that character? I hold that the Bill without this Amendment will undermine the authority of School Boards, and will be likely to place the elementary education of the country in other hands than those which Parliament has designated. This is almost the most vital Amendment on the Paper, and I am glad to believe that my hon. Friends will successively get up and urge upon the Government the absolute necessity of accepting it.

MR. PICTON: I wish to know precisely what is the number of School Boards which are holding science and art classes?

SIR W. HART DYKE: One hundred and twenty-six.

MR. PICTON: I did not quite understand that part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement, because afterwards he seemed to mention another number. I think the right hon. Baronet the Vice President of the Council is a little hard on the School Boards in this matter, not recognising the difficulties in which they have been placed. They have been very much hampered by the strictness with which some of the auditors have interpreted their application of the rates, and they have been very much hampered as to evening schools, because up to lately they have been required to teach elementary subjects out of the grant for those schools. Again, School Boards can hold Science and Art Classes just like any other school committees can hold them, under the Science and Art Department. Therefore, School Boards have had no special facilities for carrying on this work. The right hon. Baronet says the proposal of the Bill is a very simple one indeed. It is only, he says, to extend the curriculum of the Science and Art Department—I think I am right in quoting him in that way. Well, I may have been wrong in the matter, but I certainly have been under the impression that within tolerably wide limits the Science and Art Department might from time to time alter its curriculum. One would suppose that a mere extension of the curriculum of the Science and Art Department would not require a Bill for the purpose. But this measure does more than that. It enables rates to be levied and public money to be used. Our contention is that it does not give sufficient guarantee that this public money will be rightly used; therefore it is useless to endeavour to explain away the object of the Bill by saying it is only intended to extend the curriculum of the Science and Art Department. The right hon. Baronet says that many points of ancient controversy have been raised by the hon. Member who moved this Amendment, and that he desires to avoid ancient controversy—that the object of the Bill is to avoid ancient controversy. Yes, the right hon. Gentleman's object is to take under a cloak of concealment all that against which we have contended. It is very easy to avoid controversy in that way. Sir, the time left us this week for the consideration of this Bill ought not to be more than sufficient for the discussion of this one important Amendment. It refers to School Boards. These Boards were born in 1870, and it is not usual for institutions, any more than for individuals, to be born full grown. These institutions grew, just as individuals grow, and through the efforts of the Legislature to adapt them to circumstances. We have had a Local Government Bill; County Councils have been established; as yet they have had very little given them to do, but we have been promised that in successive Sessions of Parliament their duties will be extended and more fully defined. So when the School Boards were born into the world they had but little given them to do—only to look after the lowest ranks of elementary education. But the best friends of education looked forward to the time when these bodies, having proved themselves worthy—having been faithful over a few things—might have more responsibilities conferred upon them. It was always felt that if at any time technical and secondary education should be entrusted to an elective body, that elective body would be the School Boards. Now, this Bill cuts short any prospect of the development of the School Boards. It takes from them that which naturally and legitimately falls within their purview, and hands it over to bodies who, for this purpose, are exceedingly inferior. Therefore it is that we object to the Bill in its present form. I would ask the right hon. Baronet and his supporters whether they have any fault to find with the conduct of the School Boards? If they have any fault in the eyes of hon. Members, I know what it is. Hon. Members will say, "They have been too ready to rival denominational schools." If they have rivalled denominational schools, they have done so legitimately by giving a better education at a lower rate. We know that there have been sectarian squabbles on the School Boards; that at times they have been elected for sectarian reasons, rather than educational reasons, but that is owing to a defect in the law which could be easily remedied if the law would remove from the arena of discussion those disputable questions which have often misguided the electors of School Boards. Putting these matters

on one side I challenge Members opposite to say that School Boards have not worked better than might have been expected by their best friends. And the Government now refuse to allow them to have control over this matter of technical education, but propose to hand it over to County Councils, Town Councils, and Rural Sanitary Authorities. Is it in the nature of things that those local bodies should care as much about educational matters as the School Board? They have not the experience of members of School Boards, who, being interested in the work of lower education, are constantly having their attention drawn to the necessity for secondary instruction, or technical instruction, as the case may be. The anxiety of the Local Sanitary Authorities is to give the poor the lowest kind of employment, and to keep them off the rates, and they certainly are not the bodies who are likely to impose a penny rate for technical instruction. It is ridiculous to make light of the difficulties which have been raised by the Parliamentary Committee of the Council of the great City of Manchester. I contend that those gentlemen are likely to understand their own business best; and I am quite convinced that a similar voice would have come from many another Town Council in the country if only time had been given for it. Hon. Members on both sides of the House know that—whatever the reason may have been for it—the whole country had the idea that this Bill was abandoned for the present Session. That is why so little has been said about it in public. The Town Councils, I am persuaded, do not want to have this work thrust upon them. In the case of London, under this Bill the control of technical education will be given to the County Council, a newly-elected body, whilst we have here a School Board which has had 19 years of experience, and has earned for itself the title of "The Parliament of Education." No doubt the County Council consists of men equally respectable and intelligent with the members of the School Board, but whilst the latter are gentlemen especially experienced on matters of education, the former are business gentlemen who are more acquainted with the material than the educational wants of this great city. To intrust the administration of this Bill to the bodies I have referred to is the height of legislative perversity, and I am at a loss to understand what is meant by this spite against School Boards, and this insult which is soughtto be put upon them. In matters of religion Ireland has a right to take her own course, but I appeal to Irish Members to allow the English and Welsh Radicals Home Rule on this subject, which is a purely English one. If this Amendment is adopted the Bill will pass through Committee very easily.

*MR. W. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): As I am one of the Members who voted for the Government in the Division which has just taken place, and who desire that the Bill shall pass, I wish to urge on the Government the desirability of accepting the Amendment. I know there are a considerable number of Liberal Members who are desirous of going on with the Bill; but do not let it be supposed that those of us who take this course do so because we are in favour of this first clause. There is much in the Bill which I regret; but I have supported it because of its principle of giving the money of the ratepayers to support technical education. But when we come to the Local Authorities who are to be entrusted with the spending of this money and the levying of the rate, I do not see the slightest reason why the Vice President of the Council should not support the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman's speech might just as well have been delivered in favour of the Amendment as against it. The right hon. Gentleman gave no reason why the School Boards should not be, at any rate, one of the Local Authorities. If the right hon. Gentleman would allow even that, it would be regarded as a great concession on this side of the House. Let us take, as an example, the School Board of London. Supposing this concession were made, and the School Board refused to levy a penny rate in favour of technical education, it would be right to fall back on the County Council. I have no doubt my hon. Friend who moved the Amendment would willingly accept this suggestion as a compromise. The Amendment proposes that where there is a School Board that Board shall be the sole authority, and obviously the School Board is the best body—so obvious is this that I do not wonder the right hon.

Gentleman the Vice President of the Council has refrained from giving reasons against the proposal. It is surprising that the right hon. Gentleman should have attempted to belittle the Bill by calling it "a continuation of the existing system;" but probably he said that in order to quiet his supporters. The Bill is not a continuation of the existing system. The Science and Art Department can give grants in aid of Science and Art Schools, but they get no money from the rates.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I would point out that provision for a penny rate is already made in connection with the Free Libraries.

*MR. W. M'LAREN: Then I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman, having been under the impression that he had coupled the existing system with the Science and Art Grants. The main fact before the House, however, is that we are going to levy rates for the support of technical schools, and I maintain that the School Boards are undoubtedly the most efficient bodies who could control these schools. I should imagine that a great deal of this money will not go to elementary schools at all, or to teaching, which would be given in elementary school buildings, but probably the larger part of the rates will go to mechanics' institutes and to church institutes, and that is where the denominational element will crop in. Well, the School Boards will be quite as ready to give a grant in aid to a church institute as to a mechanics' institute, provided they do the required work. I do not think the School Boards will be biassed between the two; at any rate, on all School Boards there is a sufficient number of supporters of denominational education to secure that church institutes shall have justice done to them. In Yorkshire, where there are many well-conducted church institutes, giving some sort of technical instruction, I am sure there would be no objection on the part of the School Boards to give grants just as readily to church institutes as to mechanics' institutes, and I can speak with some authority as to Yorkshire, the county in which I used to reside. The right hon. Gentleman used an argument against the School Boards which was scarcely a fair one. He said the Scotch Act has been a failure, for the reason that only two School Boards have applied for power to levy the rate. But the right hon. Gentleman should remember that the Scotch Act does not allow the Boards to subsidise existing technical institutions, but requires them to establish such institutions for themselves. The same thing will not apply to England at all. As to the overlapping of Local Authorities, I should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman would propose to do in such a case as that of Crewe, where there is a County Council, a Town Council, and a Board of Guardians? Any one of these authorities may levy a 1d. rate, and I desire to know how the authority is to be divided. Supposing the Board of Guardians refuses to avail itself of the powers of the Bill, and the Corporation refuses also, the County Council will then be asked to do it. The County Council will be able to levy a rate over the town of Crewe in defiance of the wishes of the Corporation, I suppose? The thing is very complicated, and it seems to me it would be much easier to give the School Board a controlling voice in the matter. Where there is no School Board it would then be well to give the power to the Town Council or some other authority. I hope the strong expression of opinion which has come from this side of the House will not be without influence on the Government.

*MR. GEDGE (Stockport): I am the last person in the world who would be likely to say a word against School Boards, or members of them. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that it would be much better that it should be other local bodies, and not School Boards in whom the administration of this matter should be vested. My hon. Friend the Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) uses hard language against those who do not vote on his side on any question into which he can drag considerations of politics and religion, but I have become so familiar with his method of argument in such cases that it has ceased to have any influence on my mind. It is possible that there are two sides to a question, and for hon. Members to take as conscientious a view of politics and religion as he does himself, without voting with him. If such words as "spiteful" and "insulting" are to be used, it seems to me they would apply with tenfold more force to an endeavour to take this power

from Local Authorities and give it to School Boards, rather than to give it to the Local Authorities and refuse it to School Boards. There are now about 170,000 young persons receiving technical instruction, of whom a tenth receive that instruction from the School Board, the remainder getting it from their connection with other institutions, church schools, elementary schools, and so forth. Surely it would be unreasonable to give the control to that section which is doing but a tenth of the whole work. The hon. Gentleman opposite speaks of the Local Authority being composed of practical men, whereas members of the School Board are men of education, but it seems to me that argument will tell in precisely the opposite way to that in which he uses it, for when we talk of the School Board being composed of men of education, we know that the Board includes a number of ladies, of clergymen and others interested in education no doubt, but in what may be called the literary side of education rather than the practical side of technical education. It is just the practical men of business you want for technical instruction, for they know what is required in their locality, and it would be far better, therefore, to leave the management in their hands than in the hands of the School Board. Why compel nine-tenths of those who are giving elementary technical instruction to put themselves under the control of the School Board? Is it really and seriously proposed that the Midland Institute should put itself under the School Board of Birmingham, or the Yorkshire College under the School Board of Leeds. They would not mind going to the County Council, which would be quite different from putting themselves under a rival authority like the School Board. The School Board of London may be an example for, but they are not an example of, other School Boards. The School Board of London have recognised the good work being done by voluntary schools, and have not sought to interfere with it; but that cannot be said of all School Boards throughout the country, many of them rivals and bitter rivals of the voluntary schools. I can see no good reason why you should put voluntary schools under the control of the School Board. No good reason for doing so has yet been shown. Surely it is fairer to send them to the Local Authority, which is quite as much a representative body as the School Board, and, in fact, in many cases much more so. Certainly they are as much the representatives of the ratepayers. The hon. Member for Leicester says, "Save us from Boards of Guardians." Well, I have a higher opinion of Boards of Guardians than he seems to have, and I think in many instances they compare not unfavourably in their administration with that of School Boards. We must also bear in mind that in such matters the Guardians will in all probability before long be superseded by District Councils—a better authority than Guardians, and at least as good as the School Board, for this purpose.

*MR. WOODHEAD (York, W.R., Spen Valley): Those of us who support this Amendment are not opponents of the Bill. The Vice President of the Council tried to persuade us that the dangers to which we have referred are but the misgivings of our own excited fancies, but they seem to me to be very real. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire has well stated our objections to this part of the Bill, and to the way in which it is proposed School Boards should be treated. Surely School Boards have done nothing or have omitted to do anything which can justify the treatment proposed to be meted out to them. It cannot be denied that the onerous duties that fall upon the School Boards have been performed in the most efficient manner. As a body, School Boards have given no cause, so far as I know, for the distrust of them that seems to have pervaded the minds of the framers of this measure, and the good work the Boards have done is surely a guarantee that if technical education is committed to them they will carry it on successfully. I cannot see that the Vice President has given us any justification for the decided preference which is proposed to be given to other Local Authorities—authorities which are not elected for educational purposes at all, and of which it cannot be said that they have any special fitness for the performance of educational work. This Bill proposes to create a new Educational Authority side by side with that authority under which has grown up the great national system of education in the country. No necessity has been shown for this, but

it has been clearly shown that the adoption of this new system will hamper the educational work of the country. Notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. Member who preceded me, it cannot be contended that County Councils, or Town Councils, or Sanitary Authorities, or Boards of Guardians, can have the same sympathy with the work of popular education as School Boards elected to carry out the work, nor can it be shown that these bodies possess any superior qualifications for carrying out the object of this Bill, which is to provide facilities for supplementing the work of elementary education, the work of the School Boards. The First Lord said he had no knowledge of the existence of opposition to the Bill outside the House, but that does not show the non-existence of such opposition. It is the subordination of the School Board to other Local Authorities which has created so much opposition to the Bill, and this opposition would have been much more generally expressed if there had not been a conviction in the minds of the people that this Bill would not be brought forward at the fag-end of the Session in this manner. The opposition to the Bill evinced by those who have the interest of technical education at heart arises from the embodiment of open hostility or latent dislike to the whole system of School Board administration in the Bill. I support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton, and I hope still that its acceptance may save me from the necessity of moving those Amendments of which I have given notice, and which go in the same direction.

*Mr. H. J. WILSON: I hope, Sir, that before the Amendment is brought to a vote, we shall have a full explanation of the scope of this clause, for I do not think the Vice President has thrown much light on this matter. He devoted a considerable time to the endeavour to soothe our alarms, and to assure us that we could find no ground for many of our apprehensions in the Bill, or that the things we fear are not intentionally in the Bill. It would have been more to the point if he had shown us what the clause really does contemplate. Once more I ask him what is the objection to the Amendment? The clause administers, as we think, a most undeserved "slap in the face" to the School Board system. I have earnestly hoped and worked for years to see the School Board system have greater influence and to take a position equal to that it has in Scotland; but here, where we have a technical education scheme provided, the School Board is not to be allowed to take it up, but is to go for permission to the Local Authority—possibly the Board of Guardians—on the same terms as the smallest denominational school in the district. Let me refer, by way of illustration, to the town in which I live. We have a School Board and we have two Boards of Guardians, the town is divided between two Unions, and each of the Unions comprises half of Sheffield and a portion of the surrounding district. Is it seriously intended that, under any possible circumstances, these Boards of Guardians should be allowed to deal with technical instruction in a town like Sheffield? Why should the farmers representing the surrounding districts have a voice in the settlement of this question in which the town is interested only? Of course, I may be told that the Town Council will deal with this question; but it is on this question of Local Authority that I am anxious to have some explanation. It is not a desirable arrangement. I am anxious that we should not go to a Division without having the benefit of the views of the hon. Member for Edgbaston (Mr. Dixon), whose opinion on this question carries authority. If he is going to vote against the Amendment I hope he will explain to us the grounds on which he does so. As I read the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, the members of that Commission have something to explain as to the difference in the attitude they take up now to that indicated in the Report. We think they have given a clear indication of their opinion that the School Board should have a position of authority which they cannot have under this Bill without such an Amendment as this. The School Board would have no more right of initiative beyond that of the smallest science and art school. The Vice President has told us that a tenth of the scholars receiving science and art education are under the Board School management, and I am glad to find there are so many,

and I am anxious that the number should be increased. But we have a rooted conviction that this Bill is intended to curtail the influence of School Boards in this respect. We should like to have some explanation of the limitations, as to what schools are intended to be dealt with, and if we do not get that we must press this Motion to a Division. Some School Boards have this control, and we want to know are they to be encouraged to persevere, or will you allow another body to step in and discourage them? As things stand, the system by which School Boards could deal with technical instruction might be almost indefinitely increased by a stroke of the pen in the next Code. I am glad the hon. Member has moved this Amendment, and I hope he will carry it to a Division, as a protest against the degradation proposed to be inflicted on the functions of the School Board.

*MR. DIXON: As I have been appealed to personally, perhaps I may at once say why I propose to vote for the Amendment. As the Bill stands, it would take the work of technical education out of the hands of the School Boards. The initiation and control of such education would be given to Town and County Councils. When I tell the Committee what has occurred in Birmingham they will understand why I individually must strongly oppose a system of that kind. After the School Board was formed, a technical school, which we were obliged to call a seventh standard school, was established, and this school, under the Science and Art Department, carried out very excellent scientific instruction; but we were told by the Education Department that we were going beyond our powers, and so instead of being able to extend our work we have been obliged to curtail it, much to the disappointment of the town, and especially of the working classes, by whom our efforts were much appreciated. We went to the Education Department, where we received encouragement and hope for legislation on the subject. For years we have been striving to get a Bill passed through Parliament to enable us to perfect our work, but now we are met by the present Bill, which says that the School Board shall have no power to develop the work they have been doing in Birmingham, and that the work shall be given to Town Councils which know nothing about it. I do not mean to say that the Town Council of a great town like Birmingham would be against technical education. Nothing of the kind. But the position is this—the Council have 14 or 15 Committees, each eager to spend more for the development of the work upon which it is particularly engaged, and for the benefit of the town, and the Town Council very naturally are under pressure from the ratepayers to keep down expenditure. There have even been ominous expressions of opinion that the School Board precept should be cut down. So from the first there would be an indisposition on the part of some of the members of the Town Council to undertake fresh expenditure. I have been informed that some of the leading men of a Town Council in an important city in the North have already expressed their opposition to expenditure in this direction. It is a weakness of human nature. Where you have a body of men elected for a particular work, they take keen interest in that work, and may be entrusted to carry out your directions. The School Boards have been constantly improving, as far as the law would allow them, the character of the instruction given in the elementary schools, and they have gone so far as to give some scientific instruction; and now that more technical instruction is to be provided, it seems to be expected that scholars should pass from schools under the control of School Boards to schools under the control of other bodies, the connection with the School Board system being severed. The advanced instruction so to be given is not secondary education, and we who are connected with School Boards look on it as only the proper and necessary development of that given in the Board Schools; the superstructure must necessarily be raised upon the foundation already laid by the Board Schools. It may be that the Council or other body would not choose to spend the money necessary to provide technical instruction. At all events it would have no influence, no power, no concern with the preparatory instruction in the elementary schools. When the technical schools in Birmingham got into working order the Head Master came to me and said

that the children coming from the elementary schools were not fully prepared, and that it was desirable that the instruction given in the elementary schools should be more adapted to the scientific instruction to be given afterwards. He added—

"I wish you would exercise your influence to secure more mathematical training, so that the children may at once be able to avail themselves of the technical instruction in these schools."

But, in order to increase the value of the instruction in the technical schools, the curriculum of the Board Schools would have to be altered in a way that would not increase the grant; indeed, it might have to be altered in a way that might even diminish the grants. Thus, not only would the character of schools be affected, but also the reputation of individual teachers. But a Town Council could not ask a School Board to alter its curriculum. All this shows that the instruction of the working classes is a continuous work, which would suffer if it were in the hands of two bodies instead of being committed to one. Therefore, the Bill cannot be an acceptable Bill to those who understand the subject, and I should have opposed it altogether if it had not been for the Amendments which the Government are going to accept. Those Amendments, however, will not entirely meet the difficulty, and therefore I shall vote for this Amendment, so as to vest School Boards, as well as other bodies, with the initiative to be given by the Bill.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): It appears to me that most of the opponents of the Bill on this side of the House are confounding elementary technical education with secondary instruction, and they are arguing as if it was proposed to put in force the provisions of the Code throughout the country. I am of opinion that the Code furnishes an opportunity for gentlemen of reputation to carry on technical education in their schools as far as possible with children up to the age of 13 or 14 years. Now, Sir, I may say further, with reference to this Bill, that if the Amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northamptonshire be put in force, it will disturb the compromise of 1870, and we shall have the School Board in certain districts superseding School Attendance Committees, and practically the School Board will become the principal authority in the country. The hon. Member for the Holmfirth Division asked what was the necessity for the Local Authority which was defined by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education. Now, Sir, my reply to that is that the necessity for it arises thus—that the School Boards in the country are restricted to providing education for children between the ages of 5 and 13, and if they do not have compulsory powers given them, then it cannot be hoped that the Act will work effectively. We have an illustration of this in the working of the Scotch Technical Education Bill. Scotland has a Technical Education Bill which is supposed to be worked by School Boards, but it is an utter failure, because boys above 13 years of age pass from under the influence of School Boards. What we want are attractive technical schools, which will draw boys within their influence after they leave the elementary schools. I believe there is a disposition in the country to advance technical education. This Bill will give Town Councils power to erect technical schools. We know that Manchester has already done this, and that the hon. Member for Gorton has carried out, through his own personal influence, a most successful system of technical education. It is by means of these schools that it will be possible to attract boys who are now outside the scope of the compulsory powers of the School Boards to the Educational Institutes. In Blackburn and other towns loyalty—especially in connection with the Jubilee—has found expression in the building of Technical Institutes; but some of these institutions have not been brought to a successful issue through want of funds. Now, if the Town Councils are empowered to take them over they will soon supply the necessary funds to complete the Institutes and set the machinery in motion; and I believe that they are not likely to neglect the work when they have once undertaken it. I read in the papers the other day that a deputation of American artisans who are visiting this country expressed great surprise at the ingenuity and skill and development of artistic resources which they witnessed in the town to which the hon. Member

for Holmfirth belongs. Now these men had not been trained in a Technical Institute; they had acquired their skill by practice. I hold that while you have the proper machinery in your public elementary schools to give the boys a good technical education you ought to do so, and so make a pathway, as it were, for them to the Institutes which it is now proposed to establish under the control of Town Councils.

*MR. WOODALL: No one can have followed this very interesting Debate without feeling that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, in the statement which he gave to us, did not put the Committee completely in possession of his views as to the manner in which the Amendment the Government propose to accept will operate. No one can doubt that there would be great difficulty in inducing the managers and committees of the various Schools of Art and Technical Colleges throughout the country to accept anything like the control of School Boards. It has been pointed out that there is a very serious defect in this Bill, for while it enables the Local Authority to levy a penny rate and to distribute it, there is nothing in the measure making it compulsory or obligatory on the rating authority to recognise and contribute to the work of technical instruction. The Committee, I think, must have been greatly impressed by the speech of the hon. Member for Edgbaston, whose utterances come with so much authority in consequence of his known devotion to this and other forms of education. The right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill has intimated that the Government are willing to accept the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Gorton, which will distinctly recognise the right of the School Board to continue the technical teaching of those who pass the proper standard. But surely it is a practical difficulty that under this Bill the School Board will only be able to carry on this work provided the rating authority are willing to levy a rate for the purpose. The right hon. Gentleman said just now that the Government would guard and protect the existing rights of School Boards. There is a doubt whether the Boards would care to spend money for technical education out of the amount for which they can now send in precepts. Will not the right hon. Gentleman remove the doubt which exists as to the right of the School Board to give manual and technical instruction, such as is proposed in this Bill, out of the Education Grant? My hon. Friend the Member for Holmfirth referred to the Report of the Royal Commission on this subject, and he seemed to think there was something inconsistent in the Members of that Commission supporting this Bill. But the Report of the Commission includes a recommendation in this direction, for on page 522 it recommends that the School Board should be authorised to establish science and art classes for artisans, and where no School Board exists power should be given to the local governing body to supply such schools. By that opinion we abide, and it is because we find in this Bill a recognition of the principle recommended by the Commission that I, for one, support it, and I am authorised to say that the other Members of the Commission with perfect unanimity hold that view. Although the Member for Gorton was not a Member of the Commission, he served in the most valuable manner, and we are indebted to him for the valuable volume containing the Report of the system prevailing in American schools. I wish very much we could in this Bill follow the example there set us, and that we might hope to see our entire system of public schools under authorities like the American Boards of Education. I am so strongly in favour of increasing the powers and enlarging the sphere of operations of the School Boards that I shall give myself the pleasure of voting for the Amendment. I may add that if my hon. Friend fails to carry the Amendment I will earnestly press upon the right hon. Gentleman to consider between this and the Report stage the desirability of giving School Boards the power not only to carry out but to initiate the work provided for by this Bill.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I wish to state now, what I am afraid I did not distinctly state when I spoke last, that the Government cannot consent to this Amendment, because it deals with a long-standing controversy.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I am surprised at the indisposition shown on the other side of the House to trust the

Local Authorities, which are elected precisely on the same franchise as the School Boards.

An hon. MEMBER: The Guardians are not.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I quite admit that, and so far as that point goes I should not be sorry to see "rural authorities" removed from the Bill. My remarks are specially directed to the speech of the hon. Member for Edgbaston, who dealt with the case of towns like Birmingham, and not with Boards of Guardians. I do not think that the fear expressed on the opposite Benches of the Local Authorities is well founded. What is the proposal of the Bill? That the Local Authorities shall have the power to initiate technical instruction in a particular locality. Of the two elected authorities, which of them is the better to make the selection? Is it the School Board or the Local Authority? The School Board is primarily established to manage schools. For this purpose you require gentlemen with technical knowledge, and they may properly be elected *ad hoc;* but for determining the policy whether there should be technical instruction or not the Local Authority is a far better authority than the School Board. Would it be right to give the School Board the power to decide whether technical instruction should be given in any school other than their own? I think this consideration is enough to show that we cannot accept the Amendment. If we give this power to the School Board similar demands will be made for the voluntary schools.

*MR. PROVAND: I rise to support the Amendment, and one of the best reasons I can give for doing so is that the Commissioners themselves held the opinion that the Local Authorities should be empowered to establish technical schools "providing that there was no School Board in the district." The hon. Member for Hanley, when he read an extract from the Report of the Commissioners in order to enforce his argument, failed to finish the quotation. He did not read the concluding sentence, which ran "that the power should only be exercised where no School Boards exist." Now, the Amendment of my hon. Friend seeks to carry out this recommendation. He and we desire that the Bill should be in conformity with the recommendations of the Commission. I look on the Bill as it at present stands as a subsidy to the parsons, who will use the powers conferred by it for the furtherance of denominational education. The Amendment will materially limit their ability to do that. As to the remarks of the noble Lord, surely he cannot mean to suggest that the question of giving technical instruction in a given town could be better decided by a Board elected for lighting, drainage, and police purposes than by a body specially chosen to manage educational business. Attention has been drawn to the fact that not much use has been made of the Scotch Technical Education Bill, passed three years ago. Well, the explanation of that is that the School Boards in Scotland have no right to subsidise other schools for this purpose; they must establish technical schools of their own, and as this would involve a very heavy outlay they have abstained from putting the Act in force in many places. But the subject is attracting great attention in Scotland, and if we can get the Bill amended no doubt it will be more generally made use of.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): Is the hon. Gentleman in order, Sir, in discussing the Scotch Technical Education Act?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; that would not be in order. I understood, however, the hon. Member was only referring to it in order to enforce his argument as to the position of School Boards on this question.

*MR. PROVAND: Yes, Sir; I was referring to the Scotch Act in order to show the desirability of allowing School Boards in England to deal with this question of technical instruction. Another reason why the Scotch Act has not succeeded is that when it was brought before this House very little time was allowed for considering it, and whole pages of Amendments had to be sacrificed in order to save the Bill. We are now exactly in the same position on this Bill. The hon. Member for the City of Manchester recommends us not to press the Amendment, but to pass the Bill, which, he admits, he does not like. "But," he says, "a half loaf is better than no loaf at all." This is exactly what we thought and said about the Scotch Bill, we took the half loaf, and very unsatisfactory we

have since found it to be. The right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill in asking us to accept it said it was merely an extension of the South Kensington curriculum. I do not take that view. I think that this Bill should not be supported as it stands. Our aim should be to extend, and not to limit, the powers of School Boards. The members of these bodies are educational experts, who have been elected for the very purpose of looking after the education of the country; and I think the passing of this Bill as it stands would seriously damage their authority, and take away a good deal of that desire to promote education which actuates the great majority of the members.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I suppose that if the Amendment is agreed to much of the opposition to the Bill will disappear. That reveals the fact, which is apparent from the Debate, that the opposition to the Bill is of a very limited character. It is a School Board opposition. When we consider the character of the poverty of this country, which is different from the poverty of other countries, in its aimlessness and helplessness through the want of technical education, I marvel that any Englishman should throw any difficulty or obstacle in the way of such education. The hon. Member for Edgbaston has argued that because the Board Schools teach the elements of technical instruction, therefore they should have a voice in carrying out technical instruction itself. It might as well be argued that Rugby, Eton, and Winchester ought to have a voice with regard to the engineering, the medical, or any other technical education which is to be given in other institutions. The argument is as good in one case as in the other. A question has also been raised about Board Schools and denominations. There appear to be men in this House who have a horror of denominations. But the training schools are now maintained on denominational principles out of public money. If the denominational system obtains and is satisfactory with regard to technical education of one kind, why on earth should it not be satisfactory with regard to technical education of another kind? It is said that Local Authorities will not have the same advantage as School Boards in matters of education; but is that so? The Bill provides that the Local Authority may appoint a Committee, consisting either wholly or partly of members of the Local Authority, and delegate their powers to that Committee; and is it to be supposed that an intelligent body of men elected to the Town Council or Sanitary Authority of the district, knowing perfectly well that there are men on the School Boards who can give valuable assistance, will not avail themselves of the services of those gentlemen? Of course they will be put upon the Committee.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: The hon. Member who last spoke drew a picture of the extreme need of the country in regard to technical instruction, and then turned round on us and made the discovery that this was purely a School Board opposition. He said he marvelled that there should be any opposition to the Bill, suggested that it did not matter who had the control of it so long as the instruction could be given, and urged us to withdraw our Amendment. But if he is so supremely anxious for technical instruction, and does not care who will have control over it, let him vote for our Amendment, which will place the School Boards in their proper position with regard to it. Now, the noble Lord the Member for Darwen has objected to the School Board being entrusted with the management of technical education because it is elected *ad hoc*.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: What I said was that it was not a good thing to entrust a question of policy to a body elected *ad hoc* for educational purposes only, and that such questions should be referred to a general body.

MR. H. STEWART: The noble Lord, then, thinks that technical education should be dealt with, not by an Educational Authority, but by a Body dealing with sewage, paving, lighting, &c. Remember that in rural districts the Guardians will have power to act under this Bill, and they certainly are not, in the truest sense of the term, representative bodies. They represent the money bags of the rich, with their dual and plural qualifications. The Guardians elected by the dual qualifications of the rich are the worst possible body to deal with a question like this. It has been said that a School Board is not likely to interest itself in this matter sufficiently, but that

a Town Council is. Surely hon. Members who suggest that have little knowledge of the relationship between Councils and School Boards. School Boards have often come into conflict with Town Councils; but it has always been for giving too much education, never for giving too little, and had the School Board mandate not been supreme, the Council would frequently have cut down its precepts. Yet under this Bill you are proposing to put the School Boards in a secondary position. The Town Councils are usually more anxious to cut down rates than to promote education, and you will find they will frequently refuse to levy the penny rate for the purposes of this Bill. It would be better to give the School Board an absolute right in this matter, and thus take away all chance of antagonism between the Councils and the School Boards.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I think I may appeal to the Committee, after the long and exhaustive discussion we have listened to, to come to a Division.

MR. J. ROWLANDS: If this Amendment is carried, you will commence operations under this Bill with bodies intimately acquainted with the educational requirements of their respective districts, and conversant with the industries and social wants and conditions of their neighbourhoods. They will be, therefore, the best body to carry out a Bill like this. Our desire should be to make the Educational Authority as perfect as possible; to give it the greatest possible amount of dignity, and to extend its powers, if it is intended to catch up and keep pace with Continental Educational Authorities. There is nothing in the Amendment inconsistent with the Bill; and I cannot for the life of me understand why hon. Members desire to spread educational duties over a series of authorities when they have ready to their hands a body like the School Board, specially fitted for undertaking the management of technical instruction. The idea of all sincere educationalists is to give the Educational Authority as much power as possible, so that it may develop the institutions of the country and pass the child on from the elementary to the technical schools, thereby fitting it subsequently to earn its livelihood. When I read the Bill I was astonished to see that it established a system of boycotting the School Board; and I am equally astonished at the opposition to this Amendment, which should be carried if a Bill like this is to do its work effectually.

*MR. CHANNING: I have no wish to prolong the discussion; but I must say I think the Debate has been amply justified by the admirable and wholly unanswerable speech of my hon. Friend the Member for the Edgbaston Division. I venture to submit that no adequate reason has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill why this Amendment should not be accepted. The only answer, so far as I could gather, was that this Bill is a sort of extension of the South Kensington curriculum. But I would venture to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education; for it seems to me somewhat remarkable that although the majority of that Commission reported in favour of handing over education of this kind to the Local Authorities, they also appended to their Report a recommendation to the effect that it was desirable that the management of technical instruction should be entrusted to the Education Department and not to the Science and Art Department. My hon. Friend the Member for the Edgbaston Division of Birmingham has stated the relation of School Boards to Town Councils in a way I defy any hon. Gentleman opposite to challenge or to answer. Another hon. Friend has referred to the case of Boards of Guardians. I was exceedingly glad to hear the noble Lord the Member for Darwen (Lord Cranborne) state he was willing to see Boards of Guardians struck out of the Bill. That would be a very important concession to the views of some of us. I am acquainted with several School Boards in a district under a Board of Guardians who are endeavouring to carry out a scheme of technical education; but I anticipate that if the School Boards had to go for aid to the Boards of Guardians they would be shown the door. I will only refer to one other topic. I submit that the compromise by which the Government are placed in the position of seeing this Bill supported by the hon. Member for Gorton and his friends is a compromise entered into by them in a spirit very different to that

represented by the Amendments on the Paper. The hon. Member for GORTON, in a communication to the Press, has said:—

"By these Amendments the School Board may demand and obtain, if they think fit, such aid from the rates levied by the Local Authority as will enable them to carry on science and art instruction with manual and technical training as defined in the Bill, and no Local Authority can establish schools for this purpose unless the School Board or other managers of technical schools established for a like purpose have failed to provide efficient instruction."

That is an important statement, and I venture to ask the right hon. Baronet, before a Division is taken, what is the view of the Government as to the interpretation of his own Amendments by the hon. Member for Gorton? The hon. Gentleman also said in his letter, replying to Mr. Whishaw, the Secretary to the National Education Association:—

"I can only say that no Educational Authority can be set up unless the School Board's neglect their duty or do not exist."

There are two distinct statements by the gentleman who has chiefly negotiated with the right hon. Baronet as to obtaining agreement between the two sides of the House—the one is that no Educational Authority can be set up where there is a School Board, and the other is that no Local Authority can establish schools for the purpose of technical instruction unless the School Board are at fault. If these statements are not accepted by the right hon. Gentleman, I submit that my hon. Friend has been led into a fool's paradise by the wiles of the right hon. Gentleman, and that the hon. Gentleman has really misled the country in stating that his Amendments will give what a great many people strongly desire, when it will do nothing of the kind. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will offer some reason why this Amendment should be rejected.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I should like to point out that amongst the various authorities who are in favour of the Amendment of my hon. Friend not the least important is the National Union of Teachers, the body with which Mr. Heller is connected. They feel, with many other people, that as far as possible education should be continuous; that there should not be the break between the education given by School Boards and that which may be given under this Bill.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 80 Noes 26.—(Div. List, No. 344.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment appears to be the same as that just rejected.

*MR. CHANNING: I wish to ask the opinion of the Chairman as to the admissibility of an Amendment I have prepared. It is in line 6, after "supply," to insert—

"Technical or manual instruction in a School Board district where the School Board has not already supplied it or shall not within six months of the passing of the Act take steps to supply it and in districts where there are no School Boards."

The object of this Amendment is to restrict the action of the Local Authorities, and make provision for technical education in districts where there are no School Boards, or the School Boards have failed to act. I do not know whether I shall be in order in moving this.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; the Amendment differs so little from the one already decided that the Committee may be taken to have dealt with it. The object of the last Amendment was to provide that the Bill shall not be put in force by the Local Authority where there is a School Board; and the present Amendment is to the effect that the Local Authority shall wait until the School Board has neglected to avail itself of the powers of the Act before itself using those powers.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I desire to point out that the Amendment the Committee has disposed of was one which, so far as the Local Authority is concerned, would be of a permanent character, whereas the Amendment now proposed would have only a temporary effect.

MR. WOODALL: Those hon. Members who wish to see the Bill pass—of whom I am one—would like to have some leading from the right hon. Baronet the Vice President of the Council as to what concessions the Government are disposed to make in the Bill. A knowledge of this would considerably modify the action of some hon. Members on the Opposition side, and probably smooth the passage of the Bill.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR W. HART DYKE: I desire at once to respond to the appeal of the hon. Member for Hanley. We have had a long discussion on an Amendment which vitally affects the principle of the measure, and several Amendments consequential on that proposal follow on the Paper. There are other Amendments, some of which are of importance; and of these I propose to accept that of the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. Ellis), which I have already mentioned, namely, to add at the end of line 22—

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with any existing powers of School Boards with respect to the provision of technical and manual instruction."

This Amendment I accept without reservation. The Conscience Clause, to be proposed by the hon. Member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Channing), I also accept, though I do not think it necessary. Hon. Members opposite may think it an important safeguard of their interests in the future, and I therefore accept it, though I do not think the danger they fear is ever likely to arise. There is another Amendment on the same subject in the name of the hon. Member for Merionethshire, but that I do not propose to accept. A great deal has been said as to the Local Authority proposed in the Bill. The clause bearing upon that question has been carefully drawn so as to cover all the ground, but, as it has been pointed out that there may be conflicting authorities in the rural sanitary areas, I am not prepared to insist on the Rural Sanitary Authority remaining in the Bill. The whole ground may well be covered by the County Council, therefore when we come to Section 4 I shall move to leave out the Rural Sanitary Authority. Then I propose to accept the new clause to be moved by the hon. Member for North-West Durham:—

"It shall be competent for any School Board or Local Authority, should they think fit, to institute an entrance examination for persons desirous of attending technical schools or classes under their management or to which they contribute."

There is an important clause down in the name of the hon. Member for Bristol—an Amendment relating to the audit of accounts—which I shall also be ready to accept. That was on the first clause, which I should be prepared to deal with, as I do not like the clause as it stands.

MR. WOODALL: What will the right hon. Gentleman do with regard to the second clause?

SIR W. HART DYKE: As that clause raises some very contentious matter I shall not be prepared to press it.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I propose to move an Amendment to Clause 1, line 7, namely, to leave out the words "the authority may deem expedient," in order to insert the words

"In such terms as may be prescribed under regulations to be made by the Education Department under this Act."

It has been suggested that I should say "The Science and Art Department;" but in selecting the Education Department I am acting on the lines laid down by the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Act, namely,

"That it is desirable that the means of technical instruction should be entrusted to the Education Department, and not to the Science and Art Department."

My hon. Friends who object to the Education Department will have an opportunity of proposing an Amendment to my Amendment. I have taken the suggestion for this Amendment from a similar Bill proposed for Scotland in 1887, which is now the Technical Schools Scotland Act. By that Act the administration of technical instruction is left entirely to the School Board, which is the Local Authority. We have failed in the attempt to make the School Board the Local Authority in this Bill; but I submit that if Parliament, in dealing with a strictly educational body like the School Board in Scotland, did so under the condition that it should be revised and controlled by the Education Department, it ought especially to adopt the same course when it is laying down that the Local Authority shall not be an educational body at all, but one whose functions relate to sewage and other matters altogether apart from education. I dare say the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council is familiar with the Scotch Act to which I refer, and will admit my contention as to its effect in regard to the control of technical education. That Act is construed as one of the Education

(Scotland) Acts, and Clause 3 says the subjects to be taught in the schools shall be such as shall be from time to time approved by the Scotch Education Department. Even in the interpretation clause the expression "technical instruction" is said to mean "instruction in subjects approved by the Scotch Education Department;" and the same thing runs all through the Act. Everywhere is the Scotch Education Department set up as the Controlling Department. I now propose, by a single phrase, to enable the English Educational Department to do what the Scotch Educational Department is required to do by the Act I have cited.

Another Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 7, to leave out the words—

"'The authority think expedient,' and insert the words "as may be prescribed by regulations to be made by the Education Department under this Act.'"—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Cl ause."

SIR W. HART DYKE: It is somewhat difficult to see what would be the full scope of this Amendment, but I am afraid that, as far as I understand it, its result would be very injurious to this Bill. The hon. Gentleman proposes to insert an Amendment, providing that the Education Department is to take the place of the Local Authority—or, in other words, the Central Department in London is to prescribe to the Local Authority the amount of rates to be levied for the purposes of the Bill. This would be taking it out of the power of the Local Authority to say how and by what means the money to be raised shall go for the benefit of those requiring technical instruction. I think that a more preposterous proposal it would be impossible to conceive, and it would almost seem as if it were brought forward for the purpose of delaying and defeating the measure. The hon. Gentleman has spoken of the Scotch Act, and I would remind him and the Committee that only two applications have been made from School Boards in Scotland to the Scotch Education Department under that Act.

*MR. CHANNING: I think it hardly fair of the right hon. Gentleman to suggest that the Amendment of my hon. Friend is put forward simply for the purpose of delaying the Bill, and not to assert a definite principle. We contend that the authority set up by the Bill would not be a friendly one in carrying out its educational policy, and this Amendment simply puts in the hands of the Education Department a lever which would enable it to obtain the results contemplated by the measure.

MR. PICTON: I think that if there is any misunderstanding as to the effect of this Amendment it is due to the wording of the Bill. It says the Local Authority may supply the means of instruction to such an extent or on such terms as may be deemed expedient, and if that only meant the amount of the rate the right hon. Gentleman would be right in saying the Amendment would be absurd; but, as I understand it, the Local Authority is to lay down the curriculum, the limits within which technical instruction is to be given, and the terms on which it is to be given. If I am wrong, I am prepared to sit down on an intimation from the right hon. Gentleman; but if I am in the right, I hold that my hon. Friend is justified in proposing his Amendment. The Local Authority set up by this Bill is about the last in the world to whom should be entrusted the degree of instruction to be given or the terms on which it should be afforded. The whole of the existing law as to the purposes for which the Local Sanitary Authority are appointed shows how absurd it is to invest the powers of this Bill, as to technical instruction, in the hands of a body charged with the supervision of matters relating to sewage, common lodging houses, water supply, nuisances, and other odoriferous subjects. Much as I dislike centralisation, I would rather see technical education centralised in the Education Department than placed in the hands of authorities elected for such purposes. I think there ought to be a very close relationship between the Local Authority and the Education Department, and that the latter ought to be supreme in regard to the education to be given. I have from the outset contended for the simplification of our educational system, and I say that, having adopted the Local Authority named in this Bill, you ought to lay down some system by which scientific, literary, or technical instruction under

it can be administered from one centre and on one principle.

*Mr. H. J. WILSON: I would put it to the right hon. Baronet—are we to understand that this proposal of the Government is the beginning of a new departure in the shape of giving larger and more complete powers of control to the Local Authorities ?

*The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanovor Square): I presume that what the House really wants is that technical instruction should be given in some form or other, and that the great majority of the Members of this House are most desirous that this Bill should be carried. Surely the time has come when we should endeavour to avoid further controversy on this Bill, if we are really anxious that a measure of technical eduation should be carried this Session. I believe that the vast majority in the House and in this country would be sorry if another year were lost, and I think I may appeal to the small minority in the House, who are raising every kind of difficulty to the progress of the Bill, to withdraw their opposition to it, on the ground that the great majority of those on their own side of the House, as we l as on the Ministerial side of it, are desirous that the great object of spreading technical education throughout the country should be carried into effect. If, under colour of these objections, hon. Members opposite intend to show that they do not want the Bill, the Government will know what position they occupy. It is perfectly obvious that if the four and a-half pages of Amendments which stand upon the Paper, in addition to numerous Amendments in manuscript, are to be persisted in, it will be extremely difficult to carry the Bill. If that be object of hon. Members opposite, they had better say so, and then it will be known on whom the responsibility lies for the loss of the measure. It is clear that the Local Authorities are entitled to have a voice in the matter, and if it comes to a Division I feel confident that there will not be a score of hon. Members who will support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dundee. I appeal to the hon. Member, who has already got technical education in Scotland, not to impede technical education being carried out in England. I entreat the hon. Member not to press his Amendment, but to allow the Bill to proceed.

Mr. WOODALL: I am afraid the Committee will hardly think the intervention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is calculated to smooth the progress of the measure through the present stage. It is very unfair to charge my hon. Friend with wishing to obstruct the measure, or with interposing an Amendment that is not of a practical character. Mention has been made of the probable reluctance of the Local Authorities to take those steps which are desired by the promoters of technical education, and it seems only right that we should have some sort of assurance that the Science and Art Department or the Education Department shall have some kind of control. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will undertake to see that where the Educational Authority is anxious to carry out the objects of the Bill, and the Rating Authority is reluctant, there shall be some reference to the Central Authority.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON: In reply to the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer I can assure him that I have not proposed my Amendment from any motive of obstruction or hostility to English technical instruction, in which I feel quite as much interest as the right hon. Gentleman. I would, however, point out that what the right hon. Gentleman has said really comes to this—that we must take this Bill with all its deformities on its head, or be content with nothing at all. If this is not what the right hon. Gentleman means, what, I ask, does he mean ? I say that here is a definite deformity to be removed; the right hon. Gentleman says, "No, at this late stage of the Session you must take the Bill as it stands or lose it altogether." I confess that at this the eleventh hour, I am not prepared to entertain legislative proposals of this kind at all, especially when it comes to a postponement of the Appropriation Bill in order that a measure like this may be taken at a moment when most of the Members of this House are absent. I say it is not at a time like this that the right hon. Gentleman ought to reproach those of us who remain and who are deeply interested in this question, because we take our stand on the principle that if the Government will

introduce contentious matter into their proposal, we are not to submit to their enforcement of the Rules of the House to our disadvantage, but are entitled to interfere in the legislation they propose. I submit that we have our rights as well as the Government, and I defy the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deny that we are entitled to discuss this Bill as fully as if it had been introduced in the first week instead of in the last week of the Session. I have also to complain of the remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. I do not think he had a right to impute to me the motives he did. I have never been connected with obstruction in this House, and, in point of fact, have often argued that the Government should take larger powers to deal with obstruction than they have dared to propose. Moreover, the right hon. Gentleman began by misapprehending the scope of my Amendment, and accused me of endeavouring to give to the clause we are discussing the interpretation he very unfairly put on my Amendment. All my Amendment amounts to is that the Bill shall be carried out by the Local Authority under the regulations of the Education Department. Does the right hon. Gentleman know what Regulations made by the Education Department mean? They mean general regulations, and for him to say what is meant is that the Department shall interfere in the way he suggests is absurd. The right hon. Gentleman showed that he well knew what I meant by his reference to the Scotch Department, whose control over technical education in Scotland is precisely what I want here. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to the failure of technical instruction under the Scotch Education Department. I say that there is no more determined opponent of centralisation than I am, and I showed no favour towards that proposal in the Scotch Bill; it being the right hon. Gentleman and his friends who forced it upon us. Precisely the same appeals were made to us on that Bill as are made to-night, and the result is that the right hon. Gentleman has now confessed the Bill to have been a failure, because it has been under the management of a Central Department. We were told that if we did not accept that Bill we should be regarded as not being sincere friends of technical instruction, and now we find that that measure is a confessed abortion. But we who objected to a central control in the Scotch system have a reason for not objecting to it in the English, that reason being that the Local Authority in England is very different from that of Scotland. If you will only make the School Board the Local Authority under this Bill I will withdraw my Amendment, but when you insist, for purposes you do not deny, on transferring education from the Educational Authority to bodies appointed for totally different purposes, I say that the condition of central supervision and authority ought to be imposed.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I am quite willing to accept the statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite, that his Amendment is not one of a frivolous character, but has been brought forward with a *bonâ fide* object; still I do not think it is well expressed. I do not think it would be a very good arrangement to give the central body the duty of prescribing the precise kind of technical education which ought to be pursued in the different localities, especially seeing how wide a divergence there is in the training required in different parts of the country. I would point out that as it is there is a very great limitation in that power, which I hardly think the hon. Gentleman has fully considered, namely, that a technical school cannot get a grant unless it conforms to the rules of the Department. That, I think, is a sufficient control to give the Department, as it is hardly likely that any Local Authority would risk the loss of the grant by pursuing a system of education opposed to the course laid down by the Department. There being this precaution which will protect the Science and Art Department in the later clause, I would submit to Scotch Members that this is not a very important matter. If we are all anxious to get on with business, and do not wish to lose the Bill, and seeing the conciliatory attitude the Government have shown, I think we might now pass on to other Amendments.

*MR. PROVAND: There seems to be some misapprehension as to the use of the word "prescribed" in the Amendment. Under the Scotch Act a Resolution is passed by the School

Board, which is confirmed a month later, and then it does not take effect until approved by the Education Department. The object of the Amendment is to make a similar provision in the Bill. The Education Department is to be an approving but not a dictating authority.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): We are agreed that the Amendment is not obstructive, and the best thing we can do in the interests of common sense and the progress of business, is to divide upon it at once. The arguments for and against have been fully stated. My right hon. Friend the Vice President has gone out of his way to explain what he is willing to accept, and I think the Committee is fully in a position to come to a decision. The Bill provides that the rate to be raised shall not exceed a penny in the pound, and the hon. Gentleman proposes that the Education Department shall step in and say how much of that penny should be spent. I think the position is not tenable, but if hon. Members think otherwise let them put it to the test of a Division.

MR. PICTON: The bellicose interruption of the right hon. Gentleman does not further the progress of Debate. The right hon. Gentleman says we should go to a Division, but if we go to a Division now, we shall do so under the imputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that none of us care about technical education. The effect produced by the eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer shows that it is absolutely necessary that something more should be said before we proceed to a Division. Perhaps we cannot vie with right hon. Gentlemen opposite in their efforts, and have not had their opportunities for forwarding technical instruction, but so far as our humbler influence has permitted we have laboured to spread technical instruction, and are most anxious that it should be enjoyed by the people of this country, but it is precisely because it is our conviction that if we allow technical instruction to be be put into the hands of such Local Authorities as these we shall ruin the whole thing for a generation to come, that we earnestly strive to obtain a substantial Amendment to the Bill. I, for one, am most opposed to allowing the Education Department or any other Department too much power, but when it comes to a choice between the Education Department and the Sanitary Authorities in a rural district, I confess I prefer the Education Department. I have given my reasons in justification of this and yet I am charged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with mere opposition to the spread of technical instruction. It is because technical instruction would be degraded, hindered and opposed by putting the Local Authority in this position, and because I should have greater confidence in the Education Department, that I shall certainly go into the Lobby with my hon. Friend.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 82; Noes 21.—(Div. List, No. 345.)

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 10 and 11, to leave out the words "at an elementary school."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR W. LAWSON: (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I have a suggestion to make that I think will meet with the approbation of the Committee. Standing fifth on the Orders of the Day is the Appropriation Bill, and as it seems to me most improper to drive this into a post-midnight discussion, I now beg to move that the Chairman do report Progress. There are a great number of subjects to be raised and a great many Members wish to speak on this Bill, and I have never known a precedent for taking the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill as other than the first Order of the Day.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

*MR. GOSCHEN: I hope the hon. Baronet will not press his Motion. I do not think the hon. Gentleman realises the anxiety of the great majority of the House that this Bill should become law in the present Session. Though I admit there may be subjects of importance to be raised on the Appropriation Bill, I must at the same time insist on the greater importance of passing this Bill, and that it should not be post-

poned in favour of discussions of a more or less academical nature that may arise on the Appropriation Bill. The Government are aware that there are one or two points which hon. Members wish to raise on the Appropriation Bill, but no news has reached the Government that there is a large number of topics to be discussed. I would earnestly beg the Member for the Cockermouth Division of Cumberland not to press his Motion to a Division, but to allow the Committee to make further progress with this most important Bill.

MR. WOODALL: I may be permitted to join in the appeal. We have reached a very interesting and important stage of the Bill. We are on the threshold of the Amendments so often referred to, and until we see the effect of these I hope the Committee will not be interrupted.

*MR. DIXON: I also would join in the appeal. We have got to a point where we may hope concession may conduce to better progress, and I should be sorry to have our attention diverted just now.

MR. PICTON: The right hon. Gentleman tells us of the great majority of the House. Where are the great majority of the House? We did not find them in the Division Lobby just now. The great majority of the House are away on the moors, or the Continent, or the Atlantic, or no one knows where. An hon. Member reminds me that they are partly in gaol. I do not think it is fair to appeal to the wishes of the great majority, the right hon. Gentleman taking it for granted that the great majority are on his side; it is as unfair to the loyal and faithful minority resisting the tyrannical use of the accidental power possessed by the Government to force a Bill through at the fag-end of a Session which has been most wearying to us all. It is a most vicious system that the Government should delay until the last five days of a Session the discussion on a crucial, critical, and important measure, and then force it on by appeals to the opinion of the great majority of the House who are enjoying their pleasures elsewhere. I do most earnestly hope that the hon. Baronet will not listen to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely, but will insist on going to a Division with his Motion.

MR. MATHER: I would also join in the appeal to the hon. Baronet, and I may do so because on this side I happen to have taken a somewhat prominent position in regard to this Bill, and in the efforts to make from the Government proposal a really thorough and useful measure for the benefit of the country. I honour and respect the view of my hon. Friend who has just spoken, differing from him though I do, and I will ask him at least to accord to me similar credit for honesty of purpose. Probably I have had greater experience in connection with this subject, and certainly I am as staunch an advocate for liberal principles as he is. I am exceedingly anxious to make a good Bill out of this, and I think the opportunity is favourable. From the first I thought I saw a prospect of making a very valuable measure within the limits to which the Government confine their Bill, and when the hon. Member speaks of forcing the Bill through at this late period of the Session, I think I may call to his mind the fact that the subject itself is no new one, and that though we are driven by stress of business to this period, yet there was a Bill on the subject before the House, brought in by the hon. Member for Manchester (Sir H. Roscoe) from February until July. There was no opportunity for that Bill coming into law, for it ran against that rock which other Bills have encountered, and which this one stands in danger of, namely, the compromise effected by the establishment of the dual system in elementary education, and the danger of raising the old controversy. Let us, now the opportunity seems within our grasp, at least make an effort to frame a useful measure out of the elements before us, and if we do not soon arrive at the accomplishment of our desires, then will be the time for us to report Progress.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I think, with great respect, that the hon. Member might have addressed his appeal to another quarter. He is mistaken in the object the hon. Baronet has in his Motion. It is not proposed in a spirit of hostility to this Bill. It is proposed with a desire that we should enter upon the important discussions connected with the Appropriation Bill before we reach 12 o'clock. The Government must be perfectly well aware that there are many subjects which

have been postponed for discussion upon this Bill, some of them even at the request of the Government. Now we find that in order to carry this Bill through in a hurry, we are to sit down to the Appropriation Bill after midnight. That I object to, and I say that unless the Government will give us a promise not to proceed with the Appropriation Bill at this unusual and utterly unreasonable hour—for let me remind the Committee that it is in violation of all previous practice of the House not to take the Appropriation Bill as the first Order—we must Divide on this Motion. It is one of the most important Bills of the Session, and yet we have had all the earlier part of the Sitting wasted upon a discussion of another Bill, and are expected to take up the Appropriation Bill at midnight.

*Mr. GOSCHEN: We cannot consent to postpone the Appropriation Bill. I would call attention to the phrase used by the hon. and learned Gentleman. He observed that we had been wasting some hours of the Sitting. Now, I thought we were engaged, with his kind assistance, in the endeavour to pass an important Bill, not in wasting time. The hon. and learned Member says there are a great number of questions to be raised. I know there are some hon. Gentlemen who have questions to raise, and yet who are so anxious that this Technical Education Bill should pass that they have agreed to defer their observations on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill, in order to assist the progress of this Bill, and those are Members who are not the special allies of the Government, but are occasionally in sharp opposition to us. The opposition to this Bill comes from some 21 Members of the House, against the wishes of what I call the great majority. We are in a majority of four to one. That has been shown on Divisions, and we should have a much larger majority if the House were at its full strength. Undoubtedly it is but a limited number of persons who have set themselves against the desire of the country to see a Technical Education Bill passed.

*Mr. M'LAREN: I may mention that even if the Motion to report Progress is carried, the House will not necessarily proceed at once to the Appropriation Bill. The Report stage of the Notification of Diseases Bill comes next, and upon that, I, and some of my hon. Friends, desire to have a discussion in the event of Progress being reported upon this Bill in time to allow of such before midnight. If, however, the Govenment will keep this Bill going till nearly 12, I am quite willing to withdraw my Amendments to the Notification Bill, because I do not wish to delay this Bill, and, therefore, I will undertake not to stop the progress of the Notification of Diseases Bill.

Mr. HALLEY STEWART: The hon. Member supplies reason for reporting Progress now, for he says he is anxious to have a discussion upon the Notification of Diseases Bill. He is willing, however, that the House shall lose the benefit of his observations in the endeavour to rush through a couple of Bills for which we are not prepared. Surely, seeing the opinions that have been expressed, the majority will not insist upon going on with this Bill now. The minority are surely entitled to so much consideration.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 21; Noes 92.—(Div. List, No. 346.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. PICTON: The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman is precisely the same as one of which I have given notice, but it is proposed with a different intention. I should have been glad if the right hon. Gentleman had given us some explanation of the object with which his Amendment is proposed. It will be observed that the right hon. Gentleman proposes to insert the same words in line 11. I propose to leave them out altogether, and, therefore, I scarcely know how to vote. If I vote with the right hon. Gentleman I shall appear to agree with him, but I hardly know what his intention is. My idea is that if this pernicious Bill—[*Cries of* "Divide!"] If hon. Gentlemen press on a Bill of this kind at the very end of the Session it is scarcely fair that they should refuse to hear Amendments discussed. This Amendment is an important one, and I want to know what it means. The idea I had was to relieve the Local Authority of any superintendence of elementary schools whatever, and to confine their attention to Science and Art Classes, or Science Schools which

are attended by children of a higher age than those who attend elementary schools.

SIR W. HART DYKE: It is true I propose to insert the words lower down. I was informed there was a strong objection to the clause as it stood. It was urged, for instance, that scholars who are actually in the elementary schools might receive this instruction elsewhere. To meet that objection I gave notice of a transposition of the words.

MR. CONWAY: Has the right hon. Gentleman considered the effect of the transposition of the words? By obligatory subjects we mean reading, writing, and arithmetic. After passing Standard IV. a boy is by law exempt from attendance at school. It is only when a boy does not pass Standard IV. that he is retained at school. Boys may be tempted to attend the technical schools, and thus the higher standards of the elementary schools may be denuded of scholars.

Question put, and negatived.

MR. PICTON: I now move the insertion of the words "under the age of 13 years," after the word "scholars" in line 11. My object is to prevent young people over 13 years of age being deprived of the opportunity of technical instruction simply on the ground that they are still receiving instruction in the obligatory or standard subjects. Up to 13 years, no doubt, the rule may be a very good one. It is possible young people may be attending evening schools, and receiving instruction in obligatory or standard subjects. It would be hard to prohibit them receiving technical instruction on that ground.

Amendment proposed, Clause 1, page 1, line 11, after "scholars" insert "under the age of 13 years."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. DIXON: I hope the Committee will not accept this Amendment, because as a matter of fact, many children pass the six standards before the age of 13. The children who do this would be compelled to remain at elementary schools perhaps for half a year longer than necessary before passing to the technical schools.

MR. PICTON: The hon. Gentleman evidently misunderstands the bearing of my Amendment, or else I am wholly at sea. The sub-section says that—

"The local authority shall not out of the local rate supply, or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction at an elementary school, to scholars receiving instruction in the obligatory or standard subjects."

We want to say they may supply technical instruction to scholars receiving instruction in the obligatory and standard subjects, provided the scholars are over 13 years of age. Surely the hon. Member would not object to that.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I understand the objection was that the sub-section would draw children from the elementary schools to the technical schools. It seems to me the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman will meet the objection. I hope my hon. Friend will not press his Amendment.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I was in hope the hon. Member for the Edgbaston Division would rise again and say how far the explanation of my hon. Friend (Mr. Picton) met the point he put. I think we shall find we are putting a barrier against children attending elementary schools, which will not apply to children attending private venture schools, however well children, commonly attending elementary schools, may be able to attend these classes, they are to be prevented while others are allowed, and a class distinction is set up, to the prejudice of the poor.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am afraid I cannot accept this or any Amendment which will tend to restrict the operation of the Bill.

MR. CONWAY: May I point out that the right hon. Gentleman can insert a clause by which children attending evening schools may attend these classes. It will be very unfair if children have to be withdrawn from the higher standards in order to receive technical instruction.

MR. PICTON: After the expression of opinion which has come from the House, I will not delay the Committee by a Division.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, after the word "instruction," to insert the words "at an elementary school."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I should like to have it made clear whether the children of public elementary schools would not be placed at a disadvantage by this Amendment as it is worded.

SIR W. HART DYKE: As far as I understand these words would cover the whole ground.

The Committee divided :—Ayes 87; Noes 18.—(Div. List, No. 347.)

*MR. CHANNING: I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name, which I understand the right Gentleman accepts. I wish to know whether I rightly understand him to say he accepts the other conscience clause standing in the name of my hon. Friend (Mr. Woodhead).

Amendment proposed, Clause 1, page 1, line 13, after the words "in force," to insert—

"(b.) It shall not be required, as a condition of any scholar being admitted into or continuing in any school aided out of the local rate under this Act that he shall attend at or abstain from attending any Sunday school or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance, or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I think the clause needs a slight alteration before it can be agreed to, and I beg to move to insert after the word "Act," the words, "and receiving technical or manual instruction under this Act."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, after "Act," to insert, "and receiving technical or manual instruction under this Act."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment."

MR. PICTON: The hon. Member has not clearly explained why these words are necessary. To me they seem to detract rather from the value of the Amendment which the Government have intimated their willingness to accept.

MR. TOMLINSON: The clause is only intended to apply to children receiving technical or manual instruction, and therefore it is necessary to add these words.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: If I might be allowed to explain why I think it would be an advantage to accept this Amendment, it is that it would secure that no scholar who is being aided by public money from the rates should be forced to attend any particular observance. A school might have a technical side to it and yet not be assisted by public money, and clearly there ought to be some kind of Conscience Clause, similar to that contained in the Act of 1870.

MR. WOODALL: I hope that the Government will oppose the Amendment. It is clear to us that children receiving education in rate aided schools ought not to be compelled to receive any particular religious instruction.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): May I point out that all elementary schools are aided by Government.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: But the schools to which this particular Amendment refers are not elementary schools.

MR. TOMLINSON: Under the circumstances I will not press my Amendment at the present moment, but I will put it down for the Report stage.

Amendment to Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

*MR. WOODHEAD: I understand that the Government are willing, with some slight alteration, to accept the Amendment which stands in my name, and I will therefore propose it without further preface.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 1, page 1, line 13, to insert—

"No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught at any school aided out of the local rate for the purposes of technical or manual instruction under this Act, and the times for prayer or religious worship, or for any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, shall be conveniently arranged for the purpose of allowing the withdrawal of a scholar therefrom."—(*Mr. Woodhead.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: The Government are not prepared to accept the Amendment, and I think hon. Members ought to be satisfied with the conscience clause already accepted. The

words in this Amendment, to my mind, are too strong.

*MR. CHANNING: I think the right hon. Gentleman has overlooked the fact that this clause was originally placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for Merionethshire, and that it is taken with such modifications as were necessary from the Welsh Education Act passed this Session by the House with the assent of the Government.

MR. PICTON: I think this Amendment is a reasonable one, and I am disappointed that the Government should decline to accept it. By so doing you are making it possible to apply local rates to denominational religious teaching. It is practically a restoration of the obnoxious 25th clause of the Education Act of 1870.

*MR. WOODHEAD: I certainly was given to understand in the earlier part of the evening that the Vice President of the Council would accept the clause in the amended form in which I have proposed it; and, therefore, in submitting it to the Committee just now, I gave no reasons whatever in support of it. I now feel it my duty to make a few observations in regard to it. We were told in the earlier part of the evening that the Government were determined, in order that this Bill might have a chance of passing, to avoid delicate and difficult questions. Now this is a difficult question, yet they propose to resist the Amendment. I have no option but to press it, and I certainly shall take a Division unless the Government accept it. It is important that we should not have sectarian or denominational teaching in connection with technical instruction.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I hope that the Government will see their way to make this concession, because it will go far to prevent opposition to other parts of the Bill. I think some hon. Gentlemen have misconceived the extent to which the Amendment goes. As I understand it, it means that we will not allow children attending these technical schools to be compelled to receive any special distinctive religious instruction which may be given to the ordinary scholars. It is practically a conscience clause, and it does not go beyond that. As one of those who have supported the Bill throughout, I do urge upon the Government that a little reasonable concession on their part would do much to secure its rapid progress through this House; because if this opposition is persisted in, I am afraid it will lead to the destruction of the Bill.

MR. J. G. TALBOT: May I point out that the Amendment is so worded that no technical instruction can be given in a building in which denominational instruction has been given some days before, as for instance, on Sundays? Surely that is most unreasonable.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: It appears to me hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House are at one in their desire to attain the object which the proposer of this Amendment says he desires to secure. Hon. Members are anxious to have these technical classes established, but there is a desire in some quarters to have this reservation with regard to religious instruction. The clause, however, is not satisfactorily framed in this respect, and if hon. Members will allow me to frame one before the Report stage is reached, I think it may be possible to remove the fears entertained by hon. Gentlemen.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I think there is a feeling on the part of some hon. Members that this Bill only applies to higher elementary schools; but, of course, it applies to an enormous number of secondary schools which might be under the management of particular denominations, and the adoption of this Amendment would prevent such schools receiving aid from the rates. I would far rather that the Bill should be entirely dropped than that such a clause as this should be carried.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I think it would be possible to meet the objections of hon. Members by making the clause read that no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught to a scholar specially attending at any school aided out of the local rate, &c.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: The new Sub-section had better read thus:—

(b.) "No religious catechism or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall be taught at any school aided out of the local rate to a scholar attending only for the purposes of technical or manual instruction under this Act, and the times for prayer on religious worship, or for any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, shall be conveniently arranged for the purpose of allowing the withdrawal of such scholar therefrom."

*MR. WOODHEAD: I accept that.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: Any objection we may have to that can be raised on the Report stage.

Question put, and negatived.

Sir W. Hart Dyke's Amendment put, and agreed to.

Mr. MATHER: I am happy to have an opportunity even at this late hour of placing my Amendment before the House. Fortunately, it is accepted not only by hon Members on this side of the House, but also by the Government. The main object of the Amendment is to make the Bill an effective means of developing to a much greater extent the kind of education which is given in the Science and Art Department, and which has taken deep root in many parts of the country, but which in some places languishes for want of local support. The Bill as it stood seemed to impart to the Local Authority an educational power which appeared to be undesirable, therefore the School Board has been brought to the front in the Amendment. It is provided that the Local Authority shall grant the School Board any aid which, in its opinion, and in the opinion of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, is necessary to extend the work already being done by the Board in the direction of secondary education. Further, in regard to schools started under the management of private gentlemen, they will also be able to claim from the Local Authority assistance in carrying out their work. With regard to other questions that may arise, the Committee will find that I provide that the Science and Art Department shall be a sort of Court of Appeal for the removal of any difficulties, and I think it will be seen from the nature of my Amendment, and I am led to suppose this from the cordial spirit in which it has been accepted, that it contains a solvent for most of the points that have been raised in the course of this Debate. I trust that, without any further recommendation from me, the Committee will be disposed to accept my Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, after Sub-section (a), to insert the following Sub-sections:—

"(b.) A local authority may, on the request of the school board for its district, or any part of its district, or of any other managers of a school or institution within its district for the time being in receipt of aid from the Department of Science and Art, make, out of any local rate raised in pursuance of this Act, to such extent as may be reasonably sufficient having regard to the requirements of the district, but subject to the conditions and restrictions contained in the last foregoing sub-section, provision in aid of the technical and manual instruction for the time being supplied in schools or institutions within its district, and shall disribute the provision so made in proportion to the nature and amount of efficient technical or manual instruction supplied by those schools or institutions respectively;

"(c.) Where such other managers of a school or institution receive aid from a local authority in pursuance of this section, the local authority shall, for the purposes of this Act, be represented on the governing body of the school or institution in such proportion as will, as nearly as may be, correspond to the amount of aid given;

"(d.) If any question arises as to the sufficiency of the provision made under this section, or as to the qualification of any school or institution to participate in any such provision, or as to the amount to be allotted to each school or institution, or as to the extent to which, or mode in which, the local authority is to be represented on the governing body of any such school or institution, the question shall be determined by the Department of Science and Art."—(*Mr. Mather.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*Mr. H. J. WILSON: I should like to ask my hon. Friend for some explanation why he has altered in his Amendment the word "shall" to "may?" It seems to me that this alteration introduces a certain amount of ambiguity; perhaps he can tell us the exact bearings of this alteration. I confess I should prefer to have the word "shall" made to apply to School Boards, and let "may" apply to other managers.

Mr. MATHER: This arises out of the fact that I received a communication from the Mayor of Manchester, my native city, in which he represented that the compulsory power contained in the Amendment was exceedingly objectionable to the authorities of that city, and to the Local Authorities in great towns generally. I know there is a great desire among these authorities to carry out an efficient system of technical education, and so I thought it would be sufficient to leave it to their discretion when the School Board should come to them rather than to make it compulsory by Act of Parliament. It was also represented to me by the right hon. Gentleman opposite that my Amendment would be more likely to

find acceptance in the permissive than in the compulsory form.

*MR. CHANNING: This explanation only shows how necessary it is that we should be certain about what we are doing. However pleasing this alteration may be to the Town Council of Manchester, it lessens the power of the School Board, and I think absolutely deprives the clause of a great part of its value. Not only is the School Board to be deprived of any initiative in the matter, but it is to be deprived of any security that for the discharge of its important duty it shall have aid from the Local Authorities. These Local Authorities may be, and often are, hostile to the work; I can speak with some experience, for I have served on School Boards and on Local Authorities, and I have not the slightest doubt that in some cases the Local Authorities will discourage the School Board as much as they possibly can. I hope, therefore, that the word "shall" will be restored even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the Mayor of Manchester.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I think if we accept the suggestion that the word "shall" shall be replaced by the word "may" in the first part of the clause, the word "may" should be inserted later with reference to private schools.

SIR H. ROSCOE: In answer to what has been said by my hon. Friend the Member for Northhamptonshire, I may be allowed to say that the Manchester Corporation are perfectly willing to fulfil all the requirements of the clause as it stands, and so, I have no doubt, are most of the other large towns, even under the retention of the word "may."

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I desire to call the hon. Gentleman's attention to the words in which he refers to "the foregoing section." That foregoing section has been deleted.

*MR. GOSCHEN: My right hon. Friend will put that right on Report if necessary. I would now ask the Committee to come to a conclusion with respect to the words "may" and "shall." We must report Progress in a few minutes in order to take the Notification of Diseases Bill. I hope, therefore, the Committee will come to a decision at once.

MR. WOODALL: Is there any objection to insert the word "shall?"

SIR W. HART DYKE: I have no objection.

MR. WOODALL: Then I beg to move an Amendment to the Amendment by substituting the word "shall" for "may" in the first line.

Amendment proposed, in line 1 of the proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "may," and insert the word "shall."—(*Mr. Woodall.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

*MR. G. DIXON: If "shall" is substituted, then, I think, in the following line an alteration will be necessary, and that the words "may on the request" should be inserted after "or."

MR. PICTON: In any district you will have put into the power of the managers of any small ill-furnished sectarian school to come to the Board of Guardians or Local Board and require to be furnished with funds that the authority may be incapable of giving. I think it is out of all reason to subordinate the Local Authorities to such a condition as that; it will be necessary to make an alteration as regards such cases as this, and to leave in the word "may." The School Board ought to have power to insist; but it is an outrage upon the taxpayers that they should be absolutely subject to the demands of private schools for funds for technical instruction.

*MR. CHANNING: The suggestion is that "may" should be introduced as applied to voluntary schools.

MR. J. G. TALBOT: That is absolutely impossible; we cannot allow any difference to be made as between the joint sources for the supply of education which should continue to be carried out upon an equality.

*MR. GOSCHEN: We are now obliged to report Progress. We have to proceed with other business. We shall put the Bill down for to-morrow, after the Committee on Indian Accounts.

MR. WOODALL: May I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment in order that the Amendment may be put?

Amendment to proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I should like to be allowed to make a personal explanation, and to correct a statement that I made earlier in the evening. I stated that I had been

told by an officer of the National Union of Teachers that that Body had expressed approval of the Amendment of the Member for Northamptonshire. But I have since been informed by Mr. Heller that I misunderstood what was said. It is only fair that I should explain this, and that my statement should have been that the officers of the National Union of Teachers are in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Mather) now before us.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Will the Appropriation Bill be taken as the first Order on Wednesday?

*MR. GOSCHEN: There may be some formal business preceding it, but substantially it will be the first Order.

MR. WOODALL: Cannot we now put the Amendment before us to the Vote?

MR. GOSCHEN: There is scarcely time for us to carry out our agreement to proceed with two other Bills before 12. I regret extremely that it should be so.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL (No. 365.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses agreed to.

New Clause, after Clause 5 (Rentcharge under preceding Section not to exceed improved value of Land,)—(*Mr. Madden,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): Some discussion arose on the last occasion in reference to the 5th clause, and it was pointed out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that unless some security of this kind were introduced the clause would work unjustly. My right hon. Friend undertook that such a clause should be introduced, and I now beg to move it.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman accept it as an assurance that the State will not suffer loss?

MR. MADDEN: Yes.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added to Bill.

First Schedule.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I have put down an Amendment to omit the names of certain gentlemen, as to whom I should be glad to learn why they should be relieved from liability. This Bill proposes to lend money in Ireland at a lower rate than in England and at worse security. As far as I can make out, these particular gentlemen are not tenants, so I suppose there was at one time some sort of security from them as owners. I move the Amendment in order to obtain some explanation.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, to leave out the names, "Beatty, David; Brady, Thomas; Donovan, Bartholomew; Pope, William."

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): These gentlemen were tenants not owners, and under the old system these accounts might have been treated as assets for a long time; but we now propose to wipe them out of the accounts. Our doing so does not relieve these persons from liability—we simply wish to remove a false representation of the amount of assets in the accounts.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

First Schedule agreed to.

Second Schedule.

*SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I presume it is not competent for me to propose any Amendment having reference to loans to English landlords; but I do protest against reducing the rate of repayment for Irish landlords who have not reduced their rents, while English landlords who have greatly reduced their rents have to pay 6½ per cent for loans.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Gentleman that however applicable his observations may be to the Bill, they are not applicable to the schedule.

MR. SEXTON: I have again to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the case of the National School teachers in Ireland, and the high

rate of interest they have to pay for loans in respect to their residences. On a previous occasion the right hon. Gentleman promised to give consideration to the question of relieving this much-deserving class, and I think now that we are benefiting the landlords, it is but right that we should give better treatment to these persons. I find the National Teachers' Residences Act, as included in this schedule, is one of those to which the Act will not apply, and that fact seems to give a negative to all hopes. To give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of explaining the decision he has arrived at in this matter I beg to move the omission of line 6.

Amendment proposed, in line 6, to leave out "National School Teachers' Residences (Ireland) Act, 1875."

*MR. GOSCHEN: I hope the hon. Member will not insist upon moving this omission, but that he will accept my assurances which I now repeat. It is rather a large order to expect us to reduce these loans to a very great extent, but I can assure the hon. Gentleman that I will give particular attention to these claims that he urges.

MR. SEXTON: The matter is not a very large one. I am sorry to say there are only 600 residences, so that it is not a very large question. But if the right hon. Gentleman assures me that the question is not prejudiced by this inclusion in the schedule, I withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Second Schedule agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, considered; Bill read the third time and passed.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES NOTIFICATION BILL (No. 293.)

As amended, considered.

*MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I have given notice of Amendments to the Bill, and though I object to the Bill both in detail and general principle, I do not intend to move these Amendments now. I am under promise not to do so. But my objection is not mitigated, and I protest against the Bill being passed through Committee at a time when those particularly interested in the measure are absent.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): I do not think I shall be justified in taking up much time in moving the Amendment which I have put upon the Paper, but it is an Amendment that is regarded as vital to the Bill, and I will only say that a medical man, a Member of this House, told me that if a clause of this kind is not inserted, the effect of the Bill will be to ruin a great many medical practitioners in London. I discharge my duty in proposing the Amendment, and I must leave the responsibility of rejecting it to the House and the Government.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 3, to leave out from the word "applies" to end of line 10, and insert the words—

"Give a certificate to the head of the family or other person who appears to him to be primarily liable to give notice under the Act, stating the name of the patient if known to the medical officer, and if not, such description as may appear to him adequate, and the infectious disease from which, in the opinion of such medical practitioner, the patient is suffering."—(*Mr. Halley Stewart.*)

—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left outstand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

INTERPRETATION BILL [LORDS]. (No. 364.)

As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*SIR JOHN SWINBURNE: I rise to bring the attention of the House to a Charter which is proposed to be granted giving to certain individuals full rights, only stopping short of Sovereignty, over an immense district of South Africa. The first notice the public were given in this case was in the *London Gazette* of the 26th July. It is a very brief notice, occupying only 12 lines, intimating the fact that the Charter is to be granted to the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, and other persons, and inviting everyone having petitions to

make against it to lodge those petitions in due form with the Privy Council. Fortunately for the country at large I happened to have some personal interest in this matter, otherwise the transaction would never have been heard of. [*Laughter.*] No doubt some hon. Members agree with the hon. Member for Preston in thinking that the matter should not be brought before the House, but it seems to me that the House should be very much obliged to a Member possessing intimate personal knowledge of the subject for rising to give it the benefit of that knowledge. I believe I am the only man in the House who has travelled in that country, and it was my fortune—or misfortune—to go all over it 20 years ago. It is some 800 miles in length and 400 miles broad—an enormous tract of country to place under the control of a private syndicate. Through the courtesy of the officials I have obtained a copy of the Charter, and from this document I find that the whole of the territory is to be made over to seven individuals. The whole of this valuable and rich country is given over with an unlimited power of extension to the North and West, to a syndicate for the purposes of their individual profit.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have stated, in answer to two questions to-day, that that is not the fact.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: I am quoting from the Charter. There is no limit under the Charter. I know the Under Secretary has stated, in answer to a question to-day, that all this is to be altered; but if that is the case, why does he not concede the request made to him that this concession should not take effect until Parliament meets next Session? I put it to him is this not a hole-and-corner affair altogether? I questioned the First Lord of the Treasury on the subject yesterday, and he declared that he knew nothing about it, and quite laughed at the idea of the concession extending many hundreds of miles. And yet we have it here in print that that is the case. If the Under Secretary is going to alter all this and is quite prepared to bring forward a good proposal, why is he unwilling to put it off until next Session so that the House may see it and consider its details before it passes into law? Is the Under Secretary ashamed of the proposed Charter being seen and scrutinised? The argument of the Under Secretary is that we must have the Charter here before we can consider it; but, in reply to that, I must point out that when the Charter is presented to us, it will be signed, sealed, and delivered, and will have all the force of an Act of Parliament. As I said before, the Charter does not limit the extent of territory taken over; it gives the Secretary of State for the time being power to make rules to guide the company in its course of action, and those who are aggrieved will have no power of appeal. Then the company are to establish and maintain a force of police, and they will have complete control over the population, including the power of life and death. The Under Secretary pooh-poohs this idea; but his attitude is very much like that of the man who, being in the stocks, says to the officer who placed him there, "But you can't put me there." The company are not to set up or grant any monopoly of trade; but they are to be allowed to grant concessions for banks, railways, tramways, telegraphs, docks, waterworks, and stores. What is that but a monopoly of trade; stores everywhere in the Colonies—mean shops? On page 8 of the Charter it is provided that the company shall appoint all necessary officers and perform such duties and provide such Courts as may be necessary from time to time for the administration of justice. The fact is, this Charter will give to a syndicate of private adventurers as much power as the old East India Company possessed. The defence for the concession is that it will be of great good to the natives. That, however, is really a secondary affair as far as the syndicate is concerned. The great good will really be in regard to the pockets of the members of the syndicate. The whole pith of the Charter is, really to confer all these powers on one person—Mr. Cecil Rhodes. On page 12 of the Charter I find a declaration that it is to be acknowledged by the Government and by all British naval and military officers and Consuls. This means that the company will have a right to declare war upon native tribes, and to call in to their aid any of Her Majesty's

forces. I do not think that any naval or military officer, having this Paper put into his hands, and being asked for assistance, could refuse to give it. What will be the consequence? We shall be involved in some native war which will cost us half-a-dozen millions' sterling before we have done with it. The Charter is to be most favourably construed and adjudged to the best advantage—not of the native tribes, but of the company. If this is such a splendid thing as it is said to be, why did not Her Majesty's Government give notice of it, and allow us to discuss it in Committee of the Whole House upon the Vote for South Africa? Why do they want to grant this Charter at a time when nobody is in London and when Parliament is not sitting? When we meet next February, we shall be told that we have lost the opportunity of opposing the scheme. I think this is the most monstrous concession to private individuals that Parliament ever heard of. Even when people asked for copies of the Charter they were refused because it was said it was not usual to give them. Yet it is advertised in the *London Gazette* that we were to petition for or against it. This is one of the grossest jobs that ever came before the House. The territory referred to in the Charter is not less than France, Belgium, and Holland put together, and it is to be given away to a syndicate of seven persons, who are to do pretty well what they please if they can obtain the permission of the Secretary of State. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words—

"This House is unwilling to pass a Bill which places Her Majesty's Ministers beyond the control of Parliament for some months without an assurance that they will not advise Her Majesty to grant a Charter for great territories in South Africa to a syndicate of private persons before Parliament reassembles.—(*Sir John Swinburne.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I desire to second the Amendment. I have no private interest in this matter, but I have a very great public interest in it, and I am most grateful to my hon. Friend for having ferreted out the facts. No one would have had the least idea of what was going on if there had not been some hon. Members who were personally interested in the question. I agree with my hon. Friend in thinking this a most objectionable concession. It is one of the old class of concessions obtained by speculators who get up companies, and, on plausible and philanthropic grounds, get a number of Dukes and other great people to act as decoys. It is a speculator who is at the bottom of this concession. It is not only a filibustering concession, but is in the most approved form of such concessions. Power is taken to delegate rights to other companies, and I have no doubt that under this Charter very large concessions will be made to subcompanies. I think it is a most objectionable thing that an enormous concession of this kind, involving half a continent, should be granted in darkness and secrecy and without the knowledge and consent of Parliament. It is one of those things which would have been almost incredible some few years ago. I know that men of great knowledge of this House and great administrative knowledge have expressed astonishment that it is possible to do these things in this way. Everybody believed that in such a matter the Crown was the representative of the people and that it could not make such concessions without the consent of Parliament. It was, therefore, indeed an astonishment when it was discovered that lawyers had found some technical ground under which the Crown, advised by its Ministers, could do these things without the consent of Parliament. But there was a still more astounding claim put forward by the First Lord of the Treasury the other night, when he said, in reply to a question I put to him, that the Government could not interfere with the prerogative of the Crown in this matter. A similar claim was formerly put forward by the Crown with regard to the alienation of Crown property, but Parliament interfered and put a stop to that kind of thing. Are we to believe that in these days it is in the power of the Crown, as a matter of personal prerogative, to give away great continents? It seems to me that this is a most dangerous and unconstitutional doctrine, and one which Parliament will never per-

mit to be established in this country. By a grant of this kind the power of Parliament over the proceedings of the Crown in regard to territory is entirely evaded. Such a grant is still more objectionable just when Parliament is about to separate, and when for months there will be no opportunity of even asking a question. I believe that some months ago there were grave rumours that some great territorial company was to be got up, but there has not been the smallest intimation for some time in the Press or elsewhere that anything of the kind was going on. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) has said that in these days we cannot submit to such things as were done in the days of the Stuarts. Are we, at this latter end of the Nineteenth Century, to submit to the Crown alienating great African territories, larger and more important than those of the Hudson's Bay Company? It is only because the matter has not been discovered until a time when 19-20ths of the Members of the House of Commons have left London that it is possible for the Government to carry out their scheme. I thought we should have been informed that the matter had not been settled, but to my surprise we were told to-day that the Government had determined to grant a Charter. It may be that the terms of the Charter will be modified, but Parliament at all events will not have the opportunity of saying a word or asking a question about it.

BARON H. DE WORMS: I confess I was somewhat astonished to hear the hon. Member for Staffordshire lay stress upon this Charter as for the benefit of individuals and as having come upon him by surprise. If there is any hon. Member who should not have used such an argument it is the hon. Member himself, for I have in my hand a copy of a letter addressed by the hon. Baronet to the Privy Council relative to the Charter which he has declared to the House is a hole and corner affair of which nobody has had any cognisance. On the 17th August, the date of the letter, he was perfectly well aware that the Charter was advertised in the *London Gazette* on July 23rd.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE. I had not a copy of the Charter then, and I did not see a copy of the advertisement until weeks after it was published.

*BARON H. DE WORMS: Well, I think the fact disposes of the statement about it being a hole and corner affair. The matter having come to his knowledge, the hon. Member wrote to the Privy Council petitioning against the granting of the Charter in the form requested by the applicants, because they did not recognise his rights of property under the rule of King Lobengula—[Sir J. SWINBURNE: Hear, hear]—in the dominions concerned, and because such a Charter would be injurious to his rights. [Sir J. SWINBURNE: Hear, hear.] After having written this letter the hon. Member poses as opposing the Charter on purely Imperial grounds. Did he protest on that ground to the Privy Council or was his protest purely based upon the assumption that the Charter, if granted, would interfere with an alleged concession of his? He now asks the Government to depart from the practice observed by all preceding Administrations—viz., of granting Charters without submitting them to Parliament—not on the ground that any Imperial interest would be imperilled by such action, but because they did not recognise his rights of property under the rule of King Lobengula. I believe that the concessions which the hon. Member thinks he possesses lapsed some eight years ago.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: I have certain properties in different parts of the country. That assertion is only true in relation to one of my properties. If I had not had various others I should have known nothing of the matter.

*BARON H. DE WORMS: The hon. Baronet's remark proves, therefore, that his opposition is founded on personal rather than on Imperial interests.

*SIR J. SWINBURNE: No, not at all.

*BARON H. DE WORMS: I do not think the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy could have been aware, when he spoke of the charter as a "hole-and-corner" affair, that it was advertised in the *Gazette* on the 26th of July, and that it was intimated that the Charter was lying at the Privy Council Office, where claims or petitions against the Charter could be lodged. The hon. Member has often declaimed against any advance being made by Her Majesty's Government, any Protectorate being exercised,

or any sphere of influence being proclaimed; and the object of the Government in granting this Charter is exactly to avoid what the hon. Gentleman dislikes so much. We wish to spread the influence of civilisation to the barbarous districts of Africa without assuming the great responsibilities which attach to an extension of Protectorate. Her Majesty's Government reserve the fullest power of control over the proceedings of the company, and it is of the greatest importance that the proceedings of British subjects in South Africa should be strictly regulated. By means of the Charter the native Chiefs of the territories in question will no longer be exposed to the unfortunate consequences of the bad bargains which they have made at different periods; the country will be opened up, and the control will remain just as before. Under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government do not intend to depart from the course always adopted in these matters, and I must therefore decline to postpone the grant of the Charter.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.): The proceedings of the Government in reference to the Charter are in marked contrast to their proceedings in connection with the Western Australia Bill. In the latter case, although all the Australian Colonies petitioned for the passing of the Bill in the present Session, the Government have made no effort; but in the former case they are rushing through a concession for a private company.

*SIR R. FOWLER (London): We must all feel that it is desirable to develop the resources of the country, and the directors of the company are substantial and well-known men, two of whom, the Duke of Abercorn and Mr. Grey, were well known in former Parliaments. I should have been glad if the Government had been able to see their way to exerting a more direct influence over their territories by appointing a Commissioner; but under the circumstances I think that they have done wisely in granting the Charter.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): It is a monstrous doctrine the right hon. Gentleman has laid down that, because a Member of the House has some private interest concerned in a public question, then he must not presume to debate that question on public grounds. There is a great deal too much bandying about of motives. We can come to a conclusion on these matters on public grounds, and there is no need to cast aspersions on each other's motives. As to the Motion before us, I have only to say that I am strongly opposed to the Old World notion of the granting of these monopolies by the Crown, and I thought we had outgrown these ideas. Such cases should be remitted to the House of Commons for consideration. I shall support my hon. Friend.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I quite agree with this method of introducing civilisation into Africa. It will do a great deal to open up this part of South Africa. The Protectorate over this territory was declared by the late Prime Minister in January, 1885, without consulting Parliament, and I doubt if many Members knew of the proclamation at the time. Undoubtedly, I think the Charter will be a great advantage to the cause of civilisation.

MR. SEXTON: I wish to say that the question in relation to Irish education, which I expressed my intention of raising on the Appropriation Bill, I shall reserve for the stage of Third Reading.

The House divided:—Ayes 70; Noes 20.—(Div. List, No. 348.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

EDUCATION GRANTS (CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND) BILL (No. 390.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

DUBLIN HOSPITAL BOARD BILL (No. 389.)

Order for Committee read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON): I desire to move that the Order for this Bill be discharged and the Bill withdrawn. I do this with extreme regret, because I believe the effect of the Bill would have been to have made a better appropriation of the Parliamentary Votes than the appropriation at present in force, and I believe it would have been much more

effective for its purpose. But I find opposition has been got up in different parts of the House, and I see no hope of passing the Bill this Session. I hope, however, before next Session we may get at the real facts of the case, and be able early in the Session to introduce a Bill that will meet with general approval, because I feel, after the condemnation passed by various Commissions and various Committees, that Parliament can hardly be justified in continuing in its present form and appropriating in its present manner the sum voted by Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for Committee be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. SEXTON: I deeply regret that no Bill on the subject is to pass this year, though I cannot say I much regret the withdrawal of the present Bill. I wish, in a word or two, to offer a few suggestions which may be useful to the Government. I notice the Government in the Bill altered the constitution of the Board proposed by the Royal Commission, and I would not go further into that than to say I think the nearer they kept to the recommendation of the Royal Commission the more likely the Board would be to give satisfaction. It is arranged, I am told, that the Government would place at the disposal of the Hospitals Board a sum equal to the annual produce of the capital value of the votes now given, and I calculate that would be £11,200 a year. The Government have added to that a sum of £300 a year, but they have placed on the Board unlimited liability for compensation, not only for physicians and surgeons who might suffer loss, but in regard to others connected with the hospitals, and physicians and surgeons who might be dissatisfied with the compensation offered by the Board might come to the Treasury and make an appeal. I would not advise any body of gentlemen to undertake the responsibility under these irksome and humiliating conditions, and I think unless the Government see their way to allow the Dublin Board the annual produce of the capital vote for hospital purposes, the Bill will not give satisfaction. I notice that a sub-section provides that an hospital that is not open to clinica instruction would not be entitled to get anything from the Hospital Board. Cork Street Hospital is not open to clinical instruction, so that this hospital would fall upon the local rates, and the Bill would become of dubious benefit. The Bill has not been carefully framed, and if the Government keep in view the suggestion I have made, they will be more likely to present a satisfactory measure.

Question put, and agreed to.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLOURS) BILL (No. 238.)

As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

STEAM TRAWLING (IRELAND) (RECOMMITTED) BILL (No. 335.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 3.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, to leave out from the word "it" to the word "mentioned," in line 20, both inclusive, in order to insert the words—

"The Inspectors of Irish Fisheries may from time to time make, alter, and revoke bye-laws, in the manner and under the regulations in the Fisheries Act, 1842, mentioned, prohibiting the use, in or from any steamer or steamship or vessel propelled by steam, of the method of fishing known as beam trawling, or other trawling, within three miles of low water mark of any part of the coast of Ireland, or within the waters of any other defined areas specified in any such bye-law, and subject to any conditions or regulations contained in such bye-laws."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

It being One of the clock, the CHAIRMAN left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Whereupon, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 6.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [SEPTEMBER 4.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 27th August, 1889.

KASHMIR.

QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HERSCHELL: I wish to ask my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India whether there is any foundation for the rumour, which seems to have occasioned some alarm in different parts of India, that it is the intention of the Government to take possession of the Native State of Kashmir?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount CROSS): I can find no foundation for that report, and it is certainly absolutely untrue. It is true that the Viceroy felt bound, with my entire concurrence, to accept the resignation of the ruler of Kashmir for the present, and place the State under a Native Council, a course advised by the Resident who was there, but anyone who has looked into the way in which the State of Kashmir has been governed for some time past can have no doubt whatever that a wise step has been taken. There is not the slightest intention on the part of the Government or of the Viceroy to annex Kashmir to the British Crown. On the contrary, we have every hope that when the state of things has been remedied in Kashmir the late ruler will see it to be advisable to re-assume control of his State and to govern in a way which will be a benefit to his subjects and to neighbouring countries as well.

COTTON CLOTH FACTORIES BILL (No. 227.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

INFECTIOUS DISEASE NOTIFICATION BILL (No. 242.)

Brought from the Commons, read 1ª; to be printed, and to be read 2ª to-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL (No. 243.)

Brought from the Commons, read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª to-morrow.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. considered (according to order), and dispensed with for the remainder of the Session.

COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL (No. 238.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*VISCOUNT CROSS: Your Lordships will remember that by the Act governing India the Council of India in England to assist the Secretary of State was to consist of 15 Members, and when a vacancy occurred the Secretary of State was bound to fill it up. About a year ago I appointed a Committee to consider carefully the home charges of India, about which considerable complaint has been raised in India itself. One of the recommendations of the Council was that their own number should be reduced. They stated that they had no doubt whatever that a reduced number would be able to fulfil all the duties imposed upon them entirely to the satisfaction of the country, and in fact that if more responsibility rested upon those who were left, the work would be, if possible, better done. Under those circumstances, and acting on the recommendation of the Council

itself, with which recommendation I entirely agree, I have to ask your Lordships to assent to the Second Reading of this Bill. A vacancy on the Council has unfortunately occurred through the ill-health of Sir Henry Yule, whose presence on the Council had been of enormous advantage to the natives of the country. A man of more kindly disposition, thorough intelligence, high-minded, upright, honourable character I believe never existed, and I should like to bear testimony to the estimation in which his work is held, and to the services which he has rendered in the office he so long filled. I now have to ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading to the Bill, which I may say was passed in another place without being challenged even by a Division.

Bill read 2ª (according to order); Then (Standing Order No. XLV. having been dispensed with) Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL (No. 239.)

Read 2ª (according to order); Then (Standing Order No. XLV. having been dispensed with) Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) BILL (No. 240.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*Lord BALFOUR: This, my Lords, is a Bill for the purpose of amending certain provisions in the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, which referred to the employment of pilots and the conditions of their employment. No great change in the law is made, but it is not surprising that, after the lapse of 35 years, certain difficulties should have arisen and certain improvements in the law have become necessary. A good deal of correspondence has taken place in regard to the amendments of the law now proposed, and a Select Committee of the other House of Parliament sat nearly the whole of last Session inquiring into matters which were brought before them in respect to which it was thought the present law of pilotage required amendment. The Bill which is now before your Lordships consists almost entirely of detail, and the Amendments which it effects in the law proceed almost entirely upon the lines of the recommendations of the Select Committee. Provision is made for the further representation of shipowners and pilots upon the Board or Pilotage Authority of the district in which they are interested, and by the 4th Clause provision is made for allowing pilots who are aggrieved by any decision which may be come to by the Pilotage Authority to appeal either to the Judge of the County Court or to a Metropolitan Police or Stipendiary Magistrate. When such an appeal takes place, the Judge or Magistrate is to sit with an assessor of nautical and pilotage experience. There are also provisions for more stringent penalties for manifest and palpable evasions of the law. For example, if the master of a vessel flies a flag which is a colourable imitation of the flag which ought to be at the masthead when a pilot is on board, and that flag is obviously placed there for the purpose of deception, a penalty is imposed. Power is given to the Board of Trade and to the Pilotage Authority to make bye-laws with regard to Superannuation Funds in which pilots are interested. The penalties upon employing unqualified pilots are made more stringent. The general provisions of the Bill have been accepted by those interested, and I now ask your Lordships to give it a Second Reading.

Bill read 2ª (according to Order) and committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

PUBLIC HEALTH (CHOLERA PREVENTION) BILL (No. 241.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*Lord BALFOUR: This Bill is to remove doubts as to the power of the Local Government Board with regard to regulations which they are empowered to make under the Public Health Act, and which have been in force for some 16 or 17 years. It is not the intention of the Local Government Board to make any alterations in the regulations which are now in force, but doubts have arisen as to the completeness of the power of

the Board to make the regulations for the detention of persons suffering from cholera. It is obviously a matter of the greatest possible importance that any doubts upon a matter of this kind should be removed, and, therefore, as a precautionary measure this Bill has been introduced. It has passed through the other House of Parliament without Amendment, and I am not aware that any controversy is likely to arise upon it. I now ask your Lordships to give it a Second Reading.

Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 234.)

Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendment, and passed and sent to the Commons.

LEASEHOLDERS (IRELAND) BILL (No. 231.)

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENTS IN BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL (No. 236.)

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) (No. 2) BILL (No. 235.)

THIRD READING.

Order of the day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

*LORD DENMAN repeated his objections to this measure, and pointed out the enormous borrowing powers which it conferred upon the County Council. By the Standing Order to which he had on a previous occasion referred, it was clear that the House had power to examine a Bill of this kind and to make alterations in it. It had been said that the particular function of that House was to put a check upon rash legislation. If ever there was a Bill which could be so described, it was this, and the House would not be doing its duty unless it rejected the measure altogether. He urged that a matter of such importance should be dealt with deliberately, and that the Bill ought not to be rushed through Parliament without adequate discussion.

Amendment moved to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months").—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On question whether the word ("now") shall stand part of the Motion, resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read 3ª accordingly, and passed.

POOR LAW BILL (No. 195.)

Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

INTERPRETATION BILL (No. 92.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments; Commons Amendments considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow at half-past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 27th August, 1889.

QUESTIONS.

THE PADDY TAX IN CEYLON.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN (Hythe): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Colonial Office propose to instruct the new Governor of Ceylon, Sir Arthur Havelock, to investigate the incidence of the Paddy Tax upon the food supplies of Ceylon, and to report how far the statements that the people of the country are on "half-rations" of food, and that evictions by the Government have led to starvation of the people and to disease and death, are well founded, and to suggest any remedy?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Secretary of State will certainly direct Sir A. Havelock's particular attention to this serious matter, although it is hoped that the results of a very careful investigation will have been received before he assumes the Government.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he will cause an immediate inspection to be made of the present condition of the roof of Westminster Hall, as the bolts that hold the slates are falling into Westminster Hall?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigtonshire): The roof of Westminster Hall has been recently inspected and is in good condition, with some exceptions round the dormers on the eastern side. It is, however, proposed to remove these dormers shortly, and to make good any defects. There are no bolts holding the slates on the roof, the old slating having been held on by very small oak pins weighing under an ounce each, some of which, displaced at the time of the explosion, may possibly have fallen. The remainder of the slates, which were fixed after the explosion, are secured in the usual way with copper nails.

IRELAND—LAND COMMISSION—LISBLAKE FARM.

MR. HENRY CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland if an application has been made to the Land Commission by John M'Manus for the purchase-money of his farm at Lisblake, near Killesher, County Fermanagh, of Mrs. Brackenridge, the landlady of this farm; have the Land Commission satisfied themselves that Mrs. Brackenridge has a satisfactory title to this farm; is he aware that M'Manus defeated her claim to a title in respect to this holding on two occasions in Court; and that this decision was reversed on a third trial in consequence of M'Manus's legal adviser not appearing to look after his interests; have the Land Commission advanced the money for the purchase, or is it their intention to advance it in this case; and, if not, will he explain on what grounds; and what communications have passed between Mrs. Brackenridge and the Land Commission?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, University of Dublin): The Land Commission report that no application has been received by them, nor is there any record of any communication having passed between them and Mrs. Brackenridge on the subject.

THE BELFAST TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether several telegraphists who were connected with the Belfast Office have lately left the service, owing to the inactive state of promotion in that office; whether the Postmaster was petitioned some 12 months ago with regard to an increase in the number of first-class appointments; whether the memorialists have yet received a reply; whether Belfast has fewer higher appointments in proportion to the numerical strength of its staff than any other office; and, whether steps will be taken with a view to redress this grievance?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I am authorised by the Postmaster General to say that during the past 15 months no resignations have occurred in the first class of telegraphists at Belfast. Five resignations occurred in the second class. The Postmaster General received some time ago a memorial from the telegraphists asking him to create a number of first-class appointments in order to give them promotion. This memorial he carefully considered, and came to the conclusion that there were no duties to be performed that would justify additional superior appointments at that time, and he caused a reply in this sense to be sent to the memorialists. The question will shortly come again under his consideration, when he will see if there is any change in the circumstances.

MR. SEXTON: Unless there is some improvement in the service I shall certainly call attention to the matter next Session. May I ask whether a vacancy in the Belfast Telegraph Office in the first class has been filled by the appointment of a gentleman who has for years held, and stills holds, the position of Telegraphic Instructor in the Midland Division of Ireland; whether this official has been absent from the Belfast office some eight years, and whether during this period he was connected with the surveyor's office in Dublin, and under the immediate control of the authorities there; and, if so, whether it is in accordance with usage to appoint to a first class post in the Belfast office an official

who continues to perform a specific duty in another section; and, whether, in view of the stagnation of promotion existing in Belfast, this appointment will be made redundant?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I have to say, in reply to the hon. Member, that the facts, so far as they are stated in his question, are substantially correct. It should, however, be added that the Inspecting Telegraphist referred to is a member of the Belfast staff, and was the senior officer on his class qualified for promotion. The question of making an additional first class appointment, which would, in effect, give a promotion, is under the consideration of the Postmaster General.

BAIL FOR GOOD BEHAVIOUR.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he will lay upon the Table of the House before next Session a Return showing the cases in Ireland, since the passing of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, where persons have been required to give bail for good conduct under the Statute of Edward III, showing the names, dates, and cause of summons, whether bail was given, and where not given what length of imprisonment was awarded?

MR. MADDEN: A Return showing the cases in Ireland, since the passing of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, where persons have been required to give bail for good conduct under the Statute of Edward III., will not be opposed by the Government. Steps have been already taken to collect the information necessary for its preparation; but the time available will, I fear, hardly admit of the Return being laid upon the Table before the expiration of the present Session.

THE DECCAN MINES.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India what is now the position of the Deccan Mines question; whether the concession of mining privileges in the Nizam's dominions is still in force; and, whether there is still a question of extending those privileges?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The concession of mining rights to the Deccan Company has never ceased to be in force. The Secretary of State has offered, in the event of certain conditions being agreed to by the concessionaires—one of which is the provision of £150,000 additional capital—to concur with the Government of India's approval of the extension by the Nizam to 31st December, 1891, of the right of selection by the Company of certain coal mines which are specified in Clause 3a of the concession. To this offer no reply has yet been received. Except as above the Secretary of State has declined to approve of the extension by the Nizam of any further privileges to the Company.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Is the further concession confined to the coal mines?

SIR J. GORST: Yes; to the coal mines only.

BRITISH GUIANA.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the serious allegations contained in the Report of the Medical Inspector of British Guiana for the year 1886, as to the insanitary and otherwise defective condition of the coolie hospitals and villages in that Colony, also to the high death rate prevailing amongst the indentured labourers which that Report revealed; and, if so, whether any steps have yet been, or are about to be, taken to remedy the evils complained of; and, whether a copy of the Medical Inspector's Report for 1886, together with any Correspondence relating thereto, will be laid upon the Table of the House?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The Report of the Medical Inspector of British Guiana pointed out the existence of sanitary and other defects in the coolie hospitals and the dwellings of the coolies on some of the estates, and contained comments on the death rate of the indentured immigrants, which, however, was not shown to be excessive. The attention of the Governor was called to the Report; some of the defects had been remedied before the date of the Report, and steps have been taken to improve the sanitary condition of the coolies by the issue of new regu-

lations as to the estates, hospitals, and the dwellings of the indentured emigrants. It is not proposed to lay the Report and Correspondence on the Table, as the matter has been practically dealt with.

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION IN SCOTLAND.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherlandshire): I beg to ask the Postmaster General what is the cause of the delay in the extension of telegraphic communication to Kinlochbervie and Scourie, in the County of Sutherland, and when he proposes to proceed with the work?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I understand that the Postmaster General caused the hon. Member to be informed by letter on the 12th ultimo of the reason why the extension could not take place, namely, that as the extension of the telegraphs to Kinlockbervie and Scourie would not be remunerative, it could not, in the absence of any special arrangement between the Scotch Office and the Treasury, be made except under guarantee. No such special arrangement has been made, and the Postmaster General has no power to proceed.

THE TREASURY MINUTE ON CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS.

MR. JOHN KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state approximately the date at which the Order in Council, embodying the provisions of the Treasury Minute on Civil Establishments, will be published in the *Gazette;* and whether the changes made in the various Departments of the Public Service will or will not be retrospective as and from 1st April last?

MR. JAMES ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked a similar question.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I am not in a position to state when the Order in Council, embodying the provisions of the Treasury Minute on Civil Establishments, will be issued. Any changes it may introduce will take effect from the date of the Order, and will not be retrospective.

IPSWICH GAOL—TREATMENT OF UNCONVICTED PRISONERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Prison Commissioners are aware of the instructions which have been given by the Governor of Ipswich Gaol as to the treatment of unconvicted prisoners; whether there are any other prisons in England and Wales where similar instructions are in force; and whether he will take effectual steps to protect unconvicted prisoners and secure compliance with the law?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The Prison Commissioners became aware of the instructions referred to when the Governor was called upon to report in the recent case of "Flanagan *v.* Hulme." As soon as they became aware of them they immediately directed the Governor to issue amended instructions in accordance with the Prison Rules. The Commissioners are not aware that any instructions not supported by the Rules are in force in any other prison. The hon. Member was informed, in the Debate on the Report stage of the Prison Vote, that the Inspectors at their monthly inspections would be directed to ascertain that in every prison the instructions of the Governor should be brought into conformity with the law.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Has not Ipswich Gaol been the subject of inspection by the Prison Commissioners, and, notwithstanding that inspection, are not illegal practices being constantly carried out there?

MR. MATTHEWS: Undoubtedly the Inspectors have been to some degree to blame in not having seen that the orders given by the Governor were in accordance with the Prison Regulations.

PROCEDURE IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE COURTS.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the observations made by Mr. Sheil at Wandsworth Police Court on Friday last, condemning the system under which "at that Court a case first came before A, was remanded and taken

before B, and was finally heard and adjudicated upon by C;" to how many cases do the observations of the learned Magistrate apply; and, what was the name of the defendant, and the result, in each case?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have no information at present on this subject; but I have referred the question to the learned Magistrate. I will cause the hon. Member to be informed of the result It is, no doubt, desirable that, if possible, the same Magistrate should adjudicate on a case in all its stages; but under existing arrangements, and under any possible arrangement of the Rota, it will sometimes happen that the same Magistrate does not preside at every stage of a protracted case.

In reply to a further question by MR. PICKERSGILL,

MR. MATTHEWS said: No Magistrate ever adjudicates until he has heard the whole of the evidence.

THE SOUDAN.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has noticed lately statements in the public prints attributing much of the anarchy, raiding, and distress in the Soudan to starvation, and particularly a telegram in the *Times* of 26th August, asserting that famine prevails throughout the Soudan, that many deaths occur daily from starvation at Tokar and other places, and that the Hadendowas are broken up through famine; whether the blockade against the importation of food is still maintained; and whether they will raise the blockade as regards food and articles of peaceful merchandise, and insist that the policy of peace, conciliation, and free trade shall be tried?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): Accounts of the internal condition of the Soudan cannot be accepted as authentic; but the continued action of predatory bands and of slave-dealing must cause extensive suffering, and the interruption of the means of livelihood. Trade is encouraged through the ports which are under the control of the Egyptian and Italian Governments, but is interfered with if carried on directly with the hostile tribes, seeing that it is largely connected with the Slave Trade. I have already said that arms have only been given to certain friendly tribes in order to assist them in defending themselves, and in recovering their property, which has been carried off. The policy pursued is to restore trade and peaceful pursuits; but it is vain to attempt to deal with fanatical leaders who are constantly invading Egyptian territory, and who prevent the revival of commercial intercourse.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: May I ask if Her Majesty's ships are employed in a blockade in order to starve these people?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I must ask for notice of that question.

FACTORY RULES.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to a decision of the Halifax Borough Magistrates on the 16th instant, whereby four women, who were found by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories working in a worsted mill during a meal time, were each fined 10s., with 6s. 6d. costs; and whether this decision is consistent with "The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878?"

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to this case, and I am now in communication with the Justices with regard to it. Pending their Report I am not in a position to give an opinion on the case.

THE CINQUE PORTS VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.

VISCOUNT WOLMER (Hants, Petersfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the command of the 3rd Volunteer (Kent) Brigade, Cinque Ports Division, Royal Artillery, about to become vacant, has been offered to and accepted by a gentleman not residing in the county; whether representations have reached him which show that such appointments may have the effect of deterring gentlemen resident in the county from accepting commissions in the corps; and, whether, before it is decided to bring in a gentleman non-resident in the county, he will consider the advisability of offering the appointment to other gentlemen resident in the county?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle) : The brigade has two lieutenant-colonels, of whom the senior has resigned. The junior, residing, I believe, in the county, has succeeded to the command. The recommendation of an officer as second lieutenant-colonel rests with the general commanding the district, from whom none has as yet been received. I have received the representation referred to in my noble Friend's question, and it shall have full attention.

THE RIFLE BRIGADE.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON (Devon, Tavistock): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if it is true that the 4th Battalion Rifle Brigade has been in the East Indies longer than any other battalion now serving there, having landed at Bombay in November, 1873; whether other battalions that went abroad later have not already come home; and why the return of this battalion, which has been 16 years abroad, and recently on active service in Burmah, has been postponed from the beginning to near the end of the ensuing trooping season?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: The battalion referred to has been the longest in India, and will come home during the ensuing trooping season. The relief of battalions under the localisation system of territorial regiments must depend in some degree on the going abroad of the other battalions of the same regiments.

IRISH PIERS AND HARBOURS.

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland when it is intended to take up the question of piers and harbours in the fishing districts on the Irish coast, as recommended by the late Royal Commission; whether it is a fact that the loading of one steamer with cured mackerel at Garnish, Castletown Bere, County Cork, costs about £16; whether he has had any Report from the Board of Works or the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries showing the absolute necessity of a pier at Garnish in consequence of the number of steamers calling there; and whether he will, on an early day, endeavour to get something done for Garnish rather than put the Irish merchants to such expense?

MR. MADDEN: The Irish Government have obtained the views of the Board of Works and of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries as a proposal submitted to them for the construction of a pier at Garnish, but inasmuch as the Board of Works advised that there are no available funds for the purpose, the consideration of the matter was not further proceeded with. The Government have been dealing with those of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works which relate to drainage and light railways. Upon these matters being disposed of, the Government hope to bring certain proposals before Parliament in regard to the Royal Commission's recommendations on the subject of piers and harbours.

PILOTAGE CERTIFICATES.

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what course the Government intend to pursue as regards compensation to the pilots of this country whose incomes will be seriously diminished by the issue of pilotage certificates to foreigners under Clause 1 of the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Bill?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I think this question has been framed under a very exaggerated apprehension of the operation of Clause 1 of the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Bill. As it would at the most involve a return to the practice which prevailed for more than 30 years before 1886, I cannot see how any claim to compensation could arise.

THE CHURCHWARDENS AND OVERSEERS OF GATESHEAD.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to a correspondence between five churchwardens and overseers of the parish of Gateshead and the Local Government Board as to certain acts, among others, of the minority of three—namely, altering the banking account of the churchwardens and overseers; removing rate books from the assistant overseer's office; also the refusal of the collectors to perform the duties laid

down in the Local Government Board orders; and, if so, what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter, the parish business being now practically at a dead lock?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I am aware of the correspondence to which the question refers. I regret the differences which have arisen between the persons holding office as churchwardens and overseers of the parish of Gateshead. An Inspector of the Local Government Board has had an interview with them with the view of assisting in bringing about harmonious working, but apparently the interview has had no satisfactory result. One question at issue is whether the churchwardens are legally entitled to act as overseers of the parish, and the Board have stated that this is a question which they have no jurisdiction to determine. They have at the same time impressed upon the parochial officers the personal responsibility which attaches to them with regard to the making and collection of the rates which are required for the purposes of the parish.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Has not the Department the power of suspending the Local Authority in a case of this kind?

*MR. RITCHIE: The Government have power to dissolve the Local Authority if it does not perform its duty, but I imagine that in this case there is a question of law, and there would be some difficulty in taking that course.

FAMINE IN THE SOUDAN.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the reports of famine and misery throughout the Soudan are confirmed; and whether it is true that at Khartoum and Kassala the people who die are being eaten; and, if so, whether any steps have been taken, or are in contemplation, in regard to this state of affairs?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government have received no such information; but, as I have just now stated, the action of the predatory bands must be causing much suffering; that action is in no way due to the conduct of the Egyptian Government or of Her Majesty's Government. The prosperity of the Soudan can only revive by the cessation of the tribes from rapine and warfare.

BEHRING SEA FISHERIES.

SIR HENRY TYLER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how many sealing or other British vessels have been captured by American cruisers in Behring's Straits or the neighbourhood; and what steps have been taken in regard to them, so far as this question can be answered without detriment to the Public Service?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: We have no authentic information. We have reason to believe that two or three vessels have been formally captured this year, but have been suffered to return to Canadian ports.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Are not the United States the successors in title to Russia in the Alaskan waters, and did not Russia always insist on enforcing similar regulations to those now enforced by the American cruisers?

*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I must ask for notice of that question, and at the same time, if I might so far presume, I would deprecate any discussion in this House on the subject.

FOREIGN PILOTS.

SIR HENRY TYLER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade from what date it is intended to license Foreign Pilots under the Bill read the third time on Saturday evening; and whether it is intended that there shall be any limit to the number of foreigners so to be licensed as pilots for entering British ports?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: As I read the Bill to which the hon. Member refers, the proper way to give effect to the intention of Parliament will be to maintain the *status quo* until the date at which the new Act is to come into operation. Clause 1 is an enabling Clause, and does not take away the discretionary powers at present enjoyed by the Pilotage Authorities and the Board of Trade.

THE POST OFFICE.

MR. JAMES ROWLANDS: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether, inasmuch as all the most important duties in the various departments of the

Post Office are at the present time discharged by the old establishment, in preparing the Return classifying the officers of the Department, in accordance with the terms of the Treasury Minute, the claims of those officers to be considered, *de facto*, officers of the Upper Division of the Service will be recognised?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The question of the hon. Member is somewhat premature, inasmuch as the Postmaster General has not been called upon to prepare any such Return as that alluded to, but I have no doubt that the point indicated by the hon. Member will receive the attention of the Government.

HANSARD'S DEBATES.

MR. M'CARTAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, considering the saving which is likely to be effected by the new method of supplying certain Blue Books and Papers only to Members of Parliament who sign the forms of demand, and also the advantage to Members of giving them an opportunity of studying the proceedings of this House, he will take into consideration the desirability of supplying *Hansard's* Reports to Members who may apply for them?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I have not heard that any difficulty in obtaining copies of *Hansard* from the contractors has been experienced by hon. Members who wish to have the advantage of studying the proceedings of this House; but if, as I suppose, the hon. Member's question points to a gratuitous distribution of *Hansard*, I may point out that this question was considered by the Joint Committee appointed to consider the arrangements as to *Hansard*, and that Committee, I believe, were unanimous against the suggestion.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS.

MR. JOHN KELLY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether it is the fact that, though a large number of Civil Service Writers have been recommended by the heads of their departments as in every respect worthy of promotion under the Treasury Minute of 1886, the great majority of such recommendations have been ignored by the Treasury; and, if so, whether it is proposed to deal with these Writers of admitted merit under the new regulations, and in what manner?

MR. JACKSON: Every case in which a copyist was recommended by the head of his Department for promotion to the Lower Division was most carefully examined by the Treasury in accordance with the intention of the Minute of December, 1886, and it is not proposed to re-open the question.

THE STRIKES IN LONDON.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the organised system of intimidation which prevails in connection with the wharves on the Thames; and, whether he will direct the police to give protection to those who are engaged there in legitimate business?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not prepared to admit that there is anything which can properly be described as an organised system of intimidation. There is, however, a considerable amount of pressure exercised, which in some cases passes into acts of intimidation, but of a nature very difficult for the police to interfere with. A large body of Metropolitan Police is on duty in the neighbourhood of the docks; a steam launch has been directed to patrol the river; and the police have orders to render all the assistance in their power when applied to. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing an earnest hope that both the parties to this dispute, which is causing great inconvenience and damage to the trade of London and to many persons wholly unconnected with the docks, may be induced to compose their differences by some rational and satisfactory mode of settlement.

MRS. MAYBRICK.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is true, as stated in the *Standard* of Saturday, that the first intimation of the reprieve granted to Mrs. Maybrick was conveyed to Liverpool in an unofficial newspaper telegram at seven o'clock on Thursday evening, but that—

"Nothing was received at Walton Gaol until the small hours of Friday morning, when a

Queen's messenger knocked up the Governor, and delivered his message;"

whether it was originally intended that the decision should first be communicated to the Governor of the gaol; why this arrangement was departed from; and, if he will explain why an official telegram was not sent to the Governor announcing the commutation of the sentence, and the fact that a messenger was following with the formal document?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have no information as to the newspaper telegram referred to, which was not of official origin. It is the fact that the Queen's messenger bearing the reprieve arrived at the prison at midnight. It is the practice that the official intimation of a reprieve shall reach the Government in the first instance. This practice was not departed from on this occasion. I thought it preferable that the information should be conveyed in a written form by a Queen's messenger, and not by means of a telegram.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

MR. JAMES ROWLANDS: I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may be expected to give a decision on the Christ's Hospital Scheme which has been for so many years in abeyance; and, whether he will undertake that, so soon as the decision is given, it shall, as a Parliamentary Paper, be sent to Members?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I understand that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have adjourned for the Long Vacation, and that they propose to give their decision immediately after they meet again. The Education Department has no power whatever to order the production of Parliamentary Papers.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) BILL.

SIR HENRY TYLER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade in reference to the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Bill, read the third time on Saturday evening, whether his attention has been called to a memorandum by the Pilotage Authorities of the Trinity Corporation, who state that they consider that the above Bill will, "in the event of pilotage certificates being held by the whole of the regular traders through the North Channel, render it impossible to maintain cruising (by British pilot boats) in that channel in winter time;" and, what steps he proposes to adopt to avoid the risk to life and property that would in that case be incurred?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The memorandum to which the hon. Member refers has not been received by the Board of Trade, but it was apparently considered by the Select Committee on Pilotage last year, and they recommended the grant of pilotage certificates to masters and mates of foreign ships, in spite of the opinion expressed by the Trinity House. As I do not think the event anticipated by the Trinity House is likely to occur, I do not think it necessary to consider what steps should be taken.

SIR HENRY TYLER: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken to secure for the masters and mates of Britsh ships entering foreign ports privileges similar to those intended to be conferred by this Bill on the masters and mates of foreign ships entering British ports; and, whether it will, under any circumstance, be possible for British vessels to enter foreign ports without being compelled to employ foreign pilots?

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: As the hon. Member is aware, there are some foreign ports into which British ships can now enter on the same terms as ships belonging to the country where those ports are situated. With regard to the other countries where those facilities do not exist, I can assure the hon. Member that the matter will not be lost sight of, and that every effort will be made to secure for British ships privileges similar to those which are enjoyed by the vessels of such countries.

SIR H. TYLER: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to give notice that I shall call attention to the manner in which this Bill was forced through the House on Saturday.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: After what has fallen from the hon. Member, it is necessary that I should say a word. It was well known that the Pilotage

Bill would come on last Saturday, but the hon. Member, who was in the House for some time on that day, did not take the trouble to be in his place when the Bill was taken.

SIR H. TYLER: I had been waiting all day. I only left the House for five minutes, and when I returned I found that the Bill had been read a third time.

IRELAND—TRALEE TELEGRAPHISTS.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General, in the case of the three telegraphists removed from Tralee, whether any charge was made against any one of them before removal, or any cause assigned at the time, or whether the charge that they kept objectionable company in Tralee was the first intimation they or any of them received of the cause for which the transfer was made; and, whether one or more of these men objected to or protested against this transfer at the time; and, if so, what was the nature of the reply to such objection?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I must ask the hon. Member to repeat this question. There has not been time to obtain the information.

CASE OF MICHAEL CONNELL.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland if it is true that Michael Connell, over 70 years of age, was, at the last O'Dorney (County Kerry) Petty Sessions, sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment without the option of a fine for having arms in a proclaimed district; whether the arms in question consisted of a rusty gun barrel and a broken stock which did not match it, which were alleged to have been found concealed in an outhouse of Connell's; whether the police who gave evidence in the case as well as the Magistrate presiding expressed their belief that the old man never knew of their existence; and, if, under the circumstances, he would advise the Lord Lieutenant to order Connell's discharge?

MR. MADDEN: I have not yet received the information which would enable me to answer this question.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Has not the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman been called to this case in the public Press? It is the case of an old man 70 years of age, who appears to have acted innocently, and will not the hon. and learned Gentleman request the Lord Lieutenant to discharge him?

MR. MADDEN: As a matter of fact, I have not received any Report of the case. I will make inquiries.

MR. SEXTON: This man is more than 70 years of age, and he was merely in possession of a rusty gun barrel and with only a broken stock that did not belong to it. It is quite evident that he could have had no criminal intent.

MR. MADDEN: I have said that I will make inquiries, and that is all I can say.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Has the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman been called to the Report of the case in the local Conservative paper, in which it is stated that the police sergeant said he did not believe this old man knew that the things were in the house? The Magistrate also said, addressing the prisoner—

"You are a very old man, and we do not think you knew the ammunition was there; somebody else did, and, therefore, you must go to gaol."

Further, did not a witness come forward and say that he had known the old man for 18 years, and that he was incapable of enduring imprisonment?

MR. MADDEN: I can only say that inquiry shall be made without a moment's delay.

DERRY GAOL.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether instructions have yet been given for the production of the Derry Prison Hospital books at the Coroner's inquest in the case of John M'Gee?

MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir; the books referred to will be produced at the inquest and every light thrown on the matter.

FICTITIOUS ADDRESSES.

MR. HENRY J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that advertisements constantly appear in sporting and other newspapers, inviting communications under fictitious or assumed names at Post Offices; whether he is aware that some Post Offices do not return to the writers letters so addressed; and, whether, inasmuch as

the *Postal Guide* states that letters so addressed will be returned, he will put the regulation in force?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The rule is that letters addressed to initials, or to fictitious names at Post Offices, are not to be taken in, but are to be sent at once to the Returned Letter Offices for return to the writers, if possible. I am not aware that the rule is not adhered to in such cases as the hon. Member refers to. But if he will give me particulars of any case which has come under his notice, I will have it inquired into.

RESCUE FROM DROWNING.

MR. BROADHURST: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a report in the *Sheffield Independent* of 20th August of a gallant case of rescue from drowning at Boston on Sunday, 18th instant, by a Sheffield lad named Heath; and, whether he can bring the matter under the notice of the proper authority, in order that some suitable recognition may be bestowed upon him?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to this case, but after consideration it does not appear to me to be one which I should be justified in submitting to Her Majesty with a view to the award of an Albert Medal. I have, however, caused a letter to be written to the lad, recognising the bravery shown by him and expressing my high appreciation of his gallant conduct.

IRELAND—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION. THE WITNESSES MULLETT AND NALLY.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he can now say if the prisoners James Mullett and Patrick Nally were visited by Mr. Thompson, Mr. Shannon, Mr. Walker, or any other agent on behalf of the *Times*, some time before their removal, as witnesses for the *Times* at the Royal Commission; whether each prisoner was brought into the presence of such agent without having been told the name of the agent or the object of his visit; whether his agent promised Mullett and Nally that each

"Would have his liberty, and would be put into a good position besides, if he consented to serve the *Times*;"

whether he told Nally that his parents were

"Growing very old, and that they desired to see him before they died,"

and that Nally replied that

"They (his parents) would rather see him a corpse than to know of him swearing falsely against anyone;"

whether he is aware that the agent for the *Times* afterwards, in February last, went to Mrs. Mullett, wife of James Mullet, and asked her to use her influence with her husband, whom he had seen,

"To swear what would be beneficial for the *Times*, that it would be of great benefit to her and to him, and that his (Mullett's) imprisonment would then cease at once;"

and whether, considering the nature of these allegations, he will grant an independent inquiry by a Committee of Members of this House into all the circumstances in connection with these visits of agents of the *Times* to persons undergoing terms of imprisonment?

MR. MADDEN: No doubt some explanation is required as to the reason why I have not been supplied with a Report. As a matter of fact it has miscarried, but if the hon. Member will put down the question for to-morrow I think I shall be able to answer it.

SALMON PASS ON THE SHANNON.

MR. PATRICK JOSEPH O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the salmon pass, erected by the Board of Works in the weir-wall on the Shannon at Killaloe, has been approved of by the Irish Fishery Inspectors; whether before its erection the Fishery Inspectors were consulted as to the site of the pass; and whether instructions will be given to Sir Thomas F. Brady and Mr. Allan Hornsby, who are at present engaged in an inspection of the tributary rivers falling into Lough Derg, to inspect said salmon pass at Killaloe, and report to the Government as to its utility or otherwise, and if it has been put down in conformity with the Act of Parliament regulating such matters, and as to the cost of its erection?

MR. JACKSON: I have just received a telegram which states that the salmon pass is strictly in accordance with the design made by the Engineer of the Irish Fisheries, and approved of by the Fishery Board.

THE TRADES UNIONS ACTS.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can now state whether the Government will next Session enlarge the reference of the Friendly Societies Committee, so as to bring within its purview the Trades Unions Acts?

MR. GOSCHEN: It is impossible for me, on behalf of the Government, to give any pledge in the matter.

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Government will, during the Recess, consider and mature a scheme for the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, and will introduce into this House, and do their utmost to carry through Parliament, next Session, a measure dealing with the subject?

MR. GOSCHEN: The question of establishing a Court of Criminal Appeal is an important one, and will not be lost sight of in the Recess; but I have no authority to give the specific pledge which the hon. Gentlemen desires.

THE STATUTE OF EDWARD III.

MR. SEXTON: Will the Government inquire into the question of the jurisdiction exercised by the Resident Magistrates in Ireland under the Statute of Edward III.? The Lord Chief Baron of Ireland has described this jurisdiction as an anomaly, inasmuch as no opportunity is given of showing cause against an order made under the Statutes.

MR. GOSCHEN: I will communicate the question to the First Lord of the Treasury; but I can give no pledge upon the subject myself.

GRANTS IN AID OF LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, having regard to the 41st section of "The City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883," prohibiting the application of any charity moneys in aid of the Poor Rate in the City, the order of the Local Government Board of 15th May last, directing that the income of Consols, amounting to upwards of £50,000, the property of certain City parishes therein named, should be applied in aid of the Poor Rate in those parishes, is a breach of the above Statute and ought to be rescinded, and the fund handed over to the Charity Commissioners to deal with?

*MR. RITCHIE: The Order of the Local Government Board has made no difference in the application of the income of the fund to which the question refers, its object being merely to provide that the Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent Stock into which the Three per Cent Consols previously held by the Guardians had been converted should be held by them on the same trusts as those on which the Stock was held before the conversion. The Consols were the proceeds of the sale of two union workhouses which were erected so recently as 1852 and 1863, at the cost of the rates, and under orders of the Board, by the East and West London Unions, these workhouses having been sold when the unions were dissolved in 1869 and added to the City of London Union. It does not appear to the Board that such property was intended to be dealt with under the Parochial Charities Act.

BOOK-STALL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he will consider, before next Session, the feasibility of providing, in some convenient lobby or corridor of the House, a book-stall, for the sale of newspapers, &c., such as is now provided at most railway stations?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I must ask my hon. Friend to postpone this question because I have not the least idea what view the First Commissioner takes of the matter.

MALTA.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any date has yet been fixed for the holding of the general election for the Council of Government of Malta; and whether such election will be held within three months of the date of the dissolution of the late Council?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The exact date has not yet been fixed; but it must be within three months after the date of dissolution.

MAILS TO CHINA AND JAPAN.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he can state in round numbers the quantities of mail matter despatched from this country to Hong Kong, Shanghai, other Chinese ports, and Japan respectively; and the routes by which the respective quantities are despatched?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The weight of mails despatched by the respective routes may be taken approximately as follows:—

BY SUEZ CANAL, WEEKLY—

For	Letters	Printed matter, &c.
	lbs.	lbs.
Hong Kong.....	100	1,000
Shanghai	70	600
Other parts of China	14	150
Japan	43	600

BY SAN FRANCISCO, WEEKLY—

For	Letters	Printed matter, &c.
	lbs.	lbs.
China	4	30
Japan	25	150

BY CANADIAN PACIFIC ROUTE, FORTNIGHTLY—

For	Letters	Printed matter, &c.
	lbs.	lbs.
China.....	2	30
Japan.....	10	70

OFFICE OF CHIEF PAYMASTER IN THE ARMY.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (University of Oxford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in the selection of Officers to fill the post of Chief Paymaster, some Officers who were entitled to such promotion have been passed over; and, if so, for what cause; and whether he is aware that recent selections for this post have caused great dissatisfaction in the Service?

*MR. E. STANHOPE: No, Sir; I am not aware of any general dissatisfaction. The Royal Warrant requires that promotion in the Army Pay Department shall

"Be solely by selection on the ground of ability and merit, due consideration being given to length of efficient service."

Under this system of promotion, which is essential for efficiency, some Officers of fair qualification will be passed over for the highest posts who will naturally feel aggrieved; but I accept the responsibility for the selections being made with great care and complete impartiality.

H.M.S. *SULTAN.*

SIR H. TYLER: May I ask whether Her Majesty's ship *Sultan* has yet been towed into harbour?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I have received two telegrams on the subject, the first of which states that the *Sultan* had been towed from the place where she was raised. The contractors, Messrs. Baghino, also telegraph—"Admiral took consignment of Her Majesty's ship *Sultan* this morning," which means that the contractors have fulfilled their undertaking to raise the vessel. Great credit is due to them for their successful exertions, and the raising of the *Sultan* is a distinct advance upon any salvage operations hitherto attempted and attended with success.

THE NAVAL MANŒUVRES.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the Officers engaged in the Naval Manœuvres are claiming to have "laid towns in ashes" and are exacting indemnities from them; and whether he will take steps to introduce into the rules of maritime warfare the more merciful rules that appertain to land warfare?

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I have read of no attempt to lay towns in ashes, or to destroy any property except under the conditions recognised by the Declaration of Paris. But I have noticed that in some cases when a town has been captured an attempt has been made to secure a war indemnity under threats. While I think that such a course may not be desirable, I may point out to the hon. Member that after every great war a large indemnity has been levied by the victor.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Does the noble Lord know that Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Leith have been told to consider themselves laid in ashes?

IRELAND—THE CASE OF MR. W. O'BRIEN.

*MR. SEXTON: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary two or three urgent

questions in connection with the sentence passed on Mr. W. O'Brien the day before. With the permission of the House, I will prefix to the questions a brief statement of facts, which is absolutely necessary to make the matter clear. In the first place, with regard to the evidence of a constable named Garvey, this constable swore that he had not consulted a newspaper report before he made his oath. It was proved that he had done so, and also that he was not able to take a coherent shorthand note of anything dictated to him, and the Court, in giving judgment, declared that no Court would be justified in acting upon his evidence. I have, therefore, to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether that constable will be prosecuted; whether he will be continued in the police service; and whether he will continue to act as reporter and witness in prosecutions? My hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for his speech, and to two months' further in default of giving bail for good behaviour. I wish to ask whether it is at the instance or with the consent of the Irish Executive that the Magistrates continue to apply the glaring anomaly of the jurisdiction conferred by the Statute of Edward III. in the case of a distinguished public man for the purpose of inflicting an additional sentence to that imposed under the Crimes Act? In the case of my hon. Friend's last imprisonment in Galway Gaol, which terminated in June, it was found necessary, for the preservation of his mental and physical health, to order that he should be allowed the use of books and of writing materials. The Chief Secretary for Ireland is like my hon. Friend, a literary man, and I will ask him this question. I understand that the theory of the Irish Government is that imprisonment should not be heavier on one man than another, but should press equally upon all. I would ask the Chief Secretary, then, whether he will submit my hon. Friend, who has to sit for 22 hours out of 24 in a gloomy and narrow cell, to the special punishment and torture of keeping a man accustomed to daily study and the constant use of his faculties in literary work all that time in his cell without occupation for his mind? I have had no communication from my hon. Friend, and I believe that my hon. Friend would not authorise me to ask these questions in the House. But I feel it to be my duty to submit the case to the right hon. Gentleman, and to ask him to make an order which will secure that the same treatment which was given to my hon. Friend in the last weeks of his stay in Galway Gaol shall be continued, so that he shall not be subjected to a heavier punishment than would fall in a like case on an ordinary criminal.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The right hon. Gentleman has asked me three questions. The first relates to the policeman Garvey. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that every inquiry will be made into that case. I understand there is some idea that one of the counsel has suggested that steps should be taken to institute a prosecution for perjury, and, whether that course will be taken or not, a very critical examination will be made into the whole circumstances attending the evidence given by that policeman. With regard to the second question, namely, whether the Executive directed the Judges in this case——

MR. SEXTON: Do they approve?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that it is the business of the Executive to express approval or disapproval of sentences passed by a competent Court of Law on cases brought before them. Of course, I will not say that no suggestion has been made by the Executive in the matter one way or the other. With regard to the third question, namely, as to the prison treatment of the Member for North-East Cork, I have to say that he was permitted on medical grounds to have the use of books in one of his previous terms of imprisonment. Should there be any medical grounds for a similar relaxation it will at once be made. If there is any ground to anticipate that the hon. Gentleman is likely to suffer materially in health from the deprivation of books or writing materials the doctor of the prison will interfere, as he interfered on the previous occasion.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to the Prisons Board calling the attention of the prison doctor to the fact that during the last few weeks of my hon. Friend's

last imprisonment this relaxation was afforded on the ground of health?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know in what prison the hon. Member will serve his sentence; but the Prisons Board, of course, will take care that every material fact connected with the hon. Gentleman shall be brought under the notice of the doctor responsible for his care.

MR. CONYBEARE.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary whether he has noticed in this morning's papers a letter from the hon. Member for Camborne directly controverting a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman in the Debate on Friday last—namely, that the hon. Member had refused the attention of the prison doctor, and that he was cured of the illness from which he had been suffering? I have received direct information that my hon. Friend has been receiving the attention of the prison doctor for three weeks, and is very grateful, I believe, to the doctor, and that the doctor has certified so late as yesterday that my hon. Friend is still suffering from the illness which has been brought to the notice of the House. In these circumstances, I would make one more appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to release my hon. Friend.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My attention has not been called to this letter. The statement to which I think the hon. Member refers must be one to the effect that the hon. Member for Camborne declined to be treated in hospital for the lumbago from which he was suffering. It did not relate to the other malady to which the hon. Gentleman referred. I understand from the Report which I have seen to-day that practically that particular affection was cured; and I may say that the hon. Member for Camborne has expressed great reluctance to be removed from Derry Gaol, where he states that he is well treated by the officials, and where he likes the cell in which he is confined. In these circumstances, I do not think it would be proper for the Government to insist upon the hon. Member's removal.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR: From whom has the right hon. Gentleman obtained his information? Does the statement he has made come from the Prisons Board or from the Prison Authorities?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must distinguish between the various statements which I have made. The statement that the hon. Member for Camborne has declined to be treated in the hospital for lumbago comes, I have no doubt, from the Prison Authorities. The statement that the hon. Member is anxious not to be removed from Derry Gaol comes from Dr. O'Farrell, who has just visited him.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether Order No. 7, for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Instruction to the Committee of the Occupiers' Disqualification Removal Bill, will be included in the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman for suspending the Standing Orders?

MR. GOSCHEN: No, Sir; we propose to stop when we shall have concluded the first six Orders of the Day, except some Amendments of the Lords which will have to be considered.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Return ordered—

"Showing whether and in what respects the Recommendations of the Committee of 1883 on the Royal Irish Constabulary have been adopted."—(*Mr. Henry J. Wilson.*)

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Government Business be not interrupted, this night, under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House), and may be begun at any hour though opposed."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I do not dispute on general grounds the reasonableness of this proposal at this period of the Session. But I think the Third Order—the Technical Instruction Bill—ought to be excluded from the Motion. I say nothing of the merits or demerits of the Bill, though I would call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the remarks made this morning in the principal organ which supports the Government, but a

measure of this kind ought not to be forced through the House after 12 o'clock. The Indian Budget, which stands as the Second Order will alone afford ample material for a whole Sitting, and I do not think the House desires the unseemliness of an all-night Sitting. I scarcely think the Government would reap much advantage from continuing to support the attitude taken by the Vice President, or that they will succeed in hectoring the Bill through the House. I beg to move after the word "business" to insert the words "except the Technical Instruction Bill."

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea Town): I beg to second the Amendment. I think it would be most unfair to ask hon. Members to sit up all night when the House will sit again to-morrow at noon. I would impress upon the Government the desirability of not carrying this very objectionable Bill further.

Amendment proposed, after the word "business," to insert the words "except the Technical Instruction Bill."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. GOSCHEN: I hope that the hon. Member will not press his Amendment, because he must have perceived last night that there is a large preponderance of opinion in this House in favour of the Bill. The hon. Member has called attention to the views which have been expressed in the Press of this morning; but as far as I can see, the hon. Member has wrongly interpreted those views, which appear to me to be in favour of the Bill being passed in its present form. In my opinion the country generally is also in favour of the Bill, which in reality is only opposed by a very small minority in this House. Allusion was made yesterday by hon. Members opposite to what they called the "tyrannical majority," but I have rather to complain of the action of the "tyrannical minority" who seek to prevent the desire of the great majority from being carried into effect. If the Bill is not passed I hope that the responsibility for its loss will be thrown upon those who are opposing it. The Government cannot accept the Amendment of the hon. Member.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): The question turns on the phrase "contentious measures." Surely the right hon. Gentleman will not say that it is quite fair to take a contentious measure after 12 o'clock at night. He says it is not a contentious measure because in a very small House very few Members opposed it. I do not dispute that fact, but I say that there is a strong feeling in the country against the Bill as manifested by letters from the Chairmen of various important School Boards, and there has been a Memorial presented against it from a representative body in one of the largest towns in England. Indeed, there is sufficiently strong opposition to the measure to justify us in calling it contentious. We do not say that if the whole country were polled we should be found to have a majority; but what we do say is that there is a sufficiently strong feeling against the Bill to justify us in calling it a contentious measure, and asking that it shall not be forced upon the House at this period of the Session by means of an all-night Sitting.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): The Chancellor of the Exchequer has said that the country is in favour of proceeding with the Bill, but the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury made it clear yesterday that he would not condescend to inquire as to the feeling of the local bodies which are mainly concerned. We take two objections against proceeding with the Bill. First, that the places and persons concerned have not been consulted by the Government in any reasonable manner; and, secondly, that it is unfair to hon. Members after a wearisome and exhausting Session to ask them to remain here in the last week in August in order to discuss a Bill that is full of contentious matter, and must be strongly opposed unless the Government are prepared to make great concessions. To take such a Bill after 12 o'clock at night would be a monstrous breach of that fair play which the minority of the House ought to receive from the majority. As doubts were thrown most discourteously by the First Lord of the Treasury yesterday upon the authenticity of the letter of the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), which appeared in a morning paper, I have to state that I have this morning received a letter from the right hon. Gentleman,

from which I will read a brief extract. It is as follows:—

"Aix les Bains,
"25th August.

"My dear Channing,

"I have been watching the Technical Bill with interest and anxiety, and my misgivings have rather increased than diminished since I left London.

"Your letter reached me only this morning. I telegraphed a short communication to the *Daily News* expressing the hope that the Bill would be abandoned."

I think I am perfectly entitled to make that statement on behalf of my right hon. Friend after the doubt thrown upon the former letter by the First Lord of the Treasury. I think it will be a great scandal if the Government insist on forcing the Bill through the House at this period of the Session, and I trust that my hon. Friend will press his Amendment to a Division.

The House divided: — Ayes 15; Noes 81.—(Div. List, No. 349.)

Main Question put and agreed to.

Ordered, That Government Business be not interrupted, this night, under Standing Order (Sittings of the House), and may be begun at any hour though opposed.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. PICTON: May I ask a question as to procedure in Committee on this Bill? Many of us have not had an opportunity of discussing questions in which we are interested, and I wish to know whether, in going through the clauses and schedules, we may be able to refer to any matter of public interest to which they relate.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a well established rule that that is not possible.

Clause agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): Mr. Courtney, I am very glad that the House of Commons at last has an opportunity of considering the finances of India as a whole, because the fragmentary discussion of Indian questions in this House is exceedingly dangerous to the financial stability of that country. I may remind the Committee that we have already had three definite proposals relating to India placed before the House of Commons during the present Session. The first and second were two successive attacks upon great items of revenue, inviting the Government of India to reduce the salt duty and to surrender the opium revenue in order to meet the sentimental views of Members of this House; and the third definite proposal was that the Government of India should increase its expenditure in a direction which the friends of India have always said is obnoxious to the people of India—namely, on its home charges. The only proposition made this Session in the direction of economy was that made by the Secretary of State for effecting a small economy in the home charges by a reduction of the number of members of the Council of India. That proposal was met in this House by the "friends of India" with the most determined opposition, and nothing but what I may call the phenomenal courtesy of hon. Members opposite allowed that very small measure to become law. Now, Mr. Courtney, I must begin by calling attention to the "Explanatory Memorandum" which has been already in the hands of Members for some six weeks, and in which statement I have to make certain corrections in consequence of the receipt of more recent intelligence. The Committee will bear in mind that in the discussion of this evening we have three years to deal with. First, we have the year ending March 31, 1888, which is the immediate object of the Resolution to be moved from the Chair, and as to which the accounts are closed and completed and now laid before Parliament. Then there is the year ending March 31, 1889, as to which we have the

revised Estimates; and although I shall be able to-night to inform the House with a tolerable approach to accuracy how the accounts of that year precisely stand, yet they are not finally closed. Lastly, we have the year ending March 31, 1890, as to which the state of the accounts is more or less a matter of conjecture. In regard to the first year I have little to add to what is found in my Memorandum. There is a deficit of Rx.2,028,832. That deficit, I may observe, only differs by Rx.68,032 from the deficit I predicted when I made my statement to the House a little more than 12 months ago. There have been criticisms in the public Press, asking why, when the accounts are closed on March 31, it is not possible by the middle or end of August to make a statement of account which should be absolutely accurate, and I have more than once explained to the Committee why that is impossible. There are a great number of local Treasury accounts, railway accounts, and other accounts, which are not audited till November or December; and consequently the accounts cannot be absolutely and finally made up till then. Therefore, it is not possible in August to describe the final accounts of the Government of India with absolute accuracy. But last year the variation of the expenditure was less than one-fourth per cent, and the variation in the net revenue less than one-tenth per cent. I should like also to remind the Committee that I fully explained last year the causes of the deficit in 1887-88, and I should like to remind the Committee that of the deficit of Rx.2,000,000, more than half was not a deficit at all. A sum of more than a million came into course of payment during that particular year, in consequence of the carrying out of the extremely useful conversion scheme, by which upwards of £50,000,000 were converted from 4 per cent into 3½ per cent stock; and therefore the real deficit of 1887-88 that we have to regret is somewhat less than Rx.1,000,000. We now come to the year ending March 31, 1889. The Budget Estimates for the year 1888-9 showed a deficit of Rx.698,000. But when I came to make my statement to the Committee last August, gloomy as was the prospect, I was obliged to draw a still blacker picture of the future of Indian Finance. I predicted that there would be a deficit in the year ending March 31, 1889, of no less than Rx.1,540,000. I am happy to say, however, that my gloomy prognostications have not been verified. In March last the Government of India were able to announce that the deficit would only be Rx.201,700. The real cause of the great discrepancy between my prophecy in August last and its realisation was that the rupee, which we were afraid would fall to 16d., only fell to 16⅜d. That is a very good illustration of what I may call the gambling character at the present day of Indian finance. It is impossible for any person, however experienced, to have the slightest real knowledge of the vagaries of the exchange, which may entirely upset all calculations. I am very happy to be able to announce that even the moderate deficit expected in March will not be realised, because the telegrams received from India show an improvement since then in the Revenue of Rx.17,700, and a diminution in the expenditure of Rx.194,300, making a total financial improvement of Rx.212,000, which turns the estimated deficiency of Rx.201,700 into a little surplus of Rx.10,300, so that what was estimated in August last to end in a deficiency of Rx.1,500,000 turns out to produce a surplus. I come now to the current year 1889-90 for which the Budget Estimate was made, and the Committee will see from the "Explanatory Memorandum" which I have circulated that the surplus at the time when the Budget statement was made in Calcutta was estimated at Rx.106,300. Now, some financial critics find fault with my Memorandum because in it I take the figures as they were known to the Government of India in March last, when the Budget statement was made; while the figures have now to be corrected by experience gained since. When I prepared my Memorandum early in July, it was accurate according to the knowledge we had at that time; but it necessitated another correction to be made when I should come to make my present oral statement to the Committee. I hold that it was better not to issue a further printed statement, but to make the correction once for all in my *vivâ voce* statement. No doubt it would have been a good thing to have a

more accurate printed statement, but the difficulty is to know when the printed statement will be taken into consideration by the House. My Memorandum was circulated on the 15th of July, when we all expected the Session to close on the 31st of July. [*Laughter.*] There was a very wide feeling, indeed, among Members that the Session would come to an early close in the last week in that month. But now we are in the last week in August, six weeks after the statement was issued, and two months since it was prepared, so I shall have to make the corrections to which I have referred. I know that these Indian figures are extremely perplexing when Members have several sets of figures to carry in their minds, but if it was the wish of the Committee to have a double set of corrections, I have no doubt they could be prepared. Now, the estimated surplus for 1889-90, according to the more recent figures we have received by telegraph from India, becomes one of Rx.693,300. I am sorry to say I have made a mistake, and the proper surplus is Rx.414,000.

*MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I am sorry to interrupt, but I do not think the figures now work out.

*SIR J. GORST: I am comparing the Budget Estimate for 1889-90 with the Revised Estimate for 1888-9, which gives an improvement not of Rx.414,000, but of Rx.308,000, when increases of expenditure are set against increases of revenue. As to these latter the chief increase has been in salt, which is taken at Rx.313,200 more than in 1888-9; in Provincial rates, Rx.240,100; in land revenue, Rx.99,200; and under other heads, Rx.1,600. Hon. Members cheered when I referred to the salt revenue. I think they might have waited to hear the cause of this increase, because the increase is occasioned owing to the dealers having expected at the end of the financial year that there would be a diminution of the tax; and they therefore allowed their stocks to run low. Their expectation was not realised, and therefore they had to take out large stocks of salt, and so enhance the salt revenue. It is in consequence of this that the revenue is greater than it otherwise would have been. I do not know that I need refer to any other subject in connection with this part of the Budget estimate. [*After a pause.*] I am afraid that even now I have not given the figures quite clearly. According to the figures recently received by telegraph there is a net improvement in the Accounts of Rx.587,000, as compared with the figures given in the Explanatory Memorandum; which makes the total surplus, as now estimated, Rx.693,300, the amount I stated at first. The improvements on the figures in the Explanatory Memorandum are under Land Revenue, Stamps, Customs and Opium; in respect of which latter there is both an increase in revenue and a decrease in expenditure. There is also, however, a variation in the exchange, which must be taken at 1s. $6\frac{3}{16}$d., instead of 1s. $3\frac{3}{8}$d., which brings out the total net improvement at Rx.587,000.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: How much is due to the exchange?

*SIR J. GORST: Over Rx.250,000; and the surplus now estimated is Rx.693,300. A sum of no less than Rx.1,102,900 has been spent upon special defence works, and if it were not for this expenditure the surplus of the year would be Rx.1,796,200. I do not think that is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. I do not see the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy who has a Resolution on the Paper in his place; but, perhaps, some Friend will tell him that the position of Indian finance is not so extremely unsatisfactory as that gentleman would like the House to infer. I think when you find that, in spite of the expenditure on special defence, in spite of the falls of the rupee, and in spite of the burden which has been imposed on India by the expenditure in Upper Burma—when you find that, in spite of all these adverse influences, in the year just closed there is a small surplus, and that there is a surplus of Rx.693,300 anticipated during the current year, you cannot call that a very unsatisfactory financial position. Now, having printed my statement for the use of the Committee, and having made these supplementary statements, I do not want and I should not be justified in wearying the Committee with any further exposition of figures, but I dare say the Committee will allow me before I sit down to make one or two general observations upon some of the great items of Revenue and Expenditure, which may be useful in the discussion which is likely to ensue. The first thing I want to say a word about

is salt. Now, in the financial statement made by Sir D. Barbour in March last he anticipated a possible falling off in the consumption of salt in 1888-9. The statistics, however, prove that in India proper the consumption of salt in the year when the tax was put on was as nearly as possible the same as in the previous year, and that neither the expectations of Sir D. Barbour nor the startling anticipations of some hon. Members of this House have been realised in the falling off in the salt consumption. The actual figures are these—in the whole of India, excluding Burmah, the consumption in the year 1887-8 was 31,186,000 maunds; in 1888-9 the consumption was 31,184,000 maunds, there being a reduction in 1888-9 of 2,000 maunds only. In Burma, on the other hand, the reduction was very great indeed. The reduction there was from 1,931,000 to 314,000 maunds, which was, no doubt, an enormous reduction; but then the hon. Member who cheers that, must remember that in Burma the duty was raised from three annas to a rupee, and that there is no doubt that, the import of salt fish being duty free, the consumption of salt fish has largely displaced the consumption of salt. The Burmese peasant has consumed the duty free salt fish instead of British salt, which has caused an extreme falling off in the consumption of salt without any hardship whatever to the consumer. There is nothing shocks me more than the extraordinary statements made by people who ought to know better about this salt duty in India. I admit it is a matter of regret having to raise the duty on salt at all, but it is not the gigantic and enormous evil which sensational newspapers and sensational Members of Parliament describe. The fact is the operations of the Government in India during the past 10 or 15 years have reduced the price of salt to the consumers, and particularly the poor consumers, far more than taxation has increased it. Turning to the book published at Calcutta by the Department of Finance and Commerce, referring to prices and wages in India, I find that the purchasing power of the rupee in relation to salt is very much greater now than in 1877. A much larger quantity of salt can be bought for a rupee now than was the case in 1877, showing that the Government of India, by its railways, by its canals, by opening up new resources in the interior of the country, has lowered the price of salt very much more than taxation has raised it; and that if you take the Government of India, with its advantages and disadvantages, it has on the whole not increased the price of salt to the unhappy ryot, but greatly diminished it. I should like also to remind the Committee that Bengal and Burma derive the greater part of their salt, not from India but from Liverpool, and that any increase of the price of salt in either Burma or Bengal may be in some part attributed to the salt ring, which raised the export price from 7s. to 14s. per ton, and that possibly some of the opprobrium which is heaped on the Government of India might be more justly applied to the combination referred to. The next subject is the cost of the Civil Departments. One hears a good deal of general declamation about the extravagance of the Government of India, accompanied by general exhortations to economy and retrenchment. Now, I do not think people ever reflect that in every civilised State there are always two antagonistic operations going on. On the one hand there is always a cry for revision of establishments and for reduction of expenditure; and on the other there is always a tendency to increase Government expenditure and Government establishments in consequence of the demand that Government should do more work for the people. The Finance Committee in India has gone carefully over the different kinds of Civil expenditure, and has recommended a vast number of reductions under various heads. I could give the House some examples of these recommendations—the Public Works Department, Rx.275,700; the Ecclesiastical Establishment, Rx.31,000; and various Civil Departments, Rx.42,220; the Army Department, Rx.161,050; political charges, Rx.48,945; and miscellaneous, Rx.10,795. These are illustrations of the minute criticism to which the expenditure of the various Departments has been submitted, and of the reductions which the Finance Committee recommend. It may, perhaps, in the course of the Debate, be asked whether these reductions have been carried out. A great number of them have, but of

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course it is in many cases impossible to carry out a contemplated reform at once. A despatch, however, has been sent by the Secretary of State asking that a statement may be submitted to him showing which of the recommendations have been carried out and which not, and setting forth the reasons why these latter have not been taken in hand. If any hon. Member, therefore, requires any information on this point next Session, I shall probably be in a position to give it to him in the fullest detail. When complaints are made of the large expenditure of the Government of India I should like hon. Members to reflect on the wide range and the immense extensions of the functions of that Government. There are the railways, which are largely increasing year by year; there are the telegraph and post office services, which are being largely extended; schools are being established everywhere; there are reforms in the police, and a great increase in the expenditure on law and justice and in the Agricultural and other Departments. It must also be borne in mind that the population of India is increasing by a million per annum. In view of this large increase of population and of the increasing demands upon the Government to do more and more for the people, it is ridiculous for the House to expect that an increase of expenditure can be avoided. Paraphrasing what was once a watchword of the Liberal Party, I would say—such expenditure has increased, is increasing, and ought not to be diminished. I now desire to say a word or two regarding what is known as the Famine Insurance Fund. Ever since I have had the honour of filling the position of Under Secretary for India, I have struggled and striven in vain to explain to the House what this Famine Insurance Fund is, but apparently with little effect, for I have found hon. Gentlemen as well informed as the hon. Member for Northampton getting up and speaking of it as if the Fund consisted of an immense sum of money of which the Secretary of State was the absolute treasurer, and which he had embezzled. As I have over and over again explained, the Fund is the result of a scheme to maintain a certain surplus to be devoted to the reduction of debt and to the construction of railway and irrigation works likely to prevent the recurrence of famine, and to secure its mitigation should it occur. We have been able for a number of years to obtain this surplus, and during each of those years every penny of that surplus has been properly and justly expended in accordance with the scheme. [MR. MAC NEILL: Oh!] Yes, the money has each year been expended, and a Return showing this has been laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): It was never spent in the year of the Afghan War at all.

*SIR J. GORST: In 1881, the surplus of £1,567,000 was expended; in 1881-2, £1,495,000; in 1883, £1,522,000; and in 1884, £1,548,000; and in 1885, £1,529,000. Whenever there has been a surplus it has been expended. But when the time comes as it has now when there is no excess of Revenue over Expenditure, then the only way of obtaining a surplus is to reduce expenditure —which I have shown is not feasible in India—or to increase the Revenue by taxation. I shall be very glad if any other course can be pointed out to us. With regard to the expenditure on Army services, I desire to point out that the increase is in one respect only apparent owing to the increase in the exchange. There has, however, been a real increase, and this has been due to the fact that the Army in India was four years ago increased. There is one more subject I should like to mention. The special defence works have been a great drain on the resources of India. It must be borne in mind that they are of very great importance to the country. These special defence works were proposed at the close of the year 1884, and they were then estimated to be likely to cost Rx.6,000,000, exclusive of other charges. A comprehensive plan was prepared in 1884, by which it was proposed to make a network of frontier railways and frontier roads, and to expend Rx.6,000,000 on roads and fortifications and other defence works exclusive of railways. Up to the present time the frontier railways have cost Rx.10,500,000, and the special defence works Rx.3,000,000. There remains, to complete the plan, an expenditure of Rx.750,000 on railways, and Rx.2,500,000 on special defence works. There has also been

spent on defensive military roads, as part of the ordinary public works expenditure, Rx.750,000. The Committee will therefore see that although large sums have already been spent upon defence works, we shall have to expend at least two and a half millions more before they are complete. I do not know that this is the proper occasion to discuss the policy of works of this kind; but I may perhaps remind the Committee that the works have been approved by successive Governments belonging to both parties in the House; and that the expenditure on these works is regarded by the Government of India as one of the most necessary and valuable outlays of public money that can take place, because it is above all things essential that India should have security and peace, and the object of this expenditure is to make India, as far as fortifications and railways and roads can do so, a place where the maintenance of peace shall be secure. The last subject in connection with the accounts on which I want to say a word is that of a Provincial finance. It is a subject which hardly comes under the notice of the Committee in the same way as Imperial finance; but really Provincial finance is by far the more important element in the prosperity of the people of India. It is rather a remarkable thing that the efforts of the Party opposite in this House are generally directed, as far as Indian politics are concerned, towards a system of the greatest possible centralisation ["No"] as distinguished from local administration. It is very remarkable that in these days, when both Parties profess the greatest desire for local self-government, and when the zeal for local self-government is carried so far as, in our opinion, to threaten the dismemberment of the Empire—it is very odd that in this House hon. Members like the hon. Member for Northampton, who claims to be the representative of the millions in India, should rather aim at the construction of a great centralised Indian nation ["No"] than at the separation of India into its natural component parts, and at the creation of a great number of separate and distinct nations in the several Provinces of India. But the course of events is too strong for them. There is no chance, as far as one can judge, of anything like a centralised Indian nation. There is every probability of a great number of distinct and varied communities being formed, and, so far as finance goes, of a very thorough decentralisation. The Provinces of India now receive 26½ per cent of the whole revenue of India, and they spend 36½ per cent of the Indian expenditure. The Central Imperial Government restricts its expenditure to such matters as interest on debt, the Army, opium, Post Office, Telegraph Office, the greater part of the railways, and all the military works. The Provincial Governments have, generally speaking, the whole of the domestic expenditure in their hands. They have the whole duty of collecting the revenue, except the revenue from salt and opium; they control the expenditure on the administration of justice, and on schools, gaols, and medical sanitary works; and the greater part of the irrigation works, and the whole of the civil roads and bridges all over the country, are in their hands. In order to enable the Provincial Governments to carry out these works there is concluded with them what is called the Provincial contract, which is a five years' arrangement, under which the Provincial Governments collect the whole of the revenue, except that derived from opium and salt, and hand a fixed portion over to the Imperial Government, keeping the rest for defraying the expenditure to which I have alluded. Every Province keeps, for example, three-quarters of the whole Stamp Revenue, a quarter of the Excise Revenue, the whole of its Provincial rates, a half of the revenue derived from assessed taxes, forests, and registration; and they also have a percentage of the Land Revenue, which varies from Province to Province according to the amount required to make up the sum for additional expenditure. The Land Revenue retained by the North-West Provinces is 22 per cent, Madras 27 per cent, British Burma 34 per cent, Bengal 38 per cent, Punjab 43 per cent, the Central Provinces 48 per cent, Assam 50 per cent, and Bombay 58½ per cent. It will be quite apparent to the Committee that all the comfort of the people, all the liberty and prosperity of the people of India, depend upon the good administration of the Provincial finances. The greater Imperial questions are under the control of the Central Govern-

ment, but all that which relates to the personal happiness, the private life, and the individual prosperity of the various peoples of India depends upon the efficient administration of the local finances. It is the settled policy of the Government of India to encourage as much as possible independence on the part of the various Provincial Governments. The wants and the necessities of the people vary from Province to Province. It is impossible to administer the affairs of India on one hard and uniform rule; and the policy of the Government for many years past has been to encourage as much as possible the legislative and administrative independence of the different Provinces, so that the Government may be shaped and framed in accordance with the necessities of the people. In conclusion, I will refer to the transactions in regard to the debt of India which were carried out during the past year. The conversion of £53,261,820 Four per Cent Stock is now complete. It is reduced to 3½ per cent. The whole cost of the operation is now paid for, and the saving henceforth to the revenues of India by the operation will be £266,300 per annum. The Government of India has also just converted Rx.1,787,540 from 4½ per cent to 4 per cent. The operation was carried out with the greatest possible success. Less than Rx.200,000 were demanded in cash; and there is a saving to the Indian Exchequer of about Rx.89,000 per annum. The usual loan for public works in India has taken two crores of rupees. It was negotiated at 99·93, compared with 99·79 last year. In this country, under the Act which Parliament passed last year, 3½ millions was borrowed to lend to the Railway Companies. That sum was borrowed at 3 per cent at a rate little over 101. The money was lent to the companies at 3¼ per cent, and thus the Government reaped a small profit of £8,750 a year. With regard to the prosperity of the country, the Committee will observe from the statistics contained in my printed Memorandum that the exports were 6½ millions over those of the previous year, which exports were the largest up to that time; and the imports 4½ millions over those of the previous year, which were, till then, the largest on record. That is satisfactory evidence of the material prosperity of the country; and I think I may invite the Committee respectfully but very firmly to reject the gloomy view foreshadowed in the Resolution which the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy has given notice of his intention to move, and to take the more sanguine view which I have ventured to lay before the Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1888, was Rx.78,759,744; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.80,788,576; that there was an excess of Expenditure over Revenue of Rx.2,028,832; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.2,784,824."

*MR. BRADLAUGH: I have placed on the Paper notice of my intention to move an Amendment expressive of the deep regret of the House that the accounts have not been laid before it at a period when they could be properly debated. I do not propose to move that Amendment, because the state of the House is such that no Division on it could accurately represent the feeling of the House upon it; and if I did divide, it might go forth to the people of India that a very large number of Members had no regard whatever for the Indian people, and that a very small number of Members of this House thought their affairs ought to come before Parliament for discussion. Therefore, while making as I do a most earnest protest—a protest which, I believe, would be joined in by Members on the other side of the House as well as by Members on this side, if it were not for Party exigencies at this late period of the Session—I desire to give it especial emphasis because of the fact that the modification in the new Rules of Procedure during the last two years has deprived those who desire to present to this House any statement or criticism of any opportunity whatever of doing so, unless such opportunity is furnished by the action of the Ballot. Even if a Member happens to be fortunate enough, as I was early this Session, of obtaining first place for a Motion dealing with the affairs of India, it may be that the Government will take away the opportunity which the Ballot has given him. India stands here in an entirely different position from any other part of the dependencies of this

great Empire. There is no colony, however small, but that upon the Estimates we have afforded one or more opportunities of raising any question which any Member thinks ought to be brought before this House in relation to it; but the same thing cannot be said with regard to India, with the enormous population, to which the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary has referred, of something like 210 millions of actual subjects of the Imperial Crown, and another 65 millions of people more or less subject to its influence. I think the present system is one which any person taking any interest whatever, however remote, in the honour of Britain ought to deplore and endeavour to have changed. I would venture to appeal—it seems rather a mockery to say to the Government, with only the Under Secretary for India, able Representative of the Government as he is, present in the House. It seems also a mockery to appeal to the leaders of the Party on this side of the House, none of them being present. I deem it right to say that if the Government are deaf to our appeal, and if they will not so modify the new Rule as to enable us to raise questions which we cannot now raise during this Debate, I shall take the one opportunity which I have never taken since I have been a Member of this House, and shall take care that the question is raised by an Amendment to the Address. At any rate, the Government cannot deprive me of that opportunity as they have twice this Session deprived me of the opportunity I had obtained by means of the Ballot. While I admired the good-humoured and able speech to which we have just listened, I could not help being struck with the marvellous coolness—I suppose I must not say audacity—which characterised some of the statements of the Under Secretary for India. He was good enough to tell us that the only proposal of economy had come from the Government, but he coolly ignored the fact that he and his Government had taken away from me the opportunity I had obtained of submitting to the House proposals which I thought would have tended in that direction. He had the frank audacity to inform the Committee that the Council of India Bill had been hindered on this side of the House and had only got through with great difficulty, when he knows as well as any other Member of the Committee that the Government never put it down earlier than the ninth Order of the Day—I think that one night I saw it the 19th—and when he knows it was in the power of the Government to have put it down as the first or second Order of any day they pleased, and so have tested the question whether there was any real opposition to it. Surely the hon. Gentleman might have acknowledged that on the first appeal made to me by the Leader of the House to the effect that if I kept on the Paper a notice of Amendment I had to the Second Reading of the Bill he would be obliged to withdraw it, I at once withdrew the notice, although I regarded the Bill as wretchedly small and exceedingly ineffective, and although I regarded it as being more effective in words than it would be in reality. If I had pressed my Amendment on the attention of the Committee I should have pointed out that any discussion of the Indian Budget with the Benches as they are now is utterly impossible. It is impossible to take the sense of the Committee on any proposition which may be submitted to it without a shameful and disgraceful exhibition of the utter neglect by so many Members of Parliament of the interests of so many millions of our fellow-subjects. I cannot say I quite followed the right hon. Gentleman's first figures. It seems to me that they do not quite agree; but on this point it may be that I did not pay sufficient attention to his corrections, and I shall confine myself more especially to the figures which I have in print, and which at any rate are capable of being more clearly examined. The hon. Gentleman complained that he was met by ironical cheers when he referred to the chief increase in the income of India this year as resulting from the Salt Tax; and he went to the length of saying that he was shocked by the statements made by people who ought to know better as to the effect of the increase of the Salt Duty on the consumption of salt. Well, he managed to shock me because, with the almost blind reliance that I have on the accuracy of everything told me by the hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding that I have occasionally found that he has been misled by those who instruct him to reply in this House, I had

thought that the Blue Book circulated under his authority amongst the Members of the House, only within the last few days, has told us expressly that the consumption of salt had fallen off in consequence of high prices, which, I propose to show, were the result of the increase of duty. I do not understand why he should be shocked at our entertaining an opinion which the Government of India officially puts to us. The hon. Gentleman complains also that we have spoken of the "Famine Insurance Fund." Well, that is how his own Government have spoken of it and has described it. They have now spent the whole of the fund, and do not like to acknowledge that such a fund existed. In a marvellously emphatic tone the hon. Gentleman appealed to the Committee, and said—

> "We have spent the surplus we had; if a larger surplus is wanted for this purpose do Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House advocate increased taxation, which is the only way of getting a larger surplus?"

Our answer is that we have had increased taxation for the purpose of raising a specific sum which you pledged yourselves never to apply to any other purpose, that you have applied it to many other purposes, that you have seldom applied it to the purposes for which it was intended. Before examining the Memorandum of the Under Secretary, which was issued later this year than last, I will very briefly draw the attention of the Committee, in view of the fall in silver, to the impolicy of maintaining even the slightest hindrances to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes. As was most fully pointed out in a Debate on this question in another place about a month ago, the duty of 1s. 6d. per ounce and the requirement of hall marking were practically prohibitive of the importation for trade purposes of Indian manufactured silver articles and the exportation of English manufactured silver for the Indian market. I appeal specially to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this question, which is of high importance to India, and vitally affects our silver trade with many foreign countries. I now come to that branch of the speech made by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India, which has occupied so prominent a position in this evening's Debate. I allude to that portion of it which relates to the provision for famine relief and insurance, or, as I prefer to call it, to the Famine Insurance Fund. I ask the Committee to turn to the Famine Relief and Insurance item, on page 50, in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Under Secretary. But, in the first place, I desire to say a word or two as to what has been urged by the hon. Gentleman with reference to the correction of figures which appear in that Memorandum. I would point out that it would have been quite possible for the Government to have taken the discussion on the Indian Budget a week or a fortnight after the Indian Budget Statement had been circulated, and had the hon. Gentleman taken that course there could not then have been any necessity for the corrections he now makes. The hon. Gentleman has taken credit for the fact that the Memorandum has been circulated for a period of more than six weeks; but I would point out that it was published later this year than last year, and, therefore, it might have been criticised at an earlier date, as the financial year ends at the same date in one year as in another. I think that, considering the matter is one which affects the welfare of 275 millions of Her Majesty's subjects, the Government ought to recognise it as being one of sufficient importance to be discussed in this House at a period of the year when it can be freely and fairly debated, and nearer to the end of the financial year. It is quite possible that every explanation the hon. Gentleman has given has been comprehended by every Member of this House except myself; but I certainly do find it difficult to follow a set of figures as to which the hon. Gentleman himself is not quite sure, and which even in their corrected form do not commend themselves to us as matters about which there is a possibility of our all being in agreement. Well, the hon. Gentleman has referred to the Famine Insurance Return, which I myself moved for, and which has been laid on the Table of this House. He referred to it as a document of which the Government might fairly be proud. Now, Sir, I should say that if it were possible to imagine any man holding the position of a Minister being capable of shame—and I believe such a phenomenon has never been known in the history of

Parliament—I should have thought that that Return was a document of which any Minister ought to be heartily ashamed; and although I do not put it personally to the hon. Gentleman as being any ground for shame on his part, yet I think he might reasonably feel a sort of vicarious shame in finding that promises which have been so solemnly made have, nevertheless, been so deliberately broken, and that a large sum of money collected for a particular purpose has been just as deliberately misapplied. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India referred to the origin of the Famine Relief Fund, but he did so in the vaguest of all fashions. The first reference I will make is to the financial Statement for 1878-9, to the Financial Resolution of the Government of India, dated 18th March, 1878, and to a Minute by the Viceroy of India, dated 12th March, 1878, for a detailed explanation of the principles on which it was proposed to make a systematic provision against periodical famines and deaths from starvation. In the Parliamentary Paper, No. 37, dated 1878, page 5, the speech of the Finance Minister in the Legislative Council of the Government of India proposes to raise an additional £1,500,000 a year "on account of famine alone," and he says that this is done because of the

"Recognition of Her Majestys' Government of the duty of making definite provision for the cost of famine."

On page 24 of that Paper he further says—

"It is the firm intention of the present Government to apply the funds now to be provided for this special purpose strictly to the exclusive objects which they were designed to secure;"

and he also goes on to say—

"The Government of India intends to keep this million and a half as insurance against famine alone."

Now, there have been 12 years during which that sum of a million and a half has been collected, making a total of £18,000,000 sterling, and I shall presently show that that money has not been kept, as was promised, and also how little of it has been spent for the purposes it was intended to serve. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary has told us that it has been religiously disbursed. For my part, I cannot imagine in what sense the hon. Gentleman uses that expression; but I can say that it was certainly not honestly disbursed nor truly disbursed. Well, in the same speech the Finance Minister says—

"We consider that the Estimates of every year ought to make provision for religiously applying the sum I have mentioned to this sole purpose; and I hope that no desire to carry out any administrative improvement, however urgent, or any fiscal reform, however wise, will tempt the Government to neglect this sacred trust."

They imposed a specific tax of £1,500,000, and promised that it should be devoted to famine, and to famine alone, and hoped that no Government would be able to make away with it. Indeed, the then Viceroy, Lord Lytton, used language so strong that I feel bound to refer to it, and to show that this "sacred trust" was neglected by Lord Lytton himself for the purposes of war; while when the noble Lord the Member for Paddington, Lord R. Churchill, was Secretary for India the same "sacred trust" was abandoned for purpose of annexation. Well, as I have said, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, used very remarkable language on the 27th December, 1877, which is to be found on page 36 of the Paper I am referring to. He anticipated that objectors might say, "Your good intentions are possibly sincere; but the path to the nethermost pit is already paved with good intentions." I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary was thinking of that downward path when he spoke of the money having been religiously disbursed; but Lord Lytton proceeds with what the objectors might say as follows:—

"Promise is a good dog, but Performance is a better; we have often heard the bow-wow of the first; we have yet to see the tail of the second. We have been told over and over again by the highest authorities that India is to be insured against famine in this way, or in that; but when famines come upon us we find that the promised way is still wanting."

Lord Lytton then solemnly declared—

"We promise nothing which we have not, after long and anxious consideration, provided ourselves with the means of performing. I must have very imperfectly explained myself thus far if I have failed to make it clearly understood that I am not now speaking of what we ought to do, or would do, to insure this country against the worst effects of future famine had we only the means of doing it; but of what we can do, and will do, with the means already provided for, in the measures now before the Council."

In the Debate on the 16th January, 1878, in the Legislative Council, in Parliamentary Paper No. 118 of 1878, page 5, a native Member of the Legislative Council, speaking of this Famine Insurance, suggests

"That it should be formed into a separate fund with a separate account, so that it may satisfy the people that it is what it in reality is intended to be—a separate famine fund."

And, on page 44, Lord Lytton says—

"The necessity of a Famine Insurance Fund and the duty of the Government to provide such a fund, has been generally acknowledged."

And yet this Session the Under Secretary denies that it ought to be called a fund, and admits that that duty has never been fulfilled. These are not mere empty words, for the hon. Gentleman said he did not know whether his trusted Indian Councillors had been dead or alive.

*SIR J. GORST: I did not say that I did not know whether they were dead or alive; but that the hon. Gentleman did not ask the question whether they were dead or alive.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: Whether we were told that he did not know whether they were dead or alive, or that I did not ask the question whether it was a Council composed of living or dead men, is a matter as to which it is not easy to make a distinction. At any rate, in order to raise that £1,500,000 it was necessary to levy increased taxes on the natives of India. Well, what does the Finance Minister say upon this? In 1878-9 the Finance Minister observed, by way of justifying the increased taxation—

"I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and that the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine, and for no other purpose whatsoever."

If words have any meaning at all Lord Lytton and his Finance Minister say—

"We impose a special tax—a new tax—for the purpose of raising a special sum of money, and pledge the honour of ourselves and our councillors that that money shall never be applied to any other object."

If hon. Members will refer to the Return moved for by myself they will see that this promise was never kept, except when Lord Ripon was Viceroy. That I am not stating the case unfairly may be seen from the Minute of the Viceroy, dated 12th March, 1878. The Viceroy then wrote—

"The sole justification for the increased taxation which has just been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of ensuring this Empire against the worse calamities of future famine, so far as such an insurance can now be practically provided, is the pledge we have given that a sum not less than a million and a half sterling, which exceeds the amount of the additional contributions obtained from the people for this purpose, shall be annually applied to it."

And here I would ask how have you applied the £18,000,000, and I repeat that I will show that except when the Marquess of Ripon was Viceroy you never applied it to the purpose for which it was intended, and that if you have not got it now it is because you have devoted it, as I have already said, to purposes of war and annexation and the erection of costly buildings at Simla, and for similar purposes, while the people of India have been starving. The Viceroy's Minute goes on to say—

"We have explained to the people of this country that the additional revenue raised by the new taxes is required, not for the luxuries but for the necessities of the State, not for general purposes, but for the construction of a particular class of public works; and we have pledged ourselves not to spend one rupee of the special resources thus created upon works of a different character."

The English language has very little value if this can be so translated from the Ministerial Benches as to explain away its plain and direct meaning; and surely in such a case we ought not to be treated with what I must call a miserable farce of arithmetic like that I hold in my hand. But there were people who doubted whether this £1,500,000 would be applied to its intended purpose; and when the British Indian Association later on hinted at the possible breach of faith on the part of the Government, Lord Lytton openly rebuked them in these memorable words—

"You have entirely failed to recognise the fact that the sole purpose of this additional taxation you complain of was the preservation of the lives of the people from the effects of famine. To insinuate the contrary is to insinuate a calumny."

After the 11 years' experience we have had I not only insinuate the contrary, but I say that that which Lord Lytton

characterises as a calumny has been proved up to the hilt. I now proceed to complain of and criticise the Return. The tax was first imposed in 1878, but the Return commences with 1879-80. Why is the year 1878-9 omitted? Surely £1,500,000 is a sum worthy of being accounted for. Probably the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary will tell us what was the intention of the Indian Government in omitting that year. He might also tell us what was the amount applied in 1878-9 to the prevention of famine, that being a year so close to Lord Lytton's solemn promise. I refer again to the summary of the 12 years contained on page 4 of the Return. There ought to have been £18,000,000 sterling raised by additional taxation for famine relief alone during those 12 years. How is that sum accounted for? It is only alleged that 9,900,737 tens of rupees, or much less than £10,000,000, has been so applied; and I ask what, in that case, has become of the remaining amount of over £8,000,000 sterling? The only years in which Lord Lytton's promises were kept were the years 1881-2, 1882-3, 1883-4, 1884-5, and 1885-6, during which years Lord Ripon was Viceroy. In those years the promise which Lord Ripon did not make was kept; but the promise which Lord Lytton did make has never been kept at all, and since Lord Ripon's time no one appears to have been in a position to keep it. I may here say that I am going to make the Under Secretary and the Secretary of State himself both responsible for what has been going on. Reverting to Lord Lytton's specific declaration that the "sole purpose of the additional taxation" was the "preservation of the lives of the people from the effects of famine," I will ask the Committee to refer to page 2 of the Returns. I would remind the Committee of the questions I have felt it my duty to put, sometimes, I fear, in a way that must have been somewhat wearisome to the House, and for which I invariably laid myself open to rebuke; and I would point out that since last October it was certainly known to the Government of India that famine was approaching in Madras and Bengal and was also threatening in Bombay. This was known, as far as a great portion of India was concerned, by the partial failure of the South-Western monsoon of 1888, which was due in June and July. The effect of this was aggravated by the almost complete failure of the North-East monsoon which was due in October. The Government must have known that the natural result of these things, without any other cause, would have been higher prices for food, great pressure, possible hunger, and even probable famine. Well, what is the estimated provision made by the Government out of the earmarked £1,500,000? It is of no use your saying you have not got it. You have spent it. You took it, and promised to keep it for the purpose of saving life in case of famine. See what a mockery you have made of it. This Return shows that £20,500 was devoted for relief—namely, £500 for charitable relief in Madras and £20,000 for charitable relief in Bengal. No provision was made by the present Government for the relief works, for want of which hundreds of people certainly, many thousands probably, died of starvation before the works were commenced. I beg pardon; I was wrong in saying the Government made no provision. In 1888-9 they actually wrote off as irrecoverable the sum of £200, which was the amount of debt due from some wretched Madras agriculturists whose lands were producing nothing, and who were themselves famine-stricken. The general result is that in 11 years' real famine relief has been given to the extent of 2,631,750 tens of rupees only; and on page 5 of the Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India we are told that "no surplus was available as a reserve against famine in future years." This £18,000,000 has been extracted from the peasantry of India on the solemn promise that it should only be applied for the purpose of making provision against times of famine, and that promise has never at any time been kept. In 1877-8 the Government found itself unable to make provision against famine, but at least it did something for the promotion of starvation. I trust I shall not shock the Under Secretary in what I am about to state. I know that his feelings are generally shocked, especially by any statement made from this side of the House with regard to legal questions, which may be accounted for by the fact that the hon. Gentleman has been sitting for so many years on the same Bench with the Law Officers

of the Crown. Well, what did the Government do? On the 19th January, 1888, they actually raised the Salt Duty 25 per cent, namely, from two rupees per maund of 82 lbs. to 2½ rupees per maund; and the Government themselves, in their own statement, say that the effect of this was to reduce the consumption of salt. Less salt means less food, and the official declaration is that in 1888 the consumption of salt fell off markedly in the District of Ganjam. Page 75 of the Statement—and a very explicit Statement it is—shows that the consumption of salt in Ganjam fell from 12·31 lbs. per head to 8·27 lbs. per head owing, as the Government say, partly to high prices, or, as I say, almost wholly to the high prices resulting from the increased duty. No wonder there has been famine and starvation in Ganjam. If I possessed the cool freedom of speech which characterises the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India when attacking Members on this side of the House, I should be inclined to use exceedingly hard words against a Government which takes credit for its high officials going into a district where it had been pointed out that famine existed, and where they must have known that it was going on eight or nine months before (for it had been pointed out in this House), having previously extorted some Rx.180,000 to make provision for such contingency. It is one of the misfortunes of only one Debate in the year taking place on the finances of India that a Member is obliged to be exceedingly wearisome in the length of the matter he addresses to the House. But I must ask the Committee to note on page 4 of the Explanatory Memorandum a most extraordinary difference between gross and net revenue and expenditure—the gross being swollen by matters of account, and clearly in some instances creating a false impression. For example, railway receipts go to make up gross totals. From page 12 it will be seen that in the three years 1887-90, railways impose a burden upon the taxpayer of Rx.7,502,780, though the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir E. Watkin) urges the Government to spend £100,000,000 on more railways. In the Official Statement, page 14, it is admitted that—

"Though the dividend on the total railway capital is apparently more than 5 per cent, and though the Government is not liable for more than 5 per cent on any guaranteed capital, or for more than 4 per cent on State Railway capital; still the Indian Treasury lost on its current railway transactions Rx.2,267,800 in 1887-8, and estimated to lose Rx.2,115,000 in 1888-9."

The actual loss turned out to be more than half a million of rupees larger than the estimated loss. I am sure the Under Secretary did not purposely omit it, but I should have liked an explanation of the fact that the actual loss was more than half a million of rupees greater than the estimate.

*SIR E. WATKIN (Hythe): The hon. Member has referred to me. I should like to ask whether he is not aware that it has been proved that the advantage to the people of India of Indian railways is, year by year, greater than the whole gross millions of the annual receipts of the whole of the railways of India?

*MR. BRADLAUGH: The hon. Member will have an opportunity of following me. I do not see how his interruption is to the point. There is one matter as to which the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary has told us nothing in his Explanatory Memorandum, and I am rather surprised that he has not, because it is a matter upon which I have felt it my duty to ask him several questions already. He has not in the Memorandum under the head of "Railways" given any information as to the change of policy with reference to the projected railway to Chittagong, as to which a concession of 3,000 square miles of waste land with the right to prospect for coal and petroleum has either been actually granted, or is under consideration. If this be a wise policy there is no necessity for concealment, nor ought Members of this House to be driven to obtain information from private sources. I do not suggest that such a concession would be bad or good, but the House is entitled to know what are the views of the Department and of the Viceroy. What is the reason of this entire change of policy; on what conditions are these rights of prospecting to be conceded? The hon. Gentleman, in reply to a question the other day, said that if all railway enterprise was to wait until Parliament had expressed an opinion there would be no railways in India at all. I admired the clever-

ness and ingenuity of the reply, but unless the Secretary of State is the master of Parliament as well as of India, it was his duty in making his annual statement to tell us if such a change of policy has been made or is contemplated, to give the House information on this point, so as to enable the House to form a judgment upon it. Referring to irrigation works on page 13, I wish to ask as to table 2 which in column 1 states the total cost to 1886-7 as Rx.23,770 346, from what date the commencement of cost is taken? And whether the two tables mean that a total expenditure to the present date of Rx.25,332,935 shows an estimated loss for the year of Rx.725,400 and whether, as a higher loss still is shown in the two other years given, he will state the deficit for the preceding years. I also ask the Under Secretary, as he states the total capital outlay to date on the irrigation works, first, to state the total deficit of all the years covered by the capital outlay. I ask whether the Rx.629,400 mentioned in column 3, table 1, page 13, is the portion of the Land Revenue from new works only, or does it include receipts from old works? And I ask whether, to give the Committee an opportunity of comparing, he can state the amount credited to Land Revenue from irrigation in 1858? Further, I would ask him if he will state the net addition to the food production of the Empire which has accrued from the total expenditure of £25,000,000? In the statement of assets and liabilities on page 20 I would ask are the railway and irrigation works set down at their full cost? Is any allowance made for depreciation? Is any Sinking Fund provided? Referring to page 10, on Burma, I would ask the Committee to note that while the cost of annexation was originally estimated in November, 1885, at some £270,000, it has already cost some £8,000,000, and it is impossible to limit the further expenditure required to carry out what the Under Secretary of State has called the pacification of the country. I note that in relation to the Burma Ruby Mines Parliament has never had submitted to it the particulars, with names and amounts of the various tenders. I would ask the Under Secretary to state the cost of and incidental to the sending out of Mr. Barrington Browne as Government expert? What kind of valuation he made, and the general nature of his Report, and how many higher tenders—and to what amount—were received than the one accepted, with the names of the persons tendering?

*Sir J. GORST: I can answer that at once; there were no higher tenders.

*Mr. BRADLAUGH: I should like to know whether the hon. Gentleman attaches any subtle meaning to the word "tender," and whether there are not offers in writing within the knowledge of the Viceroy of India?

*Sir J. GORST: The tender for the Burma Ruby Mines was settled in this country by public advertisement in the newspapers. Tenders were received at the India Office, and they were opened in my presence. I can vouch for the fact that no other tenders were received.

*Mr. BRADLAUGH: I cannot think that I and the hon. Gentleman mean the same thing in the words we are using. I should be glad, however, if the hon. Gentleman would oblige the Committee with the names and particulars of the various tenders, together with the replies, so that the Committee may be enabled to form a judgment as to the higher or lower tenders. Will the hon. Gentleman tell the Committee why it is stated on page 17 of the Government statement dealing with the moral and material progress of India, that a lease of the Burma Ruby Mines was granted to a British Company in 1887-8, when the hon. Member more than once in the most express terms has stated in the House that no such lease has been granted? The company is to pay a rental of £40,000 a year and one-sixth of the profits, and I should like to know why it is that in the estimated receipts for 1888 9 and 1890, there is no sum whatever even entered in the Estimates as likely to be received? If the hon. Member tells me that this statement as to the rental to be paid is not true, I will not press him further, but he must not wonder if I am a little shocked—electrified—in dealing with such matters. And now, I have only to apologise to the Committee for the length of my remarks. I hope, however, that what I have said will show that there is some need for effective financial control in India, and that if it be possible—as I believe it to

be—to exercise that effective financial control in this House, even supposing more than one day in the year is devoted to the work, something will be done to enlarge the Legislative Councils in the various Provinces, and to increase their powers, so that they may have a better opportunity of interpellating in relation to these matters of finance. I would assure the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State that it is not our desire to destroy Provincial activity in India. On the contrary, we desire to enlarge and develop it. I should like to see the Government carry out their promises in this respect. I should like, to use the words of Lord Lytton, "having heard their bow-wow of promise, to see at least the tail of the performance." We hope that there may be enlarged Councils strengthened by a Committee of this House, or a Joint Standing Committee of both Houses, to which may be addressed questions on which it is necessary that some expression of opinion should be obtained as to the advisability of bringing matters in dispute before Parliament. Although, in the present scanty House, it seems a mockery to do so, I would venture to appeal to hon. Members, and, if necessary, I will go from this House to Parliament, and from Parliament to the people—that some opportunity of bringing forward their grievances may be given to those who are connected with the movement for reform in India. I agree that they are only a small body, but small as they are sufficiently important to have some attention paid to them. There assembled at Allahabad some 1,200 delegates, representing some millions of people. I appeal to the English people for reasonable attention to the wants of India, especially as its grievances are now finding constitutional expression in the great Congress movement, of which Lord Dufferin said that he regarded with feelings—

"of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs."

From the Report of that Convention, it is evident that the natives are inspired with a laudable ambition to be more closely associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own affairs. It is, of course, impossible to hope that within these walls any criticism or complaint made under existing circumstances will have any very great effect, but I do hope that the protest now made and concurred in, as it seemed to me at the beginning of the speech with which I have troubled the Committee, by Members sitting on the Conservative Benches—that the protest now made against the late period of the Session at which this subject is brought forward will not be without effect. The House is wearied with the labours of a long Session, and the bulk of the Members have gone away. I do not make this protest from Party motives, as I acknowledge that the Party with whom I vote are as amenable to every kind of blame in the matter as the Party opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is now in his place, and I appeal to him, during the Recess, to give effect to words which I hope I have not wrongly understood—and I am only dealing with words uttered across the floor of this House—which have come from the Leader of the House, that it is only due to the vast mass of our Indian fellow-subjects that at some time they may be able to approach this House in a Constitutional way, with the Speaker in the Chair, and not be driven to bring forward their grievances at a time when a question of finance is under discussion, and they are not susceptible of radical and effective debate.

*SIR R. TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): Once more the hon. Member for Northampton has been on the oratorical rampage. I am aware that the hon. Member is nothing if he is not querulous; his voice seemed to quiver with emotion when he mentioned even so light a subject as the filagree silver work from India. He seems to have a mission to complain of India all round. But I demur to the censure passed by him on the English Parliament for postponing this Budget Statement so long. I challenge him to point to a single evening that has been wasted, and on which the Indian Budget could have been taken. I also deny that the House of Commons has not devoted any time to the consideration of India this Session. There have been three full-dress Debates on the condition of India.

MR. MACNEILL: No, no.

*SIR R. TEMPLE: The truth is, that the House of Commons knows its duty perfectly well. It has constituted by legislation a proper Government for India, and, having done this, it thinks that the less we meddle with the subject the better it will be for India and ourselves. The hon. Member has referred to the Native Congresses, and while we are precluded by the rules of the Committee from entering further on that subject, I may just say that I have long thought that elective Members might be substituted for the appointed Members on the various Legislative Councils. I shall be prepared to bring forward a moderate and practical scheme to give effect to that principle on the proper occasion. Meanwhile out of the numerous topics of the hon. Member's speech I will select three only. The points I desire to touch upon are the railways, the irrigation works, and the Famine Insurance Fund. The hon. Member cannot deny that the railways are now paying 5 per cent, and in this respect they will undoubtedly compare favourably, if not to better advantage, with the railways of Europe or America. Nevertheless, the hon. Member seems surprised that a yearly charge should be debited against these railways. But that was on account of the years while they were under construction and before they were fully opened. The hon. Member inquired anxiously about the concessions. It is quite true that valuable concessions of land have been made to the Indian Railway Companies, but had they not been made the companies could not have raised the necessary capital and the railways could not have been constructed. The same thing was experienced in the railway development of the North-West of Canada. The same observation applies with equal force to the irrigation works, which are now paying 5 per cent interest on their capital, which had been borrowed at 4 per cent interest, and which, therefore, are earning 1 per cent per annum, which is available for paying off the charge on which the hon. Member animadverted, and which relates to the years that passed before the network of subsidiary channels was completed. The hon. Member opposite asks for statistics as to the additional amount of food supply for the people of India, which is the result of the construction of these irrigation works. It is quite possible to furnish those statistics, although they would have to be of a very elaborate character, seeing that it would have to be calculated how much additional produce is derived from irrigated land which had already been in cultivation before the works were constructed, but which has been immensely benefited by them since their construction. The hon. Member referred to the Famine Insurance Fund, the idea of which was first conceived in 1878-9, just after India had passed through one of its periodical famines. But no such insurance represented the provision which the people of India had against death by starvation. That provision consisted of the whole might of the Government, which had several times been magnificently exerted, and, despite inevitable disasters, had worked wonders. No fund of that kind has ever actually been raised. The hon. Member quoted two instances which proved that the Natives knew quite well that no fund really existed. But it was resolved by the Government of India to set aside a portion of the revenue amounting to about one and a half million sterling, which was to be expended on public works in the event of a recurrence of famine. The additional revenue required for this purpose had been raised, not by the imposition of new taxes, but by a development of old ones—that is, of License and Income Taxes with which the people had long been familiar. For some five out of the ten years which have since elapsed, the Government have scrupulously expended the money as intended. But during the other five years the Government had to find the means for warlike operations. Therefore, it was deemed preferable to suspend the appropriation of this portion of the revenue for this purpose rather than to raise the sum required by new taxation. Of the two alternatives before the Government, the Native taxpayers preferred the one that had been adopted. If it be asked what had been done with the remaining half, the other half having been spent on railways and canals, the answer is that it has gone for the defence of the North-Western Frontier. Lord Lytton tried as far as he could to act up to the resolutions he had formed. But there were war and pestilence, and it was extremely difficult

to make both ends meet under those trying circumstances. In fact, it was impossible for him to carry his resolutions into effect during the closing year of his administration. After him Lord Lytton had a peaceful time, and the million and a half was spent yearly on the public works as originally intended. There was no promise as the hon. Member supposes—except to ourselves—no contract, for there were no two personal parties. We formed the one party, and our national conscience was the other party. When Russia assumed a menacing attitude in 1885, Lord Dufferin had to undertake frontier defence, and found himself obliged to spend all the revenue he had got, so that he was unable to carry out the academic resolutions which had been formed seven years before. I shall conclude with the briefest *résumé* of what appears to me to be the financial condition of the Government of India, of which the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy wrote in rather doleful terms. Considering the sorrow and disapprobation indicated by the hon. Member's Motion on the Paper, the House will perhaps be surprised to hear that the condition of the finances of India is as follows:—For several years past India has paid her way. Sometimes there has been a deficit, sometimes a surplus; but, one year taken with another, she has paid her way, and she appears now at the Bar of this House with a surplus in her hand. During this period she has paid, without incurring any debt, for one great war and two great famines. She has defended her frontier, or placed it in a state of impregnable defence. She has munificently administered the newly-conquered Province of Upper Burma. Nor has she neglected her internal administration. She has spent millions on education, hundreds of thousands on science and art, and she has devoted millions again to sanitation and preventive and curative measures for the health of the people. She has done all this in face of a most damaging fall in exchange that entirely upset the calculations of financiers and landed them in a deficit when they least expected it. What has been her public debt all this time? Is the financial condition of any other country, except Holland and Prussia, so favourable? The whole debt only amounts to a little more than two years' revenue, and of that one-half has been expended not on productive operations, but on measures destined for the material welfare of the people. And how about the Revenue of India? I will say nothing now about Excise or opium, as I have made two speeches this Session on the subject, but I will add one word of congratulation on the able and satisfactory statement of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State regarding the statistics of the consumption of salt in its relation to recent taxation. The natives of India have the lightest taxation of any people on the face of the earth. The poor man in India pays a tax on one article only, and that is salt, for the people, as a rule, are temperate, and only a small fraction of them consume spirituous liquors. A whole host of various kinds of oppressive assessed taxes which prevailed under native rule have been remitted under the British Government. Our taxation is immeasurably lighter than that of the Native Governments. Though we own territories broader than those of the Great Mogul, yet historians know that our revenues are less than his were. Take, again, the case of the land. It is the Land Tax which has been the basis of some of the greatest measures for the improvement of the country that have ever been designed in India or in any other country in the world. By means of the Land Tax we have been able to undertake a cadastral survey equal to the best in England—field upon field, holding upon holding. It extends over an area containing not much less than a million and a half square miles, from the base of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, in the Southern Sea. Following this survey and the consequent recognition of property, there has been a registration of all mutations of property, thereby settling many questions which we have not been able to settle in England this Session in spite of all the efforts made in another place. These property rights were ancient. But the modern recognition is such as to amount to a fresh recognition of property—superior, subordinate, and collateral. To secure this property Courts of Justice have been set up which are above the Government. The smallest Court may give orders which we Governors,

though masters of many legions and of many millions of population, are bound to obey. We should speak of India with triumph instead of complaining. Instead of talking of the sorrows of the people of India I would rather talk of their happiness—a happiness unknown in their previous history. The people are growing in numbers, and their agriculture and trade are spreading. Their moral, social, and intellectual status is rising rapidly every year, under the beneficent influence of the civilisation which we are introducing into the country. And now, as I conclude, I will advert to that frontier, the defensive cost of which has been at the bottom of the indictment by the hon. Member for Northampton, and has largely figured in the Financial Statement of the Under Secretary of State. We are seen to be spending one and a half to two millions a year now. The items presented by the Under Secretary of State of part expenditure, if totalled, would amount to seven, perhaps to eight, millions. Now, I know that frontier through its many hundreds of miles, having governed one half myself, and having been once Secretary to those who governed the other half. And I apprehend that the eight millions will rise to 12 or 13 before the great defence is completed. What, then, should we have for all this cost? Let us look. We may one day be invaded. Well, if we are, then let the invaders come now while we are in the zenith of our strength; the sooner the better, if come they must. Let us, indeed, stand in imagination on the fertile plain round Peshawur and observe the dark jaws of the Khyber Pass. Let us peer into that gloomy defile, and think that the invaders must penetrate that in order to meet the serried array of England around Peshawur. Then behind that historic and romantic city is the Indus, flowing smoothly but with fearful rapidity, and spanned by a mighty railway bridge, a model of constructive engineering and a monument of British science. Thence, down the left bank of the mighty river run the new railways southwards till we reach Sukkur, in Scinde. There, again, it is bridged by a structure which is one of the wonders of the world. Thence runs the railway across the Sibi desert, scaling the steep flanks of what is called the Khorassan plateau to Pishin and the Amran range. Let us stand on the summit of that range and contemplate the matchless view, so full of political and military, as well as financial, significance. At our feet is the stony plain running towards Candahar. On our left is the desert, with the clouds of sand ascending. On the horizon to our full front is the group of turret-like rocks overlooking Candahar itself. Around the city we may dimly discern the blue lines indicating that supurb cultivation that can furnish supplies for armies. There we behold the possible battlefield between the Russian invader and the British defender. On that dread day the value of this costly frontier defence will be tested. I trust that the defence will answer that extreme test, and that the invader will be defeated, never to return. Then, after that crowning victory, a cry of joy and thanks will arise to heaven from the whole earth of India. The native Princes will rejoice to see the triumph of that British suzerain that protects their territories. The old man will be glad when he remembers the ancestral stories of the revolutions stopped by that benign Power that preserved the *Pax Britannica*. The thoughtful man will be thankful who reflects on the moral and material blessings we have showered on his country. The poor man will be grateful for the victory of that Power that guards his crops from devastation, his home from plunder, his family from captivity. And all classes, rich and poor, will unite in a chorus of thanksgiving for the safety of that Government whose force rests not only on India itself, but also on a distant basis beyond the sea, on the land of the free and the brave, on the moral strength of Western opinion, and on the confidence of that Parliament which is the centre of Imperial authority and holds the keys of the Eastern Empire.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I am not one of those who desire to complain of the lateness of the Session at which the Indian Budget is brought on for Debate. I am rather inclined to take the view that the less this House hears of India the better; that we had better abrogate the management of it to a competent authority. I think we may as well be content to take the chance of talking on the subject whenever it occurs. Now, Sir, to-night

I propose to confine myself to the prosaic region of finance, and I am sorry to say, in regard to this particular subject, that I am inclined to take a somewhat unfavourable view of the present position of Indian finance and the methods on which it is conducted. We are accustomed to hear the Under Secretary for India, in introducing the Budget, talking of what would have occurred in regard to finance if something had not happened. But something does happen every year which upsets the calculations of the best financiers. With regard to the present Budget, I should have thought that the statement of the Under Secretary was extremely gratifying, for he told us that an estimated small surplus had been turned into a considerable surplus. But I fear that one remark which the hon. and learned Gentleman made will suffice to entirely destroy the favourable impression that the rest of his speech produced upon me. I understood him to say that one of the items on which there had been a considerable saving within the last few months was that in the cost of opium, and that that cost had decreased by no less a sum than £600,000. If that is true, the whole gratifying fabric set up by the Under Secretary falls to the ground, for everyone knows that a decrease in the cost of opium production means a very considerable decrease in the proceeds from the sale of the opium crop, and that one item would more than counterbalance any improvement which has been achieved in the matter of Indian finance. Now, I maintain that Indian finance is in an unfortunate position. There has been a considerable loss on silver exchange, and we have been told, time after time, that if it had not been for that loss, Indian finance would have been in a much better condition. I fear that we cannot look for any improvement in the direction of the silver question. On the contrary, there seems to be a reasonable probability that things will go from bad to worse, and the result of the investigation I have made into this matter is not hopeful. I confess, after having long been a bi-metallist, now that I learn that silver has appreciated instead of depreciated, I have grave doubts as to whether any measure which would raise the price of silver would really have any beneficial effect on India, because every debtor in India would suffer. I also know that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, the Leader of the Opposition, has, in a letter, declared himself almost fanatically opposed to bi-metallic ideas. Under these circumstances, seeing that, in addition to no hope of improvement in this direction, we have the prospect of a grave decrease in opium revenue, I hold that appearances are far from satisfactory. I look upon the expenditure in Burma and on the North-West frontier as part of our trouble. I am afraid we are pursuing a clumsy policy, and I believe also that we must accept the annexation of Upper Burma as a financial disaster, and as regards the North-West frontier, the expense will not be limited to three or four millions sterling. There is no prospect of a large revenue from there; but our expenses are enormous. My belief is that the further we advance the further we require to go. The hon. and gallant Member for Evesham has looked upon Candahar with covetous eyes; but it strikes me that this is a miserable district. It is not a food-producing country, and if we attempted to take it over we should find it a very bad bargain. We ought, in fact, to place a decided check upon our advance in this direction. These scientific military frontiers entail not only enormous expense in creating them, but they are still more expensive to defend and occupy with a garrison. Now, the Under Secretary in his Memorandum has given us a very useful statement, showing the net revenue and the net expenditure. The net revenue, according to this statement, is 47,108,000 tens of rupees, and deducting from this 3,624,000 tens of rupees, the interest paid upon debt, we have available for expenditure 43,484,000 tens of rupees. Now of that 23½ millions is expended for military purposes, and should the time come when we have those battles on which my hon. and gallant Friend has so eloquently descanted, I hope we may reap all the glory he anticipates, although I fear it is certain that we shall also reap financial disaster. Seeing what heavy expenses we necessarily incur there now, I cannot hold that the taxation in India is excessively heavy; indeed, I think my hon. Friend is right when he says it is not too great to be borne by the people of India. But

what I do complain of is that we have, when we have been compelled to resort to an increase of taxation, put the additional burden on a necessary of life. I do maintain that the Salt Tax is a most unfortunate tax, and it is only the direct and worst necessity should compel us to impose it. It is one of the worst forms of taxation; the burden is an unjust and impolitic one; it is a capitation tax, which falls equally on the poor with the rich; and it is injurious to health in its effects, for it prevents the salting of fish, which Nature provides so abundantly in India, and it drives the natives to eat stinking fish dried in the sun. I very much regret the increase of the Salt Tax in India, and I think that the enormous comparative increase of that tax in Burma is still more dangerous. What has happened in Burma? Formerly there was in that country an almost nominal tax upon salt, but you have suddenly raised the tax to a very considerable sum. The Under Secretary of State has told us there has been an enormous decrease in the consumption of salt in Burma. That is a very injurious state of things, and I believe it is politically dangerous. At a time when you are trying to pacify that country, there is nothing more dangerous than suddenly to raise the price of salt. We must have additional taxation, but we ought not to tax things most necessary for the health of the people. We must extend our area of taxation; we must find new subjects of taxation; and I would recommend the Government to tax tobacco, which is a luxury, rather than salt, which is a necessary of life. As regards the question of Excise, I am free to admit that in the greater part of India the Government of India are honestly endeavouring to carry out the policy of raising the largest amount of revenue from the smallest amount of consumption. But there is a Province with which I am intimately acquainted in which that policy has not been carried out. While in other parts of India a gradual return is being made to the Still-head Duty, the out-still system largely prevails in Bengal. But we are only making a gradual return to the old civilised system. My belief is it is simply and solely on financial grounds that you do not make that sweeping return to the old civilised system which ought never to have been departed from. No doubt the Government of Bengal are anxious to return to that system, but for financial reasons the Government of India will not allow them the revenue necessary for the purpose. If there is any other reason, I hope the Under Secretary will reveal it. Then, I must express regret at the abandonment of the fund to provide for the famines which periodically occur in India. These famines cost many millions of pounds sterling, and the revenue of the year is not sufficient to meet the expenditure. Some years ago the Government of India very wisely and prudently came to the conclusion that to meet the great expense consequent on famines it was necessary and desirable to provide a fund. It was decided that £1,500,000 should be set aside annually for this purpose. It was permitted that some part of the money should be spent on works likely to avert famines, but the main object was to meet the cost of the periodical famines in the country. There is reason to fear that the future famines will be more extensive than those which have occurred hitherto. The population yearly becomes denser, and therefore the disaster is more difficult to deal with. No doubt railways are very useful in the way of bringing food to the people, but railways do not bring to the people money to pay for the food. The Government must find the money, and, therefore, I maintain it is only right and prudent that they should put into the account a specific sum—say £1,500,000 per annum—as a Famine Insurance Fund. It is most unfortunate that the Government have abandoned the provision of this fund. The result will be that this year, or next year, or the year after, when there is a great famine costing, perhaps, eight or ten millions sterling, you will not have the means to meet it, but you will have to borrow the money. We are bound to assist the people of India in time of famine, and if the population continues to increase at the present pace we may be called upon to assist them in many ways. I hope we shall do our best to encourage the industrial arts in India. I hope that even if it be that Indian artisans are allowed to rival those of Lancashire we shall not throw obstacles in the way. I am a little suspicious of the kind interest taken by the representatives of Lancashire in the

welfare of the Indian operatives. I hope, too, that something may be done in the direction of State colonisation—that the people of India may be encouraged to resort to the tropical parts of Her Majesty's dominions. [The CHAIRMAN: Order, order!] I will not pursue that subject, but will turn to the question of public works. I object, as I say in the Motion of which I have given notice, to

"The grant of large and unnecessary railway guarantees to London syndicates while the more economical construction of light local lines by means of cheap money borrowed by Government for the purpose is neglected."

It seems to me it would be very much better that we should avoid the working of these syndicates, and I very much regret the reversion of the Government to the old system of guarantee which it was supposed we had abandoned. We were led to believe that the deficit in regard to Indian railways had disappeared, and that we had indeed reached a period of surplusage. Now we learn that that is an entire mistake, and that upwards of £2,000,000 is the deficit on the railways. I cannot understand the policy of the Government in regard to these guarantees to railways. The Government are continually granting fresh railways at a time when they are buying back the old guaranteed railways at an enormous premium. I suppose the Government consider it is advantageous that the State should control those railways and be possessed of them. If that is their policy why are they continually guaranteeing new railways? Excessive terms are given to the London syndicates, with the result that a great burden is thrown on the Indian taxpayers. It seems that new Secretaries of State on coming into office are always filled with enthusiasm for the promotion of public works, but are not strong enough to resist the city syndicates. What is the result? It is that two great trunk lines of railway have been made in recent years to compete with two Government lines already existing. The Government have been forced by the persistency of railway syndicates in London to give liberal guarantees to additional trunk lines which are to compete with old lines. The policy of the Government in this respect is unfortunate. It shows a want of strength in the India Office to resist pressure brought to bear upon them by great financial syndicates in the City of London. I believe that India wants more railways, but it is regrettable that the Government submit to the terms imposed by London financiers who always act on the principle "Heads I win, tails you lose." My opinion is it would be very much better that instead of guaranteeing great lines which compete with their own lines the Government should borrow cheap money and make small local lines which are really required. India is a flat country, metal is very scarce, roads are very expensive, and light railways can be cheaply made. The Government should settle the lines required for the benefit of India, and then borrow cheap money with which to pay for the construction of those lines. At one time the Government had not the necessary experience in railway matters. They have since acquired that experience; they have competent officers, and I do not think they would find any difficulty in making the lines I recommend. While upon the question of railways I desire to ask the Under Secretary two questions. The first is in respect to the Delhi and Umballa Railway. This line is amongst the recently sanctioned lines. I should like to know on what terms that railway has been sanctioned, and who is to make it. I earnestly hope the line is either to be made by private people without guarantees or by the Government. Then I should like some statement from the Under Secretary as to what is proposed in regard to the proposed Chittagong and Assam Railway. I desire to see the line made, but at the same time I am extremely suspicious as to land grants. I do not object to land grants if they can be fairly given, but I know the country extremely well, and I confess I do not know where you are to find land where there are no native claims and rights and where it would pay syndicates to make railways by means of grants of land. I have only one word to say in regard to the irrigation works. I am rather surprised the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple) did not allude to the disastrous results of the great irrigation works made in the Province of Bengal, where the Government were forced by persistent clamour to take over works of private companies, works

which did not pay their working expenses. That is one of the things we ought to accept as a warning not to rush too hurriedly, as a warning not to give too readily guarantees and concessions to promoters. I have confined my remarks to the prosaic region of finance. I cannot regard the financial position of India as favourable. We only approach equilibrium by additional taxation and by abandoning the famine fund. The situation cannot safely be described in glowing colours, and the problem must be faced by some method of taxing the rich, or the luxuries, not the necessaries, of the poor.

SIR R. LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, W.): Before I proceed to make a few remarks upon the exceedingly interesting and very lucid statement of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India, I should like to be allowed to express my keen regret that the recent alteration in the Rules of Procedure precludes us from discussing, in this Committee some of the most important current events in India. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) and my hon. Friend the Member for the Evesham Division (Sir R. Temple) have referred to the movement which is going on in India under the name of the National Congress Movement. Into the merits of that movement you, Sir, will not permit me to enter any more than you would permit those hon. Members, further than to say that though we sympathise with some or most of the points of that movement, in other respects we regard it as a dangerous movement. I cannot help thinking that it is a movement of such a character that this House is peculiarly qualified to express an opinion upon it, and I think it would be well if the House were afforded an opportunity of discussing it and of stretching out, as it were, a hand to our fellow-subjects in India and of preventing them falling altogether into the hands of interested agitators. Then, with regard to the period of the Session at which this discussion takes place, I hope my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India, or some other Member of the Government, will offer some tangible defence of the practice of putting off the Indian Budget until this period of the Session, or else give us a pledge that next Session the Government will endeavour to take the Indian Budget at an earlier period. It is little less than a scandal that during the speech of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), an hon. Member who speaks with very great knowledge of the subject, there was for a large period not a single Member of the House upon the opposite Benches. Let me turn for a moment to the remarks of the hon. Member for Northampton and the hon. Member for the Evesham Division on the question of what is known as the Famine Insurance Fund. That dispute is now a matter of ancient history. The quarrel was settled years ago; it was determined to be simply a dispute about words. There never was any such thing as a permanent Famine Insurance Fund, and it never was intended there should be any such permanent fund. All that was attempted was—and that has been done as far as has been compatible with the circumstances of each year—that a certain sum should be allocated—ear-marked as it were—for the purpose of providing against famine, and should be set apart for public works, railways, irrigation works, and so forth. Turning to the subject-matter of my hon. Friend's statement, the finance of India generally, no one can fail to be struck with that part of the statement which refers especially to the railways of India and to very great expansion of those railways of late. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy has brought up the question of the comparative merits of the plan of constructing light local lines by State effort and that of the Government guaranteeing the construction of railways by companies. I think there is very much to be said on both sides of the argument. With the command of skilled labour which the Public Works Department of India possesses, the construction of light local railways might be advantageously undertaken by the Government of India; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that State control of enterprises of this kind is always somewhat expensive. The State always must pay its servants on a higher scale than private companies pay their servants. The organisation must always be more elaborate, and, therefore, I do not think Her Majesty's Government can be blamed that, in the case of the Delhi and Umballa railway and other railways they have entrusted

the construction to companies, aiding those companies by a certain amount of guarantee. Another point dwelt upon by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, in which I cannot agree with him, is the comparative recovery of the finances of Upper Burma. He quite forgets that in Upper Burma we have been passing through a transition stage, from a state bordering on war to a condition of peace. There is still a great deal of dacoity and robbery going on. I do think, Sir, that the figures which have been presented to us as to the expansion of the revenue of Burma are, on the whole, exceedingly satisfactory. I should like, whilst on this subject, to refer to the question of the working of the magnificent teak forests by the Bombay-Burma Corporation. The Government say they cannot do otherwise than confirm the monopoly, because it was given by King Theebaw. But a monopoly under King Theebaw is a very different thing from a monopoly guaranteed by the might of Great Britain. All the Corporation had a right to expect was that they should be put in a position of equal value with that in which they were before, and some compensating advantages might, I think, have been secured by the Government of India. I agree with much that fell from the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy in reference to the shortcomings of the Government of India and the India Office in commercial matters generally. They have, somehow or other, been unfortunate whenever they have interfered in such things, as, for example, in the case of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company. We had a Committee sitting on the subject, and it reported unfavourably to the system, but not much has come from it. I would suggest that for the safeguarding of the interests of the finances of India in such matters, it would be worth the consideration of Her Majesty's Government whether we might not have attached to the Government of India something like a Board of Trade Department. I am glad to learn that Her Majesty's Government have recommended the Government of India to take steps for the cultivation of sericulture in Bengal. The silk industry is likely to be not only of great advantage to the Presidency, but most useful to our own manufacturers in Macclesfield and elsewhere in supplying them with raw material. In Mr. Wardell the British Sericulture Society possesses an adviser who has devoted himself to this subject in a remarkable degree, and has carried on investigations into the silkworm cultivation of Bengal such as will afford to the Government the best data for founding any experiments of this kind upon. On one other point the Secretary of State deserves the thanks both of Indian producers and English consumers. I refer to the persistence with which he has encouraged efforts to promote the purity of Indian wheat, and to provide wheat for this country of the best possible quality. I turn now to the Excise policy of the Government. Hints have been thrown out that the Government are thinking of imposing a tax upon a very promising young industry which has been growing up for many years, and which many of us who are interested in India have watched with much care —namely, the brewing of light beer in the hill stations for the consumption of English soldiers. Now, Sir, this beer is brewed simply to supply to our English troops in India. It is not intended for, and will not go to the natives of the country. If the Government put taxation on the more or less injurious and poisonous native spirits which are consumed by the native population, even if they imposed almost prohibitory duties upon them, they would be acting in entire harmony with public opinion in India. I believe that actual prohibition would not be objected to by public opinion in India, and it would certainly have a great effect upon the morals of the native population. But with regard to these hill brewers of light beer, I maintain that the cause of temperance is really served by them. They put light and wholesome beer within the reach of the British soldier, and if he does not get that he drinks those atrocious country spirits. I think it would therefore be a great mistake if the Government throttled that industry by putting any excessive or even moderately light taxation upon it. I had intended to speak in some detail on the alarming state of affairs disclosed by the Report lately presented to us respecting the Crawford case in Bombay, but I will not dwell on it further than to say that it is a matter of great importance

which deserves the attention of Parliament. I merely allude to it to point out to the Committee that the time has come when, in order to clear up all these points, and to rehabilitate the character of our civilisation in India, we ought to have at length the long promised Royal Commission to inquire into the affairs of India. My hon. Friend (Sir J. Gorst) says the Financial Committee has done all that is necessary, as far as the finances are concerned. I maintain that that Committee was really a departmental committee in India, and one of the worst type. One of the results of its inquiry was the appointment for a considerable period of a Financial Commissioner, drawing a salary of five or six hundred a year, and of some smaller officials. The appointment of such a set of officials was clearly not the suitable outcome of the proceedings of a Committee appointed to cut down the expenditure of India, and to establish something like equilibrium in the finances. The Army Commission of 1879 reported strongly in favour of certain financial retrenchments, and the military Sub-Committee of that Committee took it upon itself, if I am not mistaken, really to reverse a large number of the recommendations of the Army Commission, in the direction of greater extravagance. I think the recommendations of the Army Commission, headed by Sir F. Roberts and some of the first authorities of the day on these subjects, might fairly have been taken into account. I was very glad to hear from my hon. Friend (Sir J. Gorst) that some of the recommendations of the Finance Committee with regard to the expenses of the annual picnics of the Provincial Governments of India to the hills in the summer will be carried out by the Government of India. I should be glad to hear further details on that subject, because the question is one which interests public opinion in every one of the Presidential towns of India. Every year a large unnecessary expenditure is still incurred in these picnics, which do no good to anybody whatever. I would point out to my hon. Friend and to the Committee that the cost of any one of these picnics would be sufficient to meet all the demands which have been brought before the Committee for turning the silver pensions of the Uncovenanted servants of India into sterling pensions. I think justice clearly demands that the voice of such a large body of officials as those of the Uncovenanted Service should be listened to, and those demands could be carried out at the cost of one of these picnics. The general question of silver pensions has been debated once this Session, and I shall not now attempt to go into it. I will merely refer to the payments made to the Cooper's Hill Civil Engineers, who went out in the years 1871 and 1872. Those pensions are henceforward to be paid in sterling and not in silver. And why, Sir? Simply because in the prospectus of that particular year there was a statement to the effect that the rupee would be valued at 2*s*.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

SIR R. LETHBRIDGE: As I see I am wandering beyond the Financial Statement, I will not further dwell upon that subject. My hon. Friend has taken a great deal of credit to the Government for the reduction in the number of the Council of India. He has told us that the Government will save no less a sum than £6,000 a year to the taxpayers of India by the reduction in the numbers of the Consultative Body which advises, and checks, and to a certain extent controls the action of the Secretary of State. Now, Sir, I submit that this is one of those fiddling and cheeseparing reductions of which my hon. Friend so justly speaks with a good deal of contempt. The reduction has been sanctioned by this House, but it has been condemned in the strongest manner by the whole of the Press of India. It is condemned by papers like the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, which says it is a device to increase the despotic power of the Secretary of State; and papers like the *Englishman* of Calcutta, which speaks of it in the same way. The very organ of the taxpayers, of whom my hon. Friend (Sir J. Gorst) has constituted himself the champion—the *Indian Mirror*—has spoken in the strongest terms of this pettifogging reduction, because it objects to anything which will enable the Secretary of State to diminish the effectiveness of the control or check upon his despotic authority. [*A laugh.*] My hon. Friend laughs, but the powers of the Secretary of State are necessarily despotic, and are necessarily unchecked by any public opinion in this

country. The only check exercised on his despotic power is that furnished by the Council, and I think the Press is right in deprecating any diminution of the numbers of that Assembly. I think the plea which has often been advanced by the hon. Member for Northampton, that a full Parliamentary inquiry into all these affairs is necessary, is really one which the Government cannot afford any longer to reject. The contention is founded on the promises of the Government itself. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), when Secretary for India, gave the strongest assurances that it was the intention of the Government to carry on such inquiry; and I must say that I myself, as a very humble supporter of the Government, thought I could fairly pledge myself that the Government would carry out its promises. I did so pledge myself; and I shall never cease, whilst I am in this House, to indicate that fact, and to support any movement for carrying out the pledges which were given by the Government, and especially by the noble Lord the Member for Paddington, for a full inquiry into the Indian administration generally.

*MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I should not have been inclined to take part in this discussion were it not for the fact that the Government of India seem inclined to look on further railway extension in India as a sealed book. I am afraid I shall have to trouble the Committee with a number of figures; but it is necessary for me to do this, in order to prove my contention that the progress of India to a considerable extent depends upon the extension of her railways. I do not say it exclusively depends on railway extension, for, no doubt, irrigation works demand attention; but I hold that the prosperity of the Indian portion of the Empire depends in a large measure upon railways, and as there is an impression in certain quarters that the era of railway building in that country has closed, I desire to encourage the Government to push on the work. I am glad to say that the new Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, before setting out to India, spoke in very encouraging terms on this subject, and on arriving in India his language was not less satisfactory. In November last, at Lansdowne House, he said:—

"I observe in the conversation I have had with gentlemen familiar with India that, in spite of apprehensions which they may feel as to financial difficulties consequent upon the fall of the exchange, they are all of them disposed to look forward with sanguine expectations to the improvement in the general position of the country, which they attribute very much to the manner the railways in India have been expanded during the last few years."

At the end he said:—

"Hence, as regards railways, I think we may say that everybody is agreed, and it is merely a question of the rate at which the system can be developed."

On arriving in India Lord Lansdowne said:—

"I feel that at the present time all proposals involving an increase of the public expenditure require the closest examination and scrutiny. There is, nevertheless, I am convinced no duty more incumbent upon the Government than that of extending the railway communication of the country and of bringing to light and rendering available for human use the wealth which is latent within it."

It is quite clear that Lord Lansdowne, before settling down to such an important charge as that which he had undertaken, would have consulted those authorities best qualified to advise him, and so far nothing has taken place to induce him to change his opinions of which we have any information. Of course, it would not be right to put on his words a stronger meaning than he intended, but the Committee will have gathered his views from what I have quoted, and we may expect that he will use his best efforts to bring about the fulfilment of them. There can be no doubt that the commercial railways in India have proved of great advantage to the Indian Empire, leaving out of account the strategic railways which open up a large question, one which I do not feel called upon to go into. It has been stated that the total net profit on Indian railways during the past year was 5·12 per cent on the capital outlay, and I think that is a fair profit in a country new to railways. That this will increase in time I have very little doubt. If we look at the statistics which have been given we shall find that in 1888 the passenger traffic in India increased 8·12 per cent over that of 1887, and that the ton mileage of

goods increased 11·94 per cent. It was foreseen when the Government entered into this system of railway construction that for some years there would be no return, but that a return would be reaped in later years. Hear Sir Auckland Colvin's testimony on this point—

"The loss will probably be progressively greater for the next three or four years, not because the lines which are open to traffic are not paying, but, on the contrary, because, in spite of their increasing receipts, all they can yield, and far more, is swallowed up in the interest on capital on other lines under construction."

I, therefore, feel that on so important a subject I need not apologise for troubling the Committee. Feeling as I do that railway extension is the real need of our Indian Empire, I would draw attention to one or two salient facts bearing on the question. In the first place, although India has a population of some 270,000,000, it has only 17,000 miles of railway, which it will be admitted is a very small amount for so large a population, and for a territory of—including Burma—1,570,000 square miles, which is 27 times larger than England and Wales, and 13 times larger than the United Kingdom. It has been said by Dr. George Watt, C.I.E., in a Paper read before the Society of Arts, that according to the most recent survey one hundred millions of acres of land suitable for cultivation in India have not as yet been ploughed. It seems to me that with such an extent of land cultivable, and such a growth and progress as India is making under British rule we may look forward to a time when her railways will be one of the most paying institutions, producing the best results in that great Empire. Last year the Commercial State Railways made a very fair profit indeed, and have occasioned an increase in the revenue of the whole country, though, on the other hand, there was a net loss on the Military Railways opened and unopened. The development of trade in India has, I maintain, been commensurate with the development of the railway system, though I do not attribute the whole increase to the railways. India's foreign trade in 1852-3, with 21½ miles of opened railway, was 385 millions of rupees; in 1859-60, with 836 miles, it was 695 millions; in 1869-70, with 4,766 miles, it was 1,003 millions; in 1885-6, with 12,376 miles, it was 1,520 millions of rupees respectively. Therefore, with increased facilities for transport the whole trade of India has increased to a large extent. Whilst India has benefited, there is not the slightest doubt that our own country, and Lancashire in particular, has enjoyed an extension of trade. I do not for a moment believe that the people of Lancashire desire to advocate an expenditure of Indian money merely in their own interests, but the fact that the interests of the two countries run on parallel lines in this respect is, I think, a forcible argument in favour of the view I am advocating. If we turn to an article which appeared in 1887 in the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* we find the following statement:—

"The Board of Trade returns show that the export of cloth in 1886 exceeded that of 1881 to the extent of 73 million yards, but during this time the exports to India increased 479 millions, showing an actual decrease to other parts of the world to the amount of 406 million yards. This shows very clearly our great dependence upon India as a customer for our cotton manufactures."

Between the end of March 1877-87 the import of Lancashire piece goods into India increased from 1,186,418,810 yards to 2,155,713,385 yards, or by 82 per cent. The same thing will be found to be true of many other trades I have no doubt—hardware manufactures and so on. India, it will be found, is taking the place of other countries, which in the past were large consumers of English manufactures. I would venture to point out that the custom of India is a matter of life and death to Lancashire, and depends upon railway extension in India upon which depends also the progress of India. Our Continental trade is diminishing, and it is only right that Her Majesty's Government, in view of the large and growing populations in our manufacturing districts, should do what they can to increase the means of transport which encourage the consumption of our goods by Eastern populations. We do not wish in any way to play the dog in the manger, but at the same time we do not wish to fall behind our neighbours in these large branches of trade and commerce. I am glad to think that the revenues of India have been improved by the great railway undertakings that have been carried out. Lord Cross, at Ashton-under-Lyne, in 1877, said—

"If it had not been for the railways in India there is no doubt that the Government Revenue would have been in a very awkward condition. In 1857 India, with 151 miles of railway, had a revenue of £32,000,000 (rupee pounds); in 1887, with nearly 14,000 miles of railway, its revenue had increased to upwards of £77,000,000, and according to Sir John Strachey, the growth of the revenue had not been due to an increase of taxation. In 1857, the foreign trade of India amounted to £55,000,000; in 1887, it was 163 millions. Between 1877 and 1887 the gross revenue of India, excluding railway receipts, increased by £8,130,624. In 1880, the ordinary debt of India was 106,000,000 tens of rupees; by 1887 it had been reduced to 74,000,000 tens of rupees; or, in seven years, by more than one-fourth."

I have been told by friends who know India more intimately than I do that the effect of establishing a station on one of the lines in India is almost magical, and that immediately on its installation the district bursts into a scene of new life and progress. It may be said that the Government has done enough, that they have carried out to a large extent the recommendations of the Select Committee of this House which sat in 1884. They have carried out nearly all the railways in Schedule A of the Committee's Report, and it may be thought that they have done their share of the work, and that it must be left to private enterprise to make the smaller lines or feeders of the large trunk railways. But I am not certain that this is the real solution of the railway question. Colonel Conway-Gordon, the Director General of Indian Railways, in his evidence before the Committee of 1884, said—

"The whole history of Indian railways is one long and unsuccessful attempt to get railways constructed with a State guarantee."

The prospect of profit from the feeder lines is remote. In India, as in other countries, the branch lines have little and a non-paying traffic, the trunk lines being those which benefit most by the larger amount of traffic. An accident on a small feeder line puts a stop to dividends for two or three years; and the result is that a very few business men are inclined to put their money in these lines. Where feeder lines are likely to be profitable there is no doubt the Government will make them themselves. The Government, as we all know, is the great landowner of India, and it is the Government who would reap the greatest benefit from new branch lines. Great changes of policy, however, take place on the part of Indian Governments from time to time, which also renders railway building more difficult, as the policy changes frequently. At one time the policy is to guarantee railways, at another to construct State railways, and at another to rely on private enterprise. Moreover, there is no permanent body in India to settle railway disputes. The Bengal and North-Western Railway has been more than four and a half years negotiating with the Secretary of State for the transfer to the company of the Tirhoot S. R., and the matter is still unsettled; and the Rohilkund and Kumaon Railway Company has been three years negotiating for the completion of a section of line 60 miles in length, between Sitapur and Philibit, and the matter has only just been settled. Then there is much opposition on the part of the State Department to new railways on the part of engineers and officials who magnify their office. The subject of private enterprise was well dealt with by General Trevor, Chairman of the Bombay and Baroda Railway Company, in his speech at a meeting of shareholders, when he said—

"I am not one of those who believe that private enterprise unaided can do much to provide India with railways. The country is too vast, too poor, and too conservative to have its wants for communication met by capitalists, who require an early and fair return for their invested capital. The State must, either directly, or by guarantees, or by subsidies, build the greater part of the railways that are required to open out the country. What private enterprise can do is here and there to construct some lines that from their low initial cost cannot fail to be directly remunerative, and that will be of great value to Government, both by setting free their funds for the larger and more expensive works, and by bringing to railways, already the property of the State, traffic that will swell their revenues. Within this limited sphere private enterprise can, if judiciously carried out, be of service both to investors and to the State; but for the four or five thousand miles of new railway that ought now to be built to open out Assam, the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, the northern part of H.H. the Nizam's territories, the central Rajputana and Malwa States, and the north-western parts of the Bengal Presidency . . . the State must step in if anything is to be done."

I do not wish in any way to detain the Committee beyond reasonable limits as there are other hon. Members who wish to address the House. I would only

say that I hope that the time when the natives of India will be entrusted with a greater share in the government of their own country is fast approaching. It would be a mistake to repeat in India the experience we have had in Ireland, where the neglect of the opinions of the representatives of the people has naturally brought about very regrettable consequences.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham): I agree that it is very inconvenient for the Indian Budget to be brought forward for discussion at this late period of the Session. The practice of the Government in this respect fits in very well with the doctrine laid down not long ago by the Under Secretary of State that Parliament had divested itself of its authority to interfere in the administration of Indian finance and had delegated the power to the Government of India. I noticed in the course of the Debate that the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy agreed with the hon. Member for Evesham in thinking that this was an ideal state of things. It is natural that they should take that line, both of them having held Office in India, but I think most of us in this House will be of opinion that public servants, however wise and good they may be, are the better for a little free criticism, and that it is just as well now and then to open the window and let the free breath of public opinion sweep away some of the official cobwebs. I fancy that when the Under Secretary of State for India laid down that doctrine as to the delegation of authority he intended in that mocking humour of his to suggest what would be the effect if this Parliament were to delegate to local Legislatures in different parts of the Empire the authority which it now wields. If a Dependency is no sooner established than it sets up a remonstrance against the interference of Parliament, what would be the result of establishing independent Legislatures in other parts of the Empire not so submissive as India is? I would venture to suggest that there is one way in which Parliament may exercise its power more directly than it has done in times past. I think the Under Secretary was a little ungrateful in speaking of the way in which that Bill has been received by the House of Commons. It is the only Bill I can recollect which has been read a third time in this House without the Minister in charge of it having given a word of explanation as to its meaning. The Under Secretary for India stated in his speech that Lord Cross is extremely anxious to make other reforms in the India Office at Westminster, besides that which he has accomplished by means of the Council of India Bill. Would it not be a good thing if the establishment of the office at Westminster were put upon the Estimates which are submitted to this House for all the Ministerial Offices in this country? The amount could be recouped afterwards out of the revenue of India. But at present we have the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary in a curiously anomalous position. Every other Minister draws his salary from the Imperial Exchequer, and is responsible to Parliament, but the Under Secretary is perfectly independent of this House so far as the payment of his salary is concerned. So is the Secretary of State, and they are both virtually free from the control of Parliament, and at the same time they cannot have their responsibility enforced by the Government of India, which is strictly subordinate to them. Therefore, we have the India Office a practically irresponsible office, and that is one reason, perhaps, for the enormous amount of money spent upon that establishment at Westminster. I think it would be a good thing if the House passed a resolution placing the establishment at Westminster upon the Civil Service Estimates, in order that when a Minister or private Member wishes to bring forward any reforms they can be properly discussed. In the statement of the moral and material progress made by India reference is made to the new postal contract and the saving to Indian revenues, but I am sorry to say that, in my opinion, the Indian Government have made themselves entirely subservient to the English Treasury, and no country could be treated more shabbily in the matter of postage than India. An amount of £100,000 was saved on the new contract for India and China, and yet the postage is kept at the same rate, neither the people of India nor of England getting any benefit from the saving, and the saving is actually taken to subsidise a new Postal Service

to Australia and a new and ridiculous contract between Canada and Japan and China. It is really a scandalous thing that this money should be diverted in this way from the Indian Postal Service. The English Treasury, I think, must have been overcome by the persistent clamours of our Colonial friends. Our Colonial cousins are keen hands at a bargain; while we talk sentiment they mean business, and so they get the better of us. Next Session I hope we may hear of a reduction of the extravagant rate of postage between this country and India. Our material interest is concerned with India more than with all our Colonies put together. India is our best customer; with her we have a perfectly free trade. We derive from our possession of India far more advantage than people generally believe. As a Lancashire Member, I can confirm the statement of the hon. Member for Manchester that Lancashire does not desire to push her claims against India in any way to the disadvantage of India, but Lancashire asks fair play from India in return. We are perfectly willing to vote for the repeal of the duty on silver plate, but, on the other hand, we demand consideration in the cotton twist and yarn trades. There has been a remarkable development in India in the manufacture of cotton twists and yarn; this trade is worth five and a half millions a year, more than the value of all the twist and yarn imported into India. Then the value of machinery and millwork imported into India, which in 1887 was £1,370,000, now reaches £2,316,000. New mills are being erected in India, and trade is rapidly developing, but under conditions of labour that are exciting strong feeling in Lancashire. With the extraordinary hours of labour in Indian mills the competition is not fair.

THE CHAIRMAN: These are matters not connected with the finances of India.

MR. MACLEAN: I bow to your ruling, but I think this is a matter connected with the administration of India, and, as I understood fom the statement, of moral and material progress, could be brought under inquiry; but I will simply express regret that no answer has been returned to the Despatch of Lord Cross suggesting an equalisation of the hours of labour in India to those in this country. Other commercial matters I should like to touch upon; for instance, the want of attention shown by the Government of India of late to the introduction of cotton in the country. Time was, I remember, when my hon. Friend (Sir R. Temple) was Governor of the Central Provinces, when energetic efforts were made to improve the cultivation of cotton in India, but that cultivation has not been conducted with anything like the same zeal of late years in India.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. MACLEAN: It is difficult to avoid these subjects, which really do affect the finances of India, but I may say I wish Lord Cross had done as much to encourage the cultivation of cotton as he has to obtain large supplies of wheat to compete with American wheat. I join in the congratulations to the Under Secretary on the favourable statement he has been able to make. I wonder that the hon. Member for Northampton, usually so clear-headed, does not see that what he calls the "Famine Insurance Fund" is really a revival of the old Sinking Fund fallacy. The fact is, there is no fund out of which the Government can form an insurance against famine; it can only do so by raising taxation. The hon. Member has referred to Lord Lytton's promises that the fund should only be used for famine purposes, but Lord Lytton's promises are like those of Benedict—

> "When I said I would die a bachelor,
> I never thought to live to be married."

Lord Lytton did not think that a war was at hand and that the requirements for the protection of India would override all other considerations. It is not generally recognised what a large expenditure India has had to incur of late years for warlike and defensive purposes. The total expenditure on the frontiers has been close on 19 millions, and the conquest of Burma, including the railway, has cost about nine millions. Then the subsidy to the Ameer of Cabul must have amounted to another million. It shows, therefore, the elasticity of Indian finances that there is now a surplus. The hon. Member for Manchester has spoken at some length on railways. I agree that nothing

can be more beneficial to India than the extension of the railway system. The Government are apt to take a too narrow view of this question. No doubt it is a good argument to say, "Oh, you have only 16,000 or 17,000 miles of railways in India, and in America they make as many miles a year"; but it must be borne in mind that in America the people are spending their own money, whilst in India they are spending the money of other people and creating discontent and possibly mutiny. The Government are apt to take a too narrow view of this question; and I believe that the railways of India are really more profitable to that country than is generally supposed. The bugbear as to loss by exchange, the effects of which are often very much exaggerated, has been removed altogether by the natural expansion of the revenue of India. How has that expansion been brought about? Simply by the construction of railways, which have developed the country, increased the land revenue, and greatly stimulated trade in all parts of the country; they have not only brought in a large return to the Government, but have immensely improved the general condition of the people. That has been the result of the construction of railways in India. The hon. Member for North Manchester has shown that in the last year the railways of India paid an average percentage of 5·12 on the whole capital invested, but on some of these commercial railways a larger dividend than that has been paid, reaching in one or two cases to nearly per cent. Ought not the Government, therefore, to do everything in its power to encourage the formation of lines of railways like these? There is plenty of room for new railways to be made in India, and I should say that the credit of the Government never stood so high as it does at the present time. It would be a good thing for the Government of India to expend a large sum on some new and well-considered expansions of the railway systems there. That would be one of the best means the Government could take for increasing the prosperity of the country and the contentment of the people.

*MR. M'LAREN (Crewe): The speeches of hon. Members opposite have shown how widely changed has been the Rule which relates to Debate on these matters when you, Mr. Courtney, are in the Chair; but that is a small matter compared with the great inconvenience and want of consideration to the people of India in having the Indian Budget postponed to so late a period of the Session. I see no reason why we should not have had this Debate a month ago, when, I am sure, the time would have been much better spent than has been a good portion of the days that have been given to other and less important matters. I cannot but regret that the Under Secretary, in alluding to the two previous Indian Debates of this Session—namely, that on the opium traffic and that on the Abkari question—should have stated that those subjects were brought forward to satisfy the sentimental feelings of certain hon. Members; and I may say that I think it a pity that a Member of the Government should sneer at the action of those Representatives who take an interest in the welfare of the Indian people. It is, however, not unnatural that the hon. Gentleman should feel somewhat sore on these points, seeing that one of those Debates resulted in the defeat of the Government. With regard to the question of expenditure, there are many Members on this side of the House who have constantly protested against increased expenditure, especially military expenditure, such as that taking place in Burma, and a large number of us protested against the annexation of that country, which was brought about by the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord R. Churchill.) It is not, therefore, for the Under Secretary to taunt us with not being in favour of economy; and even in the Civil Establishments we regret tha the Government should not allow the doctrine that the expenditure ought to be diminished.

*SIR J. GORST: What I said was that it required extension in such matters as schools, police, sanitary matters, and law and justice.

*MR. M'LAREN: If I have misrepresented the hon. Gentleman, I am very sorry to have done so. I think with regard to Home Charges there are certain items which are always charged to India which ought to be thrown on the British Exchequer, such as those for the Persian Mission and the Diplo-

matic and Consular Charges in China. I believe that the people of this country would be prepared to pay legitimate charges of this kind. I should like to know why the charges for the Home Administration of the Indian Government have increased. In 1887-8 the sum was £137,600, in the present year it is £136,900, and next year it will be £139,400. There is a considerable increase in other portions of the Home Charges, and it is to be regretted that while we are making efforts to economise the charges in India, the sum required for the Home Charges should be increased by such a large sum as a quarter of a million. I rejoice to hear that it is the settled policy of the Government to encourage as much as possible not merely the financial, but the legislative and administrative independence of each province. In addition to that, however, the Indian reformers desire that the people of India should have some voice in their affairs. I earnestly hope that some steps may be taken to carry out the policy advocated by the Congress Party in India.

SIR R. FOWLER (London): I am glad to hear the announcement of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) that he intends to return to the subject of India on the next Debate on the Address, for although it is inconvenient to have prolonged Debates on the Address, yet when we find how the time of private Members is taken up by the Government, so that they have little or no opportunity of raising discussions on important matters in which they are interested, I do not think the Government can complain that a question of so much importance as the Administration of India should be raised on the Address. I remember one remark of the late Mr. Fawcett which deeply impressed me, and that was that no responsibility weighed more heavily upon him than the responsibility he owed to the people of India; and I really do hope that next year, and in future years, we shall have better opportunities than hitherto of discussing Indian affairs in this House. I am glad to find that although in this Debate some hon. Members have taken a rather doleful view of the state of things in India, my hon. Friend near me (Sir R. Temple), who speaks with great authority on these matters, has regarded them from a more hopeful point of view. It is very natural for my hon. Friend to vindicate the state of affairs in that country; and we cannot help feeling that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to him as well as to other eminent men, who have devoted a great part of their lives to the service of the people of India in the administration of that country's affairs. At the same time, there are things in that part of the world which we cannot but regret, and among them I would mention the Land Duty, the Opium Revenue, and the Salt Duty. I have already given my opinion on the opium question in a previous Debate, and will not now repeat what I then said; but with regard to the Land Revenue, I cannot but feel that it is a large tax on the people of India. I was somewhat surprised that this question was passed over in the able speech of the hon. Member for Northampton. The Under Secretary has said this is only what it was in the days of the Moguls; that, in fact, the revenue is less now than it was then; but, at the same time, I think it would be a satisfactory thing to every Member of this House if we could see our way to reduce this revenue, although, of course, in the present state of things, we cannot do so. We know that in the Presidency of Madras, where this revenue is raised directly from the ryots, it is a heavy incubus on the people; but in Bengal, under the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, a less amount is raised from this source than in other parts of the country. I think it hardly satisfactory that there should be a difference in the incidence of this tax in different parts of India, and I shall be glad when the time comes that will enable a general reduction to be made. As to the Salt Duty, although it is said that that is the only way in which the bulk of the Indian people contribute to the taxation of the country, it should be remembered that the lower class of the Indian population are very poor, so poor that my hon. Friend near me, in a pamphlet he gave me when I visited him as Governor of Bengal, described that class as receiving as little as was possible to keep human nature together. Under these circumstances, it would be very satisfactory if we were able to refrain from taxing them at all. I cannot, therefore, but regard the Salt Tax as a hardship on

the Indian people, and express a wish that they could be relieved of it altogether. As to the Abkari Tax, I think it most undesirable to introduce alcoholic liquors into a hot climate like that of India; and I believe the hon. Gentleman who brought this question forward did good service to that country. In conclusion, I must congratulate my hon. Friend the Under Secretary on the very satisfactory statement he has been able to make of the condition of affairs in India.

MR. MAC NEILL: I listened with very great attention to the observations of the Under Secretary for India, and I could not but admire the sagacity with which he grasps the salient points of the situation, and the great dexterity with which he calmly skates over dangerous places. I was reminded of an able article which he wrote on Indian affairs long before he occupied his present high position, in which he said—

"In our present system of Government in India we shut our eyes to disagreeable things."

Undoubtedly the hon. and learned Gentleman pursues that policy now, and it will be my endeavour to open his eyes to a few disagreeable things. The hon. Gentleman has admitted that the expenditure of India has increased.

*SIR J. GORST: I qualified that statement.

MR. MAC NEILL: Yes; the hon. and learned Gentleman qualified that statement, for he pointed out that in the great Departments of Education and Police rigid economy had been exercised. But in the other great Departments the very reverse has been the case. I do not like statistics, because I cannot remember them. But I believe that out of 210 millions of people in India only 104 men in every thousand can read, and yet you are enforcing the most rigid economy in the Education Service. Again, I find in regard to the police that the salary of a native policeman is only about £4 per annum, and the consequence of this seeming economy is that substantial and gross injustice is caused, because the officials receiving these wretched salaries naturally levy blackmail, and use their authority against persons whom they ought to protect. There is another item as to which I should like an explanation, and that is that for the first time this year there appears in the Accounts a sum of £1,000 for secret service. How is it that that item appears? I have not yet had time to verify it. I think it is to be very much regretted that the discussion of Indian affairs should be driven off to the end of the Session. I know that on this occasion we can only speak on financial topics; but we ought to remember that we are dealing with money which is extracted from people who have no voice whatever in the expenditure of the money, and therefore we ought to take especial care to see that it is properly expended. Now, there are two subjects to which I wish to draw attention, one is the Salt Tax and the other the Famine Relief Fund. The Salt Tax is a tax which is levied on a necessary of life; it is naturally viewed with very great suspicion, and it is hateful to the people who have to pay it. We know what occurred in this country when it was suspected that it was intended to impose a duty on a necessary of life. We know what a fierce agitation arose in regard to the Sugar Bounties question, an agitation which compelled the most powerful Government of the present century to give in. Many hon. Members can also remember the fierce agitation on the Corn Law. Now, this Salt Tax is ground from the very vitals of the starving poor. The people of India are steeped in poverty to their very lips, and I fear that much of that poverty has been superinduced by artificial means. And now I come to the Famine Relief Fund. This fund was established in 1878, the year in which the enhancement of the Salt Tax occurred. A special fund was ear-marked for the purpose of mitigating famine miseries; but the fund, which was originally one and a half millions, was, unfortunately, appropriated to something else. Now, remember that the people of India are poor to the last degree, and they are subjected to periodic famines, which I think are a disgrace to our administration. Let us consider how the population of India is made up. Five-sevenths of it is purely agricultural, for the manufactures for which India was famous in the 18th century have been destroyed by the fiscal policy of England. A few months ago we were told by the Chief Commissioner for Assam that

half of the agricultural population of India never knew from year's end to year's end what it was to have their hunger satisfied. Yet you are under your administration taxing a necessary of life for these people. Again, Mr. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service, has stated that many millions die through the want of sufficient food; while Mr. Robertson, the head of the Agricultural Department in Madras, said that some natives preferred to grow cotton to grain, although the former was less productive, because they could not eat the cotton, whereas they could, and would, eat the grain. Yet these are the people on whom you impose this Salt Tax. The late Mr. J. K. Cross, when he occupied the same position as that now held by the hon. and learned Gentleman, said that any financier who was able to abolish the Salt Tax would confer almost as great a boon on the people of India as the repeal of the Corn Laws had given to the people of England. Lord Ripon, after he returned to this country, said that the reduction of the Salt Tax had the result of strengthening our financial position by rendering it more elastic. By the enhancement of the Salt Tax, according to a speaker at the Indian Congress, we took away a whole day's food from the Indian people. It is a tax which falls by far heaviest on the lower orders in India, as they require salt in a greater degree. A decrease in the yield upon the Salt Tax, however small, shows that men are stinting themselves of what is really a necessary of life. Railways, instead of being the great blessing they have been represented to be, have been a heavy tax on the people of India. Of the expenditure of the country a large part goes to Europeans for work for which natives are equally competent and less costly. For instance, you can get black soldiers at a cost of £40 per annum. Your English soldiers cost you £200 a year, yet although the natives are quite as capable you will not employ them. Natives, indeed, are excluded from spheres where their employment would be a reduction of Imperial expenditure and a lightening of Imperial taxation. The people of India, however, are now awakening to a knowledge of their rights, and I hope they will sooner or later assert those rights in a manner which will appeal to this House. As things are, the people of India are being basely and mercilessly robbed for the benefit of middle-class families in England; and I believe that when the people of this country become fully acquainted with the real state of affairs, they will promptly put an end to the present system.

*SIR J. GORST: I will not waste time in replying to the remarks of hon. Members as to the late period of the Session at which the Indian Budget is discussed. I will content myself with remarking that the fault that the Indian Budget is not brought on until so late a period, lies, not with myself nor with Her Majesty's Government, but with the House of Commons, which would not have tolerated the interruption of the discussions upon the more exciting subjects of the condition of the Irish prisons, of the conduct of Irish Resident Magistrates, or of the tithes, by the introduction earlier of a Budget that involves the welfare of 270,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects. And until the House of Commons repents, and expresses a sincere desire that Her Majesty's Government shall bring forward this subject at an earlier period of the Session, it is mere hypocrisy to pretend to lament year after year the delay in the introduction of the Indian Budget. As I anticipated, I have failed to make either the Committee or the hon. Member for Northampton, supported as the hon. Member was by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, understand all about the Famine Insurance Fund. As I have already endeavoured to explain, there was at one time an intention on the part of the Indian Government to create such a fund, but that intention has never been carried into effect. As far as I understand the action of the Government of India, they made a good resolution that they would keep up a surplus revenue of one and a half millions; and, in the outset, no doubt it may have been intended to carry that surplus to some fund which might be drawn upon in time of famine. That good resolution, however, was never acted upon. The only time that it could be said that there was a Famine Insurance Fund in existence was in the very first year of its creation. In 1878-9 there appears to have been a surplus of revenue in India of two millions, and one and a half millions of that surplus was placed to the credit of the Famine Insur-

ance Fund. That million and a half was, however, swallowed up the following year by the expenses of the Afghan War. From 1878-9 until 1880-1 there was no surplus revenue in India, and when the revenue again showed a surplus, Lord Ripon, who was then Viceroy, applied the surplus, not in laying aside a Reserve Fund, but in the construction of railways and of irrigation works, and in the reduction of the debt, and his example was followed by Lord Dufferin. I maintain that the action of these noble Lords was wiser than if they had hoarded the money up in order to meet the possible emergency of famine. No fund in the world would prevent the recurrence of famine in some districts of India; and I feel bound to defend the action of Lord Ripon in this matter from the attacks of the hon. Member for Northampton.

*MR. BRADLAUGH: So far from attacking Lord Ripon, I praised him.

*SIR J. GORST: The hon. Member has praised Lord Ripon for what he has not done and has blamed others for what Lord Ripon has done. Nor has the policy of the Famine Insurance Fund anything to do with the distress in Madras. The attention of the Government was turned to the threatened scarcity in Ganjam long before questions on the subject were asked in this House, and the most careful provision made by the Government of Madras as soon as it was known that there was the danger of a failure of the crops in the district, to provide against the possibility of famine. With regard to the Famine Fund, arguments have been used which show the kind of information on which some hon. Gentlemen base their views. It is asked, for instance, how it is that such a surplus could be raised in Lord Ripon's time and not now? Those who put this question appear to be ignorant of the fact that in the last year of Lord Ripon's reign the sum of Rx.3,426,000 was paid for exchange; whereas, in the present year, the sum chargeable for exchange was Rx.7,054,000, or an increase, owing to the fall in the value of the rupee, of about Rx.3,500,000, a sum which would pay the famine insurance more than twice over. The hon. Member for Donegal no doubt speaks with perfect honesty and benevolence; but he appears to have based his arguments on statistics which are not as reliable as the official information of which he is so suspicious. It is quite true that the expenditure on education ought still further to be increased. I understood the hon. Member to say that the expenditure on education represents only 1 per cent of the revenue.

MR. MAC NEILL: My authority was a Bombay Magistrate, and he states that the sum spent on education represents only 1 per cent of the Imperial Revenue.

*SIR J. GORST: If the hon. Member refers to Papers presented to the House he will find that the expenditure on education in 1886-87 was Rx.2,544,341, and in 1887-88 Rx.2,619,128, which certainly is a much larger amount than he suggests. Much has been said with regard to the Salt Tax. I have admitted over and over again, on behalf of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, that he does not regard the increase in the Salt Tax as in any way desirable. It has been raised with reluctance on his part, but there has been much exaggeration as to the dire effects of this increase. In Bengal, from the year 1836 to the year 1880 the tax on salt was almost constantly between 3 and 3¼ rupees per maund. In 1880 it was reduced to two rupees, and it remained at that rate till last year, when the state of the Indian finances necessitated its being raised to 2½ rupees. Calculating that a family of six persons used 11 lb. or 12 lb. of salt a year a head, a whole family would pay a tax of about two rupees and one anna, and each person about 5½ annas, which gives an increased burden of about one anna on each person. I regret even this small increase of the tax; but it is foolish to exaggerate its effects and to contend that the whole people are starving in consequence of its imposition. But the hon. Member for Donegal objects to the Income Tax as much as he does to the Salt Tax. You cannot please him. He belongs to that class of Indian critics who find fault with everything that the Government of Great Britain have done or will do, in India, in the past, present, and future. They draw their inspiration from the speeches of some of those ambitious Brahmins who attend Congresses for the purpose of distinguishing themselves. As long as they continue to draw upon those sources they may

no doubt make speeches which are amusing and interesting; but their speeches will not greatly assist the Government of Great Britain in solving the problem of the government of India. The hon. Member for Northampton has found fault with the railway policy of the Government. I need not enter at great length into that policy, because the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton has been, I think, directly answered by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Maclean), the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), and by a speaker from his own side of the House (Mr. Schwann), whose remarks on Indian railways appear to me to be very sound and valuable. The mistake into which the hon. Member for Northampton has fallen is in treating as an unmixed evil the net charge of two millions on the Railway Revenue Account. Let me remind the hon. Member and the Committee that the railways included in the Revenue Account are not the large Trunk Lines only, but also the railways made for frontier defence, which are not expected to be remunerative, and the famine protection railways, which have been constructed in sparsely-populated districts for the purpose of protecting the people against famine, and not with a view to traffic receipts. It also includes railways like the Indian Midland, the Bengal Nagpur and other lines not sufficiently advanced in construction to pay any profit. Then it should not be forgotten that the cost is enhanced by the necessity of paying the guaranteed interest on the loans in this country in pounds sterling, while the receipts of the railways are in rupees. But if the railways were to cost £2,000,000 a year to India for all eternity, I should hold that it is a good outlay, because this is not only a question of net revenue. The capital sunk in railways in India has increased commerce and developed industry, has protected the country against famine, has augmented our power of defending the country against foreign invasion, and has benefited the people in a thousand ways, quite apart from the returns on the capital expenditure. The same observations apply to irrigation works. The hon. Member has asked me a number of financial questions; but as he is not now in his place, I do not know why I should weary the Committee by attempting to reply to them. But as regards these irrigation works, it may be enough to say that although I do not say that every penny spent on those works has been wisely spent, and although in past times there has been a good deal of useless expenditure, for which the hon. Member in his general censure desires to make the present Government responsible, yet, on the whole, the money has been well and wisely laid out on irrigation works. And there must still be expenditure on those works, although the results may not be directly profitable to the Indian Exchequer. Just as the railways pay indirectly, so do the irrigation works; and he would be a very bad Indian financier who would allow the works to fall into ruin or who should refrain from such extension of them as may from time to time be desirable. The hon. Member for Northampton has again raised the old ghost of the Burma ruby mines. I really thought that that ghost had been laid at rest for ever. It is quite true that the "Moral and Material Progress" Report includes for the year ending March 31st, 1888, the transaction that took place in November, 1888, and this shows the disadvantage of having Reports based on statistics received long after the period to which they belong. It is no doubt a mistake, and the Burma ruby mines lease ought not to have been included in that Report. In November, 1888, when the House was sitting, the Secretary of State for India advertised for tenders in respect of the mines, and the tenders were received on November 21 at the India Office. They were duly opened in the presence of the proper officials, amongst whom I was one, and after consideration, the best tender, irrespective of names, was accepted. As the House was sitting at the time, if there had been any suspicion of impropriety in the transaction, the hon. Member could easily have moved in the matter. The question, however, was not raised, and the conduct of the Secretary of State was not challenged. The whole transaction was perfectly *bonâ fide*. If the hon. Member wishes to have the Papers on the subject laid before the House, I am quite ready to accede to his wish. I was asked some questions by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), to which I ought to reply. First, on the subject of the Bengal

Excise. I can at once assure the hon. Member that the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the Government of Bengal, have all most actively and energetically entered on the reform of the Excise system of Bengal. They are not going on in a slow and hesitating manner, nor are they delaying the work for the purpose of extracting more revenue from the Excise system. The Despatch written by the Secretary of State and the principles laid down by the Government of India are being honestly carried out, and there is no doubt that the work of replacing the out-still system by a better system in the Province of Bengal will be speedily carried out. Then the hon. Member expressed a gloomy view of the opium revenue, and said that the reduction in the opium crop was a very unfortunate matter. This is not so. Owing to the very large crops of recent years there has accumulated a large store of manufactured opium at the opium factories, which would deteriorate if not sold; and it is fortunate, therefore, that this year's crop, being small, an opportunity is afforded of getting rid of the surplus stock. With regard to the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway, the Government have agreed to provide the land, and have arranged that, on the completion of the line, which will be constructed by a private company, the East India Railway Company shall work it for 50 per cent of the gross receipts. There is no other expense and no other subsidy or guarantee of any kind given to the new company.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Does the private company undertake it?

*SIR G. GORST: The private company undertake the construction of the line, which will be worked by the East India Company. In 25 years the Government will have the right to buy at 25 years' purchase of the average receipts of the last five years. Another question upon which the hon. Member for Northampton and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy made some stringent observations was the proposal for a railway from Chittagong through Eastern Bengal and Assam, and those observations afforded a good illustration of the great anxiety of hon. Members to do the work of the Secretary of State in Council. Hon. Members want to have all the proposals and opinions of everybody disclosed to the House and the contract to be settled in the House instead of in the India Office. Certain proposals have been made concerning this railway, including a large grant of waste land. They have been submitted to the Secretary of State, who has considered them, but he has not so far seen his way to enter into any contract.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Can the hon. Gentleman say where this waste land is?

*SIR J. GORST: I cannot say exactly where the waste land is. The proposal is to grant to the company, for subsequent sale, lease, or disposal, Government waste lands in the proportion of 10 square miles per mile of railway, or 7,250 square miles, the land to remain revenue free for a period of years, after which revenue would be assessed on all that had been brought under cultivation or rendered productive. And there are other terms as to minerals and forests. The Secretary of State has not seen his way to enter into any contract, but if any new railway policy of the kind is determined upon, it will, of course, be stated to the House, where it can be condemned or approved by Resolution. But I object to the fussy kind of interference in the Executive business of the Government of India, to which some hon. Members are addicted, who raise questions before the Secretary of State has had time or opportunity to form a decision. This arises from the anxiety of hon. Members to do the business of the Secretary of State instead of minding their own business, which is to criticise the Government's action when it has been determined upon or taken. Their business is not to attempt by agitation and threats to exert an undue influence upon the Executive Department of the Government while action is still pending. The hon. Member for Oldham raised two questions, in which I very strongly sympathise with the hon. Member's views. The hon. Member first said that the expenses of the India Office ought to be a charge upon the English Consolidated Fund. But to give effect to these views the hon. Member must convert the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It does not matter to me whether my salary is paid out of the Revenues of India

or Great Britain. I am not afraid that the House of Commons would reject any proposal made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the adequate remuneration of the services of the Under Secretary of State for India. But it is no use attacking the Government of India because the charges of the India Office are not borne by the Consolidated Fund. I am ready to accept any principle the wisdom of Parliament may adopt.

*MR. MACLEAN: I did not urge that the expenses of the India Office should be permanently placed on the taxpayers of Great Britain, but that they should be recouped from the Indian Treasury after the money had first been voted by the House of Commons.

*SIR J. GORST: That part of the proposal, I am bound to say, seems preposterous. Let the House exercise a controlling voice over the expenditure of the Revenue raised by the taxation of those we represent, but for the House to vote money in Committee of Supply and afterwards have the money repaid out of the Revenue of India would be a proceeding which would not commend itself to sound financiers. In regard to the question of rates of postage, this is really a matter which ought to be settled with the Postmaster General and the Treasury. If any reduction in the postage rates is made, a very heavy burden may be thrown upon the revenues of India; and I think nobody will contend that we have any right to make the taxpayers of India pay for cheaper postal communication between this country and India. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy asks for information as to the Simla Exodus, but I cannot give the Committee any detailed information as to the amount of the savings likely to be ultimately effected in the expenditure under this head. The Indian Finance Committee estimated that there would be a saving of from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to more than five lakhs of rupees, provided that certain rules for the migration of officers to Simla were adopted. In April last the Government of India informed the Secretary of State that they had appointed a special officer to collect information and make proposals on the subject, and that the matter was still under consideration. The Secretary of State intimated to the Government of India that he was glad to find that they were endeavouring to reduce the cost of moving their establishments as much as possible, consistently with efficiency, and he has called for a further Report showing the conclusions arrived at and the total amount of the reduction of expense effected. This is how the matter stands, and I have at present no more detailed information on that subject. In conclusion, I wish to refer to one observation made by the Member for Northampton, and concurred in by many subsequent speakers, and that is the desire that there should be some extension in the constitution and functions of the Provincial Councils. I do not know whether Members are aware that at the last meeting of the Legislative Council of the Governor General at Calcutta in the beginning of this year, Lord Lansdowne stated that he was in favour of enlarging the number of Provincial Councils and giving them increased functions, including the right, under certain restrictions and conditions, to question Members of the Executive Government on public matters, and also the right of discussing the annual financial proposals. Lord Lansdowne also stated with accuracy that the Secretary of State generally concurred in this view; but I put it to the Committee—what chance has the Secretary of State of carrying any legislation which affects India through the House in the present state of Parties? I can only say that I have advised my noble Friend the Secretary of State that it is impossible in the present state of Parties and the present temper of the House to attempt to carry any Indian legislation. I can only point to the unhappy little Bill, the Council of India Bill. The difficulties encountered by that Bill prove what I have said. It is useless to introduce measures dealing with the constitution of the Provincial Councils in India until the House is prepared to deal with it in a spirit conducive to legislation. I can conceive nothing more mischievous to the administration of the Government of India than that proposals should be hung up Session after Session in this House—with but a slight chance of passing into law—yet effective for disturbing the stability of the Government of India. The hon. Member for Donegal has talked about the people managing their own affairs; but I think

if he examines a little more closely into the subject upon which he speaks, he will find that the natives of Bengal are anxious to manage the affairs of the Punjab, where they are just as much foreigners as we are. Would they manage affairs with more fairness than we do? It has been for years past the settled policy of the Government of India to encourage the people of various parts of India to manage their own affairs so far as they are capable of doing it, but I do not believe that the people of any part of India would prefer the rule of Bengal baboos to British administration. I think the hon. Member does little justice to the benevolence of British rule in India if he overlooks the efforts that have been made, and are being made, to raise up that public spirit and capacity for self-government among the natives of every part of India which every well-wisher of the country desires to bring about. The end is not to be attained by misstatements and misrepresentations calculated to bring the Government into discredit. The end is to be attained quietly and gradually. We must gradually educate the people of the various parts of India, and give them by degrees those powers as they learn how to use them for the benefit of themselves. When hon. Gentlemen like the hon. Members for Donegal and for Cheshire rail against the administration of their fellow-countrymen in India——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

*MR. M'LAREN: I never even mentioned the subject.

*SIR J. GORST: I am afraid I was travelling beyond the limits of the question before us; but I hope I may say this—that I hope this financial discussion which has taken place to-night may have a sobering effect on the zeal of some Members opposite, and that they, having considered the revenue and expenditure of India as set out in the Accounts laid before us, may come to a better and more charitable view of the administration of that great Empire by their fellow-countrymen.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

Sir J. Gorst

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL

(No. 350.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Another Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, after sub-section (a), to insert the following sub-sections:—

(b.) "A local authority may, on the request of the school board for its district or any part of its district, or of any other managers of a school or institution within its district for the time being in receipt of aid from the Department of Science and Art, make, out of any local rate raised in pursuance of this Act, to such extent as may be reasonably sufficient having regard to the requirements of the district, but subject to the conditions and restrictions contained in the last-foregoing sub-section, provision in aid of the technical and manual instruction for the time being supplied in schools or institutions within its district, and shall distribute the provision so made in proportion to the nature and amount of efficient technical or manual instruction supplied by those schools or institutions respectively;

(c.) Where such other managers of a school or institution receive aid from a local authority in pursuance of this section, the local authority shall, for the purposes of this Act, be represented on the governing body of the school or institution in such proportion as will, as nearly as may be, correspond to the amount of aid given;

(d.) If any question arises as to the sufficiency of the provision made under this section, or as to the qualification of any school or institution to participate in any such provision, or as to the amount to be allotted to each school or institution, or as to the extent to which, or mode in which, the local authority is to be represented on the governing body of any such school or institution, the question shall be determined by the Department of Science and Art."—(*Mr. Mather.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I think it very desirable that there should be some further explanation of the full scope of this Amendment. The objections which struck one—and to which I briefly alluded last night—in considering the Amendment are as follows: The hon. Member for the Gorton Division (Mr. Mather) has rather exaggerated the effect of his own proposal, and I think it would be desirable that we should know from the Vice President of the Council exactly how far the interpretation of the hon. Member for the Gorton Division will operate. What I submit, in the first place, is that the Amendment gives no right to the School Boards

to initiate in the future, or to expand, any existing form of technical or manual education; and, in the second place, no right is given to the School Board to claim assistance from the Local Authority—to make a claim which cannot be met by a negative. By the retention of the word "may"—and I understand the point has been settled by the withdrawal of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hanley—the School Board is left in the position that it cannot claim assistance from the rates as a matter of right. The third objection is that you are placing the alternative authority for education—which represents the popular decision as to the persons to whom the education of the district shall be entrusted—on a level with committees of private individuals who, with benevolent intentions get money together for carrying out education, with the best motives, no doubt. I frankly recognise that the Committees of Voluntary Schools have done a noble duty in the past, but I complain that this Amendment places private bodies exactly on the same footing in the eyes of the law as bodies elected by the people under the Education Act. That is a main objection I feel to the Bill. In this connection I would refer to a passage in the Report of the Minority of the recent Royal Commission on Education. They say in the chapter, dealing with the Local Authority—

"Under the present system, the work of education is, to a large extent, taken out of the hands of the nation to be placed in the hands of ecclesiastical organisations in proportion as they are wealthy and willing to purchase the right to administer the grants voted by Parliament, and to control the education of the people."

I am unwilling to place these bodies on the same footing under this Bill. There is a fourth principle I cannot assent to, which is that the rate should go to voluntary bodies without a really popular elective representation. I cannot agree to the proposal unless the representation is such as would carry out the general principles agreed to in 1870. The representation of the County Councils is practically illusory. These Councils are not elected for an educational purpose. They do not represent the interests of the people on the question of whether or not a policy of this kind should be carried out. Then, there is a very important objection which may be taken to the Amendment as a whole, and that is that it will lead to a conflict of demands from various bodies and between the various Local Authorities. And here I will not put the objection in my own language, as much more forcible language has been supplied to every one interested in the question by the principal organ of public opinion this morning. This is what the *Times* newspaper says:—

"*Primâ facie* the provisions of the Bill are objectionable. It certainly tends to confuse the educational jurisdiction of the country. It is conceivable that it may set the 'Local Authority,' thus newly invested with educational power, in antagonism both to the School Boards and to the managers of voluntary schools; and, what is still more important, it may ultimately establish an unpleasant rivalry between the Science and Art Department and the Education Department."

This is, perhaps, one of the most important objections which can be taken both to the Amendment and the Bill, and I feel inclined in this connection to quote a remark in a letter addressed to me by one of the greatest authorities on education, who has been referred to more than once. I mean Mr. Lyulph Stanley. He says:—

"The whole proposal of this Amendment is to my mind chaotic."

As to differences which may arise between the Local Authorities or groups of schools, I do not think they should be left to the decision of the Science and Art Department. I consider that where you have to deal with the relations of one Local Body or set of schools with another you ought to have a responsible Department of the Government, like the Education Department, or the Local Government Board, to appeal to. My hon. Friend (Mr. Mather) in his interpretation of his Amendment has expressed very largely what we on this side of the House have really wished to carry out. I challenge that interpretation, and hope, if that interpretation is incorrect and the Vice President of the Council has to admit that the points I have raised are valid, that some effort will be made to introduce in the measure the principles which my hon. Friend really intended to carry out—namely, that no additional Educational Authority shall be set up unless the School Boards neglect this duty or

do not exist, and that the Local Authority shall not be permitted to establish schools for this purpose unless the School Board or managers of the schools established for a like purpose fail to provide efficient instruction. Those are the principles we have at heart, and in the few observations in which I have explained them, I have endeavoured, I hope, in a moderate and conciliatory spirit, to ascertain what is the real drift and scope of the Amendment. I think we are justified in going thus fully into these points, as they are of great importance. I may add that the Debates we have hitherto had and the points we have raised have been justified by the Press in every part of the country. I cannot conclude without saying that, whatever the scope of the Amendment may be, my original objection to the whole of this proposal still holds good—namely, that in this Bill we are taking away from the School Boards elected as representatives of the people for matters of education the control over an important branch of secondary education.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I think the general result of the speech of the hon. Member is observable in his last few phrases. It is obvious that he is opposed to the whole spirit of the Bill as it stands. While speaking on a particular Amendment the hon. Member repeated his objections to the general scope of the measure. He asks an explanation of this Amendment, but the Amendment speaks for itself. It is perfectly clear as it stands and needs no explanation. The best way of expressing an opinion on the substance of the Amendment is by voting upon it. The hon. Member objects to the whole framework of the Bill; but I am bound to say that in his remarks he has touched on no new point, the only novelty in his remarks being a quotation from the Press. Beyond that he has only gone over the points he elaborated yesterday.

*MR. CHANNING: It seems to me that the reply of the right hon. Gentleman is singularly unfair and singularly ill-calculated to a clear and reasonable settlement of the point before the Committee. I asked what was the scope of the Amendment. I distinctly challenged the Government to say whether they accepted the interpretation put on his Amendment by the hon. Member, and the right hon. Gentleman has given me no answer, but says that the matter must be settled not by argument but by the counting of heads.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I am surprised to hear the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because I cannot but remember that he is in favour of simplifying the authorities. This Bill seems to me to introduce utter confusion among the Local Authorities, besides taking School Board work out of the hands of the School Board and handing it over to other Local Bodies. Apart from this, I confess that I cannot quite fully follow the meaning of this clause. I have tried to follow it carefully, but I confess there are certain points about it which I do not quite understand. We are entitled to have it made clear to us. Perhaps if the whole House were here I should prefer to keep silence, but we are only a section of the House, and perhaps one of the greatest objections to legislation at this time of the year is that we are legislating on a great question with only one-tenth of the Members of the House present.

MR. MATHER (Lancashire, S.E., Gorton): I think it would be useful if at this stage I were permitted to make a few remarks on the Amendment standing in my name. I regret that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made some strong remarks about my hon. Friend (Mr. Channing). After the difficulties which beset the Bill of my hon. Friend the Member for South Manchester (Sir H. Roscoe), I saw it would be impossible to pass a Bill for the promotion of technical education so as on the one hand to give the control of the subject entirely to the School Boards, and on the other to give to both School Boards and Voluntary Schools equal rights. On the opposite side of the House there was the strongest objection made to the School Boards having the exclusive right to control secondary and technical education; and on this side there was the strongest objection to allowing all schools to have the same advantages in regard to spending the rates of the ratepayers without obtaining some control over the voluntary schools. There we have a dilemma, which practically brings us to a deadlock, and no pro-

gress seemed to be possible in the direction of technical education unless some intermediate course could be pointed out. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council seemed to me to hit on a happy mode, in a general way, of solving the question. He proposed to enlarge and to make more perfect the kind of education now being given under the auspices of the Science and Art Department. That class of education is now being given to some extent by School Boards, but unhappily the School Boards have at present to carry on the system surreptitiously, and they have to contrive by all sorts of means, such as availing themselves of private assistance and charging high fees, to impart the instruction which is needed. In like manner the many privately managed schools which are not denominational schools, have very few of them taken advantage of the opportunities they might obtain from the Science and Art Department. The object of my Amendment is to enable the School Boards to give secondary education without employing those surreptitious means which they are at present obliged to employ. If it be agreed to, they will be enabled to make application to the Local Authority for aid in this matter. The managing committees of other schools will also have the power of applying for assistance out of the rates for the purpose. In the case of the School Boards, they will have entire control of the funds which may be granted to them. The moment, however, a voluntary school becomes a recipient of aid from the rates, it will cease to be an exclusively privately managed school, because representatives of the ratepayers will be placed upon its managing body. In my own City of Manchester the Corporation has some control over the education carried on in the schools, and has a Committee representing it on the Boards of Management, and the same is the case in other towns. The Committee will observe that, under my Amendment, School Boards will, in a permissive sort of way, become secondary Educational Authorities, which they have not hitherto been recognised as being. Now, I hold that it will be a very great advantage indeed to the industrial portion of the country, and by degrees also to the rural districts, if a system of manual and technical instruction can be adopted under such conditions as these. There can be no objection to the proposal on the part of the School Boards, and I think that the Government, in accepting my Amendment, has gone a great distance towards meeting the legitimate aspirations of Members on this side of the House. With regard to their powers, I think there cannot really be any conflict between the Local Authorities. The Local Authority is not compelled to do anything, and it is a healthy element in the Bill that public opinion must first recognise the importance of the Bill and then operate on the Local Authority, which will be bound to act in the matter, though, if it be desired, I will alter the word "shall" into "may." I have, however, the greatest confidence that all the enlightened Town and County Councils throughout the country will take advantage of the Bill and respond to the public spirit which will be evoked in its favour in their localities, so that if the School Board make a request they will endeavour to establish these technical schools in their several districts so as to meet the wants of those districts. We are told that the School Boards are anxious to do the work, and that the Town Councils do not desire to have the powers conferred by the Bill. In that case what can be more natural than that the School Boards should make the request, and that the Town and County Councils would most willingly obtain what the School Boards are so well calculated to demand? I believe we owe a great debt of gratitude to those public-spirited citizens who have subscribed large sums for establishing Science and Art and Technical Schools all over the country; but these institutions may not always be carried on in the same way when they have lapsed into other hands, and it is only right that the Local Authorities should be empowered to carry on the work. The Guilds of the country have established some 300 Art and Science and Technical Schools, for which they have asked no assistance, and, although they have been doing most excellent work, they are liable to languish for want of funds. In such cases a small sum—even a few hundreds of pounds—given out of the Imperial Exchequer would have the

effect of making these schools live and thrive in our midst for the benefit of the working classes. I do hope, therefore, that the Committee will agree to this Amendment, seeing that it is likely to effect—I do not say a large amount of good, but, at all events, a certain and a definite amount of good. The next step will be, when the time comes, to place the School Boards in a position to control the technical education needed by the country. That will be the next step, but that which is proposed by this Amendment will be the first, and then we shall be able to see whether the Local Authorities, writers for the Press, secretaries of educational institutions, and others interested in the matter, will come to the conclusion we have already arrived at, that the passing of this measure will produce results that will not only be an honour to the Government, but will redound to the credit of those who have assisted in its progress; will not only prove a lasting boon to those who are most interested in such legislation, but a measure fraught with great advantage to the best interests of the country.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I do not deny that the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken is, on the whole, a well-meant Amendment, and a considerable improvement on the Bill as it was at first introduced; but I regret to say that it does not fully meet our objections. The hon. Gentleman has said that at present the School Boards are not allowed to give a certain kind of education, which he terms secondary, in the shape of technical instruction; but can we be sure that he is right in his interpretation of the law? An important opinion has been given by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stockton (Sir H. Davey) to the effect that the School Boards have, under the existing law, full power to give both manual and technical instruction. Therefore I am not ready to concede that the School Boards are avowedly and undeniably without such power. But even if it were so, what does the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mather) propose by his Amendment with regard to the action of the School Boards? Those Boards are elected by the ratepayers as a Local Authority just as much as the Town and County Councils. They are elected for the purpose of carrying out the educational work of their districts, and while the hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Mather) does not propose the serious humiliation I am about to call attention to, his Amendment assents to and confirms it—namely, that bodies elected by the ratepayers, and in whom, therefore, the ratepayers have expressed their confidence, are to go cap in hand to the Local Authority set up by this Bill, and say to them, "If you please, will you give us a penny in the £1 for the purpose of carrying on the work of technical education?" I trust that hon. Members opposite will assist us in the endeavour to save the School Boards such a humiliation.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I rise to order. I wish to know whether the hon. Gentleman is in order in raising the question of the School Boards on this Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) is hardly in order, inasmuch as that part of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gorton on which he is animadverting has already been affirmed by the Committee.

MR. PICTON: As that is the case I will not press the argument any further. I was only endeavouring to show why we on this side of the House are not satisfied with the Amendment, which I understood the hon. Member for Gorton to say was one which, in his opinion, ought to reconcile us to the Bill. Still, we are disposed, if possible, to further amend the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, and if that is done it is possible that the Bill may be made acceptable; but if we are to take it as it is, it will by no means lead to an agreement.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Darwen): I wish the Committee to understand that although this Amendment of the hon. Member for Gorton is accepted as a means of passing the Bill, still it must not be considered that the concession is all on one side. We on this side of the House do not approve of the Amendment absolutely; but we are quite willing to accept it for the purpose of enabling the Committee to arrive at a decision. The hon. Member for Gorton has said that no school would be qualified to come under the operation of this Amendment unless it is already in receipt of a grant from the

Science and Art Department. I wish to ask whether that does not apply to School Board schools equally with others?

MR. MATHER: Yes, that is so.

*MR. H. J. WILSON (Holmfirth): I regret that we should have had so early this evening a repetition of the scolding which the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave us last night, and I think we are indebted to my hon. Friend near me (Mr. Mather) for the dignified rebuke he administered to the right hon. Gentleman. What we on this side of the House say is that the Bill, as it was originally introduced, was a thoroughly bad Bill, and this view of the Bill is now pretty generally admitted. At all events, the hon. Member for Gorton distinctly said so; and as we hold the same opinion, we want to amend it in such a way as to make it more acceptable than it is. The hon. Member for Gorton has already greatly improved the measure, some of the Amendments that have been made in it having been great improvements, and I do not understand why we should be scolded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for our efforts to amend the Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer scarcely answered a single argument used against this Amendment; all he did was to urge us to go to a Division; and it is not at all unlikely that we shall go to more than one Division before we have done with the Bill. I am, however, not surprised at the right hon. Gentleman's conduct, which may, to some extent, be accounted for by the severe criticism which the Press almost without exception has applied to the Government for the way it has dealt with this Bill. [*Cries of* "Question."] I was only endeavouring to find an apology for the warmth of the right hon. Gentleman. Our desire is, if possible, to make the Bill a better one than it is. Indeed, I am wrong in saying "better," because that implies that it was good to begin with; therefore, I will say less bad. I do not think the hon. Member for Gorton has fully answered the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Channing). What we want is to get the Bill put into such a form that we can give it some sort of approval; and I say to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer we do not feel ourselves in a position to accept as it now stands this miserable half measure. I hope, therefore, we may have some further statement on behalf of the Government.

*MR. GOSCHEN: I can only express my desire to see this Bill passed through its remaining stages, and my great regret if anything I have said has produced a wrong impression. All I desired to do was to urge the expediency of making some progress with the Bill. I am afraid that in the intense anxiety of hon. Members to improve the Bill they will run the risk of not passing it at all, because the time for the discussion of it is absolutely limited. The Bill must get through Committee this evening, and hon. Members know that it will have to get through the Report stage to-morrow. If this be not done, it will be absolutely impossible to pass the Bill this Session. I, therefore, appeal to hon. Members opposite to allow us to make progress with the measure now. I had no intention to scold hon. Members; I have only asked them to assist in the endeavour to pass the Bill.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): I am sure I have done my best to assist in making progress with this Bill; but the House and the Committee have suffered from the fact that the Bill has not been discussed on its general principles, because of there having been no Debate on the Second Reading. I cannot help feeling that we should have derived some advantage if a little larger latitude could have been allowed last night with the object of removing some of the difficulties felt by Members of the Opposition. The Vice President has pledged himself to insert a clause saving all the existing rights of School Boards,

and I have asked the right hon. Gentleman to define them. School Boards are at present practically limited to primary instruction or higher primary instruction; but by this Amendment a School Board will be constituted an authority for secondary instruction of an advanced kind. As to the Bill being employed to assist denominational teaching, I must reiterate the view of the hon. Member for Gorton that the measure should contain such restrictions and definitions that no institution will be entitled to receive grants from local rates which has not already satisfied the Science and Art Department as to the character, the efficacy, and the sufficiency of its teaching of technical subjects. The apprehensions of my hon. Friends near me are really unfounded; and it would be impossible under this measure to do anything except give the technical and manual training which it is designed to advance. The Science and Art Department will judge of the *bona fides* of the instruction given, and a better security they could not have. I think that the Amendment of my hon. Friend would remove the difficulty which has been honestly felt in some quarters as to the operation of the Bill.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire, after the very significant remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to know whether it is worth our while to remain out of bed any longer in order to discuss this Bill? I cannot quite gather from the observations that have fallen from the Treasury Bench what is really intended to be done. It rather seems to me that this Debate is being allowed to sink to the level of a mere petty Party fight; and if that be so, I say at once, "A plague o' both your Houses." For my own part, I approach this question purely in the interests of the working class, and for their sake I am prepared to stay here as long as may be necessary in order to pass the Bill; but from the remarks just made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would seem that there is, in the minds of the Government, some hesitation as to the course they should take, and that it is doubtful whether they will not at the last moment abandon the Bill. It would also seem as if they wanted to throw the odium of that abandonment on hon. Members sitting above the Gangway on this side of the House. All I have to say is that if this is what is in their minds, they had better tell us so at once. Let them say this, and we shall understand what is the real attitude of the Government. But if, on the other hand, they have made up their minds to stay here and see the Bill through Committee, then I say they ought so to inform us. But the observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer did appear to me to be so insidious that all I could gather from them was that, if it could only be established that the blame for defeating the Bill could be thrown on the shoulders of hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, the Bill would be abandoned by the Government.

*MR. GOSCHEN: I am not sorry the hon. Member for Donegal has made the observations that have just fallen from him. I may say, in answer to his remarks, that I think the minority have it now in their power to prevent the Bill from passing. Hon. Members know perfectly well that the Prorogation must take place very shortly, and that it is impossible to protract the Session many days longer. If hon. Members will give the Government a hearty assurance that they will consent to finish the Committee stage to-night, and will refrain from crowding the Paper with Amendments on the Report stage, I shall be very pleased, for the Government attach the greatest possible importance to the measure, and are most anxious to carry it through. But this period of the Session is a time when even a small minority is extremely powerful, and can defeat a Bill if it chose to do so. Yesterday the opponents of the Bill made a Motion to report Progress at the very beginning of the proceedings on the Bill, and to-day there has been a similar Motion. That seems to indicate that the minority are determined to prevent the Bill from passing. If pro-

gress had been made this evening, if there were any sign of a disposition to facilitate proceedings, the Government would be prepared to sit on until any hour in the morning. In these circumstances, I shall be very glad if some hon. Member amongst those who oppose the Bill will speak out frankly, and say whether his friends will give a fair undertaking that, subject to a reasonable amount of discussion, the Bill will be allowed to pass through Committee to-night, and that the Report stage will be finished to-morrow.

MR. PICTON: It appears to me that the best thing I can do is to move that you, Sir, report Progress. The hon. Member for Donegal has stated that the Debate is descending to the level of a Party fight; but I venture to say that it is in no small Party spirit, nor any spirit of envy of this or of that denomination, that we have taken the position we have assumed. We have taken our stand on the common-sense principle that public money ought not to be spent except by public representatives. I do maintain it is little short of a scandal, if I may venture to use the word, that a Bill of this importance should be pressed through in this manner in the small hours of the morning towards the end of the Session. I have to move that Progress be reported. I do it as a protest against the course which is being pursued, and I am quite prepared to take the responsibility and to defend my conduct in the matter, either in this House or outside.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

*MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I hope the Government will persevere in their attempt to pass this measure. I do not share the view expressed by my hon. Friends, although I have no doubt that they have a genuine fear that this Bill will be used in the interests of denominational education. I think these fears of hon. Members are greater than the circumstances justify, and that the good which the Bill will effect will far outweigh the possible harm. The valuable principle of applying rate-aid to technical education will be established, and of course if the Bill requires amending it can be done by future legislation. If we defeat this Bill we may be sure that the existing Parliament will not bring in a better one, and there is a considerable probability that if any Liberal Government attempted to do so they would meet with defeat. I therefore hope the Government will ask their supporters to sit up to any hour rather than allow this Bill to be defeated. I shall be glad to remain to help them.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I do protest against this Coercion policy of the Government in endeavouring to force Bills through the House at this hour of the morning. I know of no reason why we are bound to have the prorogation this week. We are perfectly willing to discuss the various Amendments on the Paper at a reasonable time, and day by day, but I do protest against being kept up all night in order to do this.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 15; Noes 78.—(Div. List, No. 350.)

Original Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): The object of the next Amendment which stands in my name is to secure that the Local Authority shall, on the request of the School Board, or may, at the request of any other body, take action under the clause. I am distinctly opposed to the Local Authority dominating any authority elected for educational purposes, and I cannot understand why hon. Members opposite, as managers of voluntary schools, should object to this proposal.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in Clause 1, line 1, to leave out "may," and insert "shall."

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I am entirely in favour of the object which has suggested this change in the clause which my hon. Friend desires to make.

I think the object he has in view is reasonable, and, on the whole, desirable. But still, under the circumstances, I think it would be better to accept the words proposed by the hon. Member for Gorton, rather than to adopt the word "shall," for we may perhaps find ourselves in a difficulty in regard to these words later on.

MR. PICTON: I also agree with my hon. Friend, although I am not prepared to say that any little school in any village should be able to compel the Local Authority to furnish it with money for the purposes of this Act, whether or not it thinks it expedient.

Amendment put, and negatived.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: The object of the next Amendment is to give the School Board breathing time to make applications under the Act.

MR. TOMLINSON: I rise to order. Does not this Amendment raise a question which was decided last night?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is very much on the same principle, but not sufficiently distinct to prevent this Amendment being moved.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I contend that there should be reasonable time given to the School Boards to make the application under the clause, and it ought not to be forgotten that the School Boards are elected by the people at large at considerable trouble and expense, that they are not confined to one political Party, and that they are entitled to reasonable consideration. There ought to be no risk that the School Board might be forestalled for want of a reasonable time.

Amendment proposed to proposed Amendment, Clause 1, page 1, line 3, after "or," insert "failing such request from the School Board, then at the request."

Question put, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment."

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I am afraid that I cannot accept this Amendment. I have already reminded the hon. Member that the proposals embodied in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gorton are in the nature of a compromise accepted by the Government, and if we adopt this Amendment its effect will be to utterly destroy that compromise.

Amendment put, and negatived.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I do not think that the next Amendment contravenes any principle which has been urged in this discussion. The only point it raises is which Local Authority shall be represented on the management of the school or institution receiving aid out of the rates for technical instruction—whether it shall be the Town Council or the School Board. I venture to think it ought to be the latter, because the members of it are specially elected to look after educational matters.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in line 14, after the word "section" to insert the words "the School Board, where one exists, and where not."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

*MR. CHANNING: May I suggest to my hon. Friend that it would be better to adopt the Amendment standing in my name which immediately follows, and which provides for the insertion of the words:—

"The School Board, if such school or institution is in a School Board district, and in any other district, elsewhere any other Local Authority as hereinafter defined in this Act, and having jurisdiction in such district."

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I am quite willing to adopt those words.

Question, "That leave be given to withdraw the Amendment," put, and negatived.

*MR. CHANNING: I wish once more to enter my protest against the exclusion of authorities elected by the people for educational purposes, for functions which it is only proper they should discharge. The question here is as to what body shall be represented on the governing bodies of private institutions which may receive aid out of the rates for the purposes of this Act. I certainly think the School Board is the most suitable authority to be represented.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): What is the objection to this Amendment? It seems a very reasonable proposal. I do think we might be told why the Government will not accept it.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 13; Noes 81.—(Div. List, No. 351.)

Original Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HALLEY STEWART: By my next Amendment I desire to secure that the representation of the Local Authority shall be to the extent of a clear majority. There are several Amendments on the Paper which point in this direction, and I do not care much which is accepted. I understand the Government are willing to accept one in the name of the hon. Member for Holmfirth, but I do not think that goes far enough.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in line 15, after the word "represented," to insert the words "by a clear majority."—(*Mr. Halley Stewart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I hope the hon. Member will not press this Amendment, as we intend to accept that of the hon. Member for the Holmfirth Division.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I am glad that the Government are prepared to accept some of the Amendments we have put down. At the same time I believe that that proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for the Spalding Division will far better secure the object we have in view, and I therefore hope that he will not give way. I should have thought we were all agreed that where the ratepayers' money is to be expended, their representatives should have effective control over the expenditure, and they cannot have that unless they possess a clear majority on the governing body.

MR. WOODALL: I am sorry my hon. Friend has accepted so ungraciously the important concession which has been made by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of this Bill. I think the concession is a most important one.

MR. PICTON: This Amendment only carries out the principle embodied in Sub-section 2 of the clause, which declines to allow any Local Authority to delegate to any Committee the power of raising a rate or borrowing money. That is precisely the position we want to take up with regard to the managers of schools which receive aid from the local rates. We think that the Local Authority should not delegate to the school managers the power of applying this money, but that it should be responsible for the administration of the money, as well as the raising it. Unless you give the Local Authority a clear majority it will not have this power.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 15; Noes 76.—(Div. List, No. 352.)

*MR. H. J. WILSON: In regard to the next Amendment, I desire to thank the right hon. Gentleman and the Government for accepting it. I certainly had no intention of being ungracious when I said I favoured the one proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for the Spalding Division.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in line 17, to leave out the words "amount of aid given," and to insert the words

"Proportion which the aid given by the local authority bears to the contribution made by the subscribers to the cost of the technical or manual instruction given in the school or institution aided."—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'amount of aid given' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I think it will be necessary to make a slight alteration, and I would suggest the omission of the words "by the subscribers," and the insertion "from all sources other than money provided by Parliament."

*MR. M'LAREN: I think the Amendment on the Paper, as proposed by my hon. Friend, is infinitely the better one. The revenue of a school comes from

three sources—the voluntary subscriptions, the grant out of the rates and taxes and the fees paid by children. Now, the managers should have an amount of representation proportionate to the voluntary subscriptions, and the ratepayers should be represented proportionately to the grant made out of the rates. I do not think the fees and Government grant should be brought into the question at all, and I therefore trust that my hon. Friend will adhere to his original proposal.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I hold that the fees stand on the footing of voluntary subscriptions. No one can be compelled to attend these technical schools, and if parents send their children to them it will be a purely voluntary proceeding. I therefore think the fees should be counted as voluntary subscription.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I demur to the proposition that the fees stand on the same footing as voluntary subscriptions, and I certainly see no reason why they should be taken into consideration, in order to give the school managers a larger share of representation than they are entitled to in respect of the voluntary subscriptions.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: A person attending a technical institution, whether established by one denomination or another, goes there for the sole purpose of obtaining technical instruction, and does not consider to what denomination the institution belongs. The fees paid, therefore, ought not to be treated as having the same privileges of representation as attach to voluntary subscriptions. I hope the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, will re-consider his proposition.

MR. WOODALL: I venture to suggest that the difference is so slight that the Government would do well to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member as it stands.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to leave out the words "by the subscribers" and insert the words "from all sources other than money provided by Parliament."—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

Question put, "That the words 'by the subscribers' stand part of the proposed Amendment to the Amendment."

The Committee divided:—Ayes 18; Noes 72—(Div. List, No. 353.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'From all sources other than money provided by Parliament' be there inserted in the Amendment to the Amendment."

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I wish to make an addition to the Amendment so that it shall read—"other than school fees and money provided by Parliament." That would leave Trustees the benefit of all subscriptions, endowments, and matters of that kind, verbally excluding fees and Parliamentary Grants.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment to the Amendment, after the word "them" to insert the words "school fees and."—(*Mr. Bryn Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. GOSCHEN: The very form in which you put the question, Sir, shows the position in which hon. Members are putting the Committee and the Bill. Here is an Amendment practically accepted by my right hon. Friend in order to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite. To that an Amendment is moved and the Committee have decided upon it. Now another Amendment is moved, in a manner almost unprecedented. It is extremely difficult to conduct our proceedings in this way. I make an appeal to hon. Members not to occupy time with such details as these, but to discuss the really important matters to be decided. This is an Amendment upon an Amendment which is itself an

Amendment accepted by the Government to meet the views of hon. Members. I trust the Committee will proceed with the Bill in a business-like spirit.

*MR. M'LAREN: The right hon. Gentleman is in error on one point. It was the Vice President of the Council who started with an Amendment to the Amendment of my hon. Friend, to leave out the words, "by the subscribers." If the right hon. Gentleman had accepted the Amendment in the form in which it appears on the Paper, he would have saved half-an-hour's discussion, but he yielded to the pressure of hon. Gentlemen behind him, and so this delay has occurred. It really is a very important point. We are not going back on the old ground or raising a trivial Amendment; it is really a very important point whether fees shall be included. We maintain that the representatives of the Local Authority should be in proportion to the money given from the rates, and the representatives of the subscribers in proportion to the subscriptions. The money obtained by fees and by Government grant should not be reckoned. It is a matter on which we feel very strongly, even those of us who have voted with the Government. We all voted against the Government last time.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Though I fully understand the position of the hon. Gentleman, yet we really have argued out the question and taken a Division upon it, and it is a prostitution of Parliamentary forms to divide again.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: We understood that the right hon. Gentleman was going to accept the suggestion made from this side, and it was a surprise to us when it was challenged. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred to the spirit in which this Bill has been treated, but it is the spirit the Government have displayed which has caused all this irritation. They first of all announced they were willing to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Holmfirth, and on that being moved they move an Amendment to it, an obstructive Amendment which totally alters its scope and purpose. The gist of the Amendment of my hon. Friend was the proportion of the aid from the Local Authority to the contributions, and this is entirely altered by the Government Amendment.

*MR. A. O'CONNOR: On a point of order, Sir, is it strictly regular to have before us an Amendment to a proposed Amendment? Is not that too remote?

*MR. H. J. WILSON: We have divided on one already.

*THE CHAIRMAN: It is unusual, but I do not know that it is disorderly.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President said he would accept the Amendment with a verbal alteration, and we naturally thought he meant to carry out the same purpose, but removing some ambiguity or making the meaning clearer. That is surely the meaning of a verbal Amendment, but the Vice President's proposed alteration of my Amendment is not verbal, but very material. The point we are insisting upon is not unimportant. We are contending for an increased representation of those who find the public money. I would point out also that, in addition, there is the income from Corporation property, for instance, that could be applied to the proportion.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 18; Noes 70.—(Div. List, No. 354.)

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I think the Government are treating us exceedingly unfairly. They promised to accept the Amendment with a verbal alteration, and they have proposed something entirely different. The Government seems desirous of provoking Divisions and wasting time. They may put upon me if they like the responsibility of obstruction, but I move, Sir, "That you do now leave the Chair."

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson.*)

The Committee divided:—Ayes 15; Noes 74.—(Div. List, No. 355.)

Question,

"That the words 'from all sources other than money provided by Parliament,' be there inserted in the Amendment to the Amendment,"

put and agreed to.

Question,

"That the words 'proportion which the aid given by the local authority bears to the contribution made from all sources other than money provided by Parliament to the cost of the technical or manual instruction given in the school or institution aided,' be inserted in the proposed Amendment to the Amendment,"

put, and agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, proposed.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: The Amendment I now have to propose raises no question of local jealousy whatever. I do not know whether the Vice President will accept it. I am not only giving expression to my personal opinion. If he will turn to the Report of the Royal Commission, he will find that the Commissioners have a distinct recommendation exactly in the direction indicated by my proposal. I should think it vain to attempt to induce the Government to accept the Amendment by any argument of my own, but I hope, supported by the authority I have mentioned, they will accept it.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in line 24, to leave out the words "Department of Science and Art," and insert the words "Committee of Council on Education."—(*Mr. Halley Stewart.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Department of Science and Art' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. WOODALL: I appeal in the very strongest terms to my hon. Friend not to press this. It is perfectly true that the Royal Commission on Technical Education in reference to elementary schools did propose the Education Department as the authority in connection with this instruction, but we are now doing something outside and beyond ordinary elementary schools. Having in mind the difficulties we have had in reference to certain subjects, I think it will be acknowledged the Science and Art Department is the better authority.

*MR. CHANNING: I hope my hon. Friend will persist in his Amendment, and that the Vice President will accept it. He may say no, but there is good ground for it. I consider this essentially a local government question. The Science and Art Department is all very well to carry on examinations in drawing and elementary science, but it is not the authority to which we should delegate the delicate and difficult duties of adjusting the rights of Local Authorities under this Bill. The Amendment raises a question of much importance, and I hope my hon. Friend will persist with it. I do not go with my hon. Friend the Member for Hanley. I think it is of the greatest importance for the future that we should consolidate our Educational Authority. We have the example of Scotland, where the Education Department has much wider duties. The Amendment is an important one, and I hope it will be adhered to.

MR. MATHER: It seems to me that though the Education Department is supreme in educational matters, it is especially the function of the Science and Art Department to determine such matters as are here concerned.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I scarcely see the object of the Amendment. I am sorry to say I have not such acquaintance with the work of the two Departments requisite to enable me to determine the point. Perhaps one of my hon. Friends who understand the scope of the work of the Departments will explain the matter a little more fully.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I do not think the hon. Member for Hanley has quite caught the scope of the Amendment. It is not an Amendment which will throw upon the Committee of Council on Education investigation into all the details of technical schools; it is simply to settle questions

that may arise as to the sufficiency of the provision, and the proportion and extent of representation—points which surely can be settled as well by one authority as the other.

MR. MATHER: The sufficiency will depend upon the efficiency of the school, and, therefore, must be adjudicated on by the Science and Art Department.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to add at the end the words

"Provided that no such provision, out of any rate raised in pursuance of this Act, shall be made in aid of technical or manual instruction in any school conducted for private profit."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment," put, and agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

*MR. CHANNING: I have an Amendment on the Paper to leave out Subsection (b), but as the Amendment to substitute the School Board for the Local Authority was not carried, I will not move it.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I beg to move the next Amendment, standing in the name of the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. Thomas Ellis).

SIR W. HART DYKE: Agreed.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 1, page 1, line 22, to add at the end the words

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with any existing powers of School Boards with respect to the provision of technical and manual instruction."—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I beg to withdraw Clause 2.

Question, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill," put, and negatived.

Clause 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

MR. PICTON: I beg to move the next Amendment on the Paper, and I venture to hope that it will receive careful and candid consideration. It proposes to make an exception in the case of London, and to render the School Board the special authority.

MR. TOMLINSON: I rise to order. I submit that this Amendment is out of order after the rejection of the Amendments to the first clause. The Committee has decided that the Local Authority shall be a body outside the existing School Board, in order that it shall act impartially as between the Board Schools and denominational schools. I submit, therefore, that this Amendment cannot be moved.

THE CHAIRMAN: The decision the Committee has arrived at on the general principle does not render inadmissible a proposal to except London.

MR. PICTON: I submit that the case of London is exceptional. London is exceptional in its population and in its local organisation, and this exceptional character has been acknowledged in various Acts of Parliament, notably in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Nowhere in the country is there so vast a population, and nowhere are such varied districts brought under the direction of one School Board. In the course of the discussion on the Elementary Education Act it was at first proposed to divide London into a considerable number of small districts; but ultimately it was decided that the whole of the Metrop olis should be under one School Board. The operations of the London School Board are much wider than those of any other School B oard in the country or in the world, and its experience is greater because of the variety of its operations; and I venture to say, from my own personal experience, that its perception of the need of manual and technical instruction is far more thorough than can conceivably be the case with any body that can be substituted for it. This School Board has borne fruit in a number of Reports of Committees bearing upon the curriculum through which the children should be put in the schools, and those Reports

have universally recognised the enormous importance of manual and technical instruction. I remember myself being on a small Committee of that Board, presided over by Professor Huxley, which was strongly of opinion that manual instruction should be given by the Board. Since that time the idea has been considerably developed, and the use of tools has been taught—that is since I was a member of the Board. Now, can the same experience be predicated of the County Council, which now governs a certain number of the local affairs of London? I have not the least desire to say anything disrespectful of the London County Council. I admire it very much, and I should not wish to discourage it in any degree whatever; but it certainly was not elected for the purpose of looking after education, and it has a great deal on its hands—quite as much as it can accomplish for the present. Besides, before long the County Council will have other duties conferred upon it, so that I do not think any candid persons can say that the County Council is as fit as the School Board to do this work. It is suggested in some quarters that School Boards will be unfair to denominational schools. I do not think the history of the School Board for London shows that there is any fear of such a thing in London. The circumstances of the School Board of London have led to an enormous increase in the number of School Board schools in proportion to denominational schools, but that has not led to the interests of denominational schools being ignored. They have been respected rather too much, in fact. The Board has constantly numbered amongst its members a considerable proportion of clergy; there is now a larger number of clergy on it than there ever were before; and a clergyman has presided with great ability over its deliberations for more than three years. Under these circumstances, I do not think any one can say that the Board will deal unfairly with denominational schools. On the whole, therefore, I contend that the case of London is exceptional, and that London should have special treatment. I move the Amendment standing in my name.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 11, after the word "mean," to

Mr. Picton

insert the words "in London the School Board for London, and elsewhere shall mean."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am afraid I cannot accept the Amendment, as it would alter the whole scope of the Bill in its application to five millions of people. The Bill is a compromise as it stands; but if this Amendment were accepted it would raise, at any rate in London, the whole question of Board Schools as against voluntary schools.

MR. STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I regret that the Government do not see their way to accept this Amendment. London has been regarded as exceptional in a great many Acts—for instance, in the Act constituting County Councils—and I think it should have been treated exceptionally in this case. The hon. Member who has moved the Amendment has shown that there are no difficulties to be anticipated, such as might be expected in connection with other School Boards. It is a great pity that the County Council should be regarded as a mere vehicle for the collection of rates which other people are to spend. For this reason, if for no other, I would support the Amendment.

*MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, West): I hope on this Amendment we shall have the support of hon. Gentlemen opposite who represent London Divisions. I trust also that we shall have the support of the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham, who acts as Chancellor of the Exchequer to the School Board for London. I would ask the Government to re-consider their decision.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 17; Noes 69.—(Div. List, No. 356.)

The following Amendments were agreed to:—

Clause 4, page 2, line 12, to leave out "or enact."—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

Clause 4, page 2, line 22, to leave out Sub-section (d).—(*Mr. Bryn Roberts.*)

Clause 4, page 2, line 27, after "county," to insert "for the requirements of which such expenses have been incurred."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Clause 4, page 2, line 28, to leave out Sub-section (4).—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Clause 4, page 2, line 40, to leave out "or of a Rural Sanitary Authority."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 10, after "instruction," to insert "including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects,"—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke,*)—Agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I think the Committee is to be congratulated on the progress it has made this evening towards the completion of this Bill; and as the measure is one that is likely to confer great benefits on England, I would ask whether there is any reason why it should not be applied to Ireland? In order that it may be so applied, I move to omit from Clause 6 the words "or Ireland."

Amendment proposed, in line 2, to omit the words "or Ireland."—(*Mr. A. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or Ireland' stand part of the Clause."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I think the notice given by the hon. Member for Donegal, with regard to the inclusion of Ireland, is rather short. I do not think, however, that there would be any objection to the extension of the Bill to Ireland, if it could be shown that Ireland possessed the necessary Local Authorities. No doubt there are such Local Authorities in places like Dublin, Cork, Belfast and some other towns; but I would prefer that the hon. Gentleman should allow me a little breathing time, so that I may look into the matter and confer with him upon it.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I cannot understand why there should be any opposition to the proposal unless it be that during the last few nights the Irish Representatives have fallen out with their friends on this side of the House because they have supported the Government in carrying this Bill, and those hon. Gentlemen now desire to punish us by refusing to apply the Bill to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman says he has had no notice of this Amendment; but, on the other hand, he has had no notice that any one is opposed to it. There are at the present time a certain number of Local Authorities in Ireland to whom the working of the Bill might be entrusted, and I cannot see any reason why it should not be made to apply to Ireland as far as it can be made to serve a useful purpose.

MR. PICTON: I can assure the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kerry that there will be no opposition from this side of the House to the proposal to include Ireland in order to inflict a punishment on the Irish Representatives for their support to the Government on this Bill. In the circumstances in which Ireland is placed, the Bill might well be usefully applied to that country, but England stands in a different position.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: After what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, I will ask leave to withdraw my Amendment for the present.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

A Clause (Audit of Accounts,)—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

*MR. CHANNING: I think it hardly fair to expect us to accept a clause which has not been printed and of which we have had no notice. I would suggest that it should be put down for the Report.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE,

Tower Hamlets, St. George's): It is merely a clause applying the audit which takes place under the Public Health Act to this Bill, and only requires that the accounts of receipts and expenditure of the Urban Authorities under this Bill shall be audited in like manner as the accounts of receipts and expenditure under the Public Health Act, 1875.

SIR W. HART DYKE: There are two clauses.

Question put, and agreed to.

New Clause (Provision for entrance examination,)—(*Mr. Atherley Jones,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Question, "That the Clause be read a second time," put, and agreed to.

New Clause (Memorial to Education Department,)—(*Mr. Seale-Hayne,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton): The object of this clause is to apply some impulse to the Local Authorities in order that they may put into operation the provisions of the Bill. We have heard from the hon. Member for Edgbaston (Mr. Dixon) that even in an enlightened place like Birmingham the expense of putting this Bill in force would prevent the Local Authorities from doing so; and if that is the case in Birmingham we may expect that the fear of adding an extra penny to the rates would prevent the Local Authorities elsewhere from putting the Bill in operation. I propose to adopt the same principle as is adopted in the Allotments Act of allowing a certain number of persons interested in putting the Bill into operation to memorialise the Education Department on the insufficiency of the provision for technical education in their district. In that Act the number is 10 Parliamentary electors; but my proposition is less drastic than that. I propose that any 50 ratepayers resident in the district may memorialise the Department for the object stated in the clause.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am sorry I cannot see my way to the acceptance of this clause. We are now making a great educational experiment, and I think it ought to be permissive and not compulsory in its character. If I consented to this, there are other things I might also be called upon to accept of a like character. To give the compulsory power asked for by this clause might have a very injurious effect on the operation of the Bill, and I must therefore decline to accept the proposal.

*MR. CHANNING: I hope my hon. Friend will press the principle embodied in his Amendment—a principle which it is important we should adopt not only in this, but in other Bills. I supported similar proposals in the discussions on the Allotments Bill, and I believe if they had been adopted they would have largely helped to prevent that measure from proving a dismal failure all over the country. I think it most desirable that the inhabitants of every district should have the means of protesting against the inertness or inactivity of the Local Authority, and I hope my hon. Friend will press this Amendment to a Division.

MR. PICTON: I venture to hope that my hon. Friend will not press this Amendment to a Division. For my part, I do not envy the position in which any 50 ratepayers would be placed by bringing down the Education Department on the Local Authority, in order to compel their fellow-citizens to pay an extra rate of a penny in the £1, for the purpose of putting this Bill into operation.

Question put, and negatived.

New Clause (Power of School Board to appeal to Education Department,)—(*Mr. Handel Cossham,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: If we do not give the power asked for by this clause, that an inquiry may be ordered by the Department on the application of any School Board, and the Local Authority be directed to make provision for technical or manual instruction, the operation of the Bill will be to a large extent frustrated. The Amendment is a very practical one, and I hope the Government will accept it. It is not at all hostile to the Bill, but will lead to its being adopted.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am sorry to say I cannot accept the clause, and I hope it will not be pressed.

Question put, and negatived.

New Clause (Power to School Boards to contribute,)—(*Mr. James Stuart,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. J. STUART: I beg, on behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury, to move this clause. It is a step towards free education, and I hope the Government will accept it.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am sorry to say that I am not able to accept the clause.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The Committee divided:—Ayes 23; Noes 62.—(Div. List, No. 357.)

MR. WOODHEAD (York, W. R., Spen Valley): The new clause which I have to propose will enable the School Boards to establish and maintain these schools. I think it would be most invidious to exclude these Boards from participating in technical instruction.

New Clause (School Board may establish schools under the Act,)—(*Mr. Woodhead,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I am afraid I cannot accept this clause. The hon. Member says he desires to enable School Boards to establish schools for technical instruction; but there is nothing in the Bill which would prevent the Boards from having classes in their existing school buildings for the purposes of this Act.

*MR. CHANNING: I think my hon. Friend desires to make it perfectly clear that the School Boards shall have power in their own schools to start and carry on education of this kind. I think the proposition an exceedingly wise one. The Member for Stockton has, on the application of the Liverpool School Board, given the opinion that, under the 17th section of the existing Code, a School Board may even now carry on technical instruction so long as it does not apply for a Parliamentary grant. But this opinion may not be upheld, and has not the force of law. Now, what this clause would do is to legislate on the lines of that opinion and make it perfectly clear that the powers of the School Board extend to the provision of technical education under this Act, and I hope it will be carried. This clause would clearly define the powers of the School Board, and I hope it will be carried.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 17; Noes 69.—(Div. List, No. 358.)

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I now move a clause limiting the duration of the Bill to the 31st December, 1892.

New Clause (Duration of Act,)—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson,*)—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. PICTON: If this clause is accepted it will probably facilitate further proceedings with this Bill. It can do no harm. If the Bill works well, it can easily be renewed; whereas if it

works badly we shall be glad to get rid of it.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 15; Noes 72.—(Div. List, No. 359.)

MR. WOODALL: I hope the fact that this Bill has been considerably amended, through the efforts of my hon. Friends, will be fully realised to-morrow, and that the proceedings on the Report stage will not be seriously prolonged. I think it would be very desirable to have the Bill reprinted before the Report stage, in order that hon. Members may see how it has been amended.

*MR. GOSCHEN: Every effort shall be made to get the Bill reprinted in time. I hope I may re-echo the wish that the proceedings on the Report stage will not be prolonged, as the Bill has been fully discussed, and I think all parties may now join in the effort to pass it into law.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 391.]

EDUCATION GRANTS (CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND) BILL (No. 390.)

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Debate arising.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLOURS) BILL (No. 238.)

Read the third time, and passed.

STEAM TRAWLING (IRELAND) (RECOMMITTED) BILL (No. 335.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with an amended Title; as amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed.

OCCUPIERS' DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL (No. 52.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Instruction to Committee [8th July] read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

DUBLIN HOSPITAL BOARD (No. 389) [ANNUAL PAYMENT.]

Order for Committee thereupon withdrawn.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION (No. 2) BILL (No. 347.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (ACTIONS REMITTED TO COUNTY COURTS).

Address for—

"Return showing the number of Actions and Issues remitted by the High Court of Justice to the several County Courts in England and Wales, and tried by them, in the six months ended the 30th day of June 1889."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES AND OFFICERS UNDER THE CROWN) PREVENTION BILL (No. 380.)

Lords Reason for insisting on certain Amendments to which the Commons disagreed to be considered forthwith.

Lords Reason considered.

Resolved, That this House doth not insist on its disagreement to the Amendments made by the Lords on which the Lords have insisted, and agree to the said Amendments with an Amendment to Clause F.

House adjourned at five minutes after Four o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Picton

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 7.] EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1889. [SEPTEMBER 5.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 28th August, 1889.

INFECTIOUS DISEASE NOTIFICATION BILL. (No. 242.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*LORD BALFOUR: The object of this Bill is to extend the system of compulsory notification for certain infectious diseases. Similar powers and provisions exist now in a large number of private Acts throughout the country. The first which was enacted was in 1876 in the case of Huddersfield. There are now 52 Urban and Rural Authorities in which this system is in force, and in those Authorities there are no less than three and a half millions of population. It cannot be said, therefore, that this Bill in any way introduces a novel principle. The Metropolitan Asylums Board, more than half the Vestries of the Metropolis, the Society of Medical Officers of Health, the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, and a large number of Urban and Rural Sanitary Authorities have petitioned in favour of the provisions which it is now proposed to enact. In 1887 a circular was sent by the Local Government Board to the Sanitary Authorities and Medical Officers of all the districts in which provisions similar to those contained in this Bill were in force, and the response to that circular has been absolutely unanimous in favour of them, they report that in all cases where similar compulsory powers have been in operation, the results have been most excellent. One of the chief advantages is that the notification of an outbreak of infectious diseases, leads more rapidly than otherwise would be the case to the discovery of the cause. I will give your Lordships only two instances. In one town 30 cases of typhoid fever were notified at the same time, and immediately traced to one milk supply. In another town 12 cases of scarlet fever were notified by no less than eight different medical practitioners, and they were traced immediately to the fact that one child suffering from scarlet fever in one of its most infectious stages was actually attending one of the large schools of that town. If the notification had not been made, it would have taken a much longer time and a great deal more trouble and cost to have traced the source of the evil. The object of the Bill is to make these provisions compulsory as regards the Metropolis, and as regards districts outside the Metropolis, when the Bill is adopted by resolution of the Local Authority. The diseases which are referred to will be found in the sixth clause of the Bill, and the system proposed is that known as the dual system of notification—in other words, it is rendered obligatory upon both the medical officer and the nearest relative or occupier of the House to give notice to the Local Authority. I now beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

LORD HERSCHELL: I do not profess to know anything upon this subject, but I have read a statement in the public Press to the effect that the statistics show that the mortality from these infectious diseases is greater in those places where at present this dual system of notification is established than in those where there is no obligation to

notify at all. I should like to know if the noble Lord in charge of the Bill has any information upon that subject.

*Lord BALFOUR: I have not seen the statement referred to, but as I mentioned in the course of my remarks, there are now no less than three and a half millions, or about one-eighth of the entire population of England and Wales under this system, which has been introduced under private Acts of Parliament. Of course those private Acts are only obtained at considerable expense, and therefore chiefly by the large centres of population. It may be fairly said that in the case of districts which have got private Acts the population is relatively denser than in those parts of the country which are not under this system; and therefore, without going more into detail I venture to say it would be unsafe to rely upon the fact that in the districts which are under that system the mortality is greater than in those districts which are not. In all probability in crowded districts there is much greater antecedent probability that the mortality will be greater, and I do not think there is anything in the provisions of this Bill which can, *d priori*, be said to be more likely to cause a greater mortality than would otherwise be the case.

Bill read 2ª (according to order): Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) Committee negatived: Bill read 3ª, and passed.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.
(No. 234.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

BRIBERY (PUBLIC BODIES) PREVENTION BILL. (No. 192.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments on which the Lords have insisted, agreed to, with an Amendment.

Commons Amendment to Lords Amendments considered (on motion), and agreed to.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.
(No. 243.)

Read 2ª (according to order): Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) Committee negatived; Bill read 3ª, and passed.

COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL.
(No. 238.)

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.
(No. 239.)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

*Lord DENMAN: I am rejoiced to see that the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill is included in this measure, but at the same time I wish that the publicans in Ireland could be reconciled to it by the reflection that the Forbes-Mackenzie Act was passed without compensation to holders of licensed houses. There is a provision in the English Bill for six days licenses, which is a relief to the publican. I have one tenant who holds his license under that condition, and certainly it does rather soften what seems harsh as to the Licensed Victuallers. It really is of the greatest importance that none but *bonâ fide* travellers should be admitted into public houses on Sundays, especially in places where spirits are largely consumed, as is the case in Ireland. We know that in Sweden public houses are prohibited from selling spirits, and only allowed to sell beer. That is a move in the right direction. As I have constantly advocated temperance measures, and supported the view that magistrates should have jurisdiction over all public houses, I may be allowed to interrupt the progress of the business by these few observations.

Bill read 3ª (according to Order) and passed.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) BILL. (No. 240.)

PUBLIC HEALTH (CHOLERA PREVENTION) BILL. (No. 241.)

House in Committee (according to order): Bills reported without Amendment: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bills read 3ª, and passed.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLOURS) BILL.

STEAM TRAWLING (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1ª: Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) moved that the Bills be now read 2ª; agreed to; Bills read 2ª accordingly: Committee negatived: Bills read 3ª and passed.

INDIA — THE CRAWFORD COMMISSION—CORRUPT MAMLUTDARS.

QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HERSCHELL, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government have arrived at a determination with reference to the mode in which the native officials are to be dealt with who came forward as witnesses before the Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Crawford, said: My Lords, before putting to the noble Viscount opposite the question of which I have given notice I desire to say a few words upon the subject to which it refers. In the course of last year the Government of Bombay found itself in a position of peculiar difficulty and embarrassment. I think that justice has hardly been done to that Government in the criticism which has been passed upon its action, because the difficulty of its position has not been fully realised. A native had been tried and sentenced to imprisonment in the Poona district of the Bombay Presidency for having received bribes; but the impression widely prevailed that this man was only an instrument, and that the person who had employed him was an official, high in the Indian service, who was at that time Commissioner for the Poona district. The Government of Bombay had reason to believe that that impression was well founded, but the difficulty arose, which often does arise in such cases, of obtaining proof, however well founded the charge may be. It is needless to dwell on the grave mischief that might and would have resulted, if the charges were well founded, from leaving Mr. Crawford in the position he occupied in the government of a large and important district. The Government of Bombay believed that his continuing in that position was calculated to lead to widespread corruption, if there were any truth in the information which had been laid before them. Therefore, they were under every possible obligation to deal with Mr. Crawford and his continuance in that position, with a view to his removal in case the charges were well founded. In these circumstances the Government came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to obtain evidence of the acts which were alleged against Mr. Crawford, and of which he was believed to be guilty, unless assurance were given to the native officials who had been serving under him, and who were alleged to have given money to Hanmantrao for Mr. Crawford, that, if they did come forward and testify before the Commission which was appointed to inquire into his conduct and tell the truth, they should in no way suffer for it. Undoubtedly it was a very serious matter to give such a pledge. It has been no uncommon thing to give a pledge of indemnity from any proceeding against a person coming forward in such circumstances in respect of acts which he has done; but in this case the difficulty was created by the fact that these men were in the employ of the Government of India, and it was useless giving them a pledge unless it secured them from the loss of their position in respect of the acts which they were invited to come forward and testify to. That, then, was the position in which the Government of Bombay found itself, and it was a most difficult one, there being, as it seems to me in any view of the case, but a choice between two evils. It would have been a great evil to leave the Commissioner in charge of his district and these natives in prison, if he were really the chief offender. On the other hand, no doubt there were obvious objections to giving the pledge which in the end the Bombay Government felt it right to give. Inquiry was made by a Commission, which reported that although the allegations of personal bribery and corruption against Mr. Crawford were not proved, yet that by employing this man to raise money for him, and by putting him in the position he held, he had enabled him to lead others to the belief that the threats, invitations, and solicitations which came from Hanmantrao really came from Mr. Crawford himself. The result of the Commission was that Mr. Crawford was dismissed the Service.

No doubt the result to him was very serious, but I cannot think that it was in the slightest degree in excess of what he merited. Our rule in India could not be maintained unless the administration of justice and of the country generally by European officials is above the suspicion of corruption of any kind whatever. It has been the custom to felicitate ourselves upon the absolute freedom from corruption and indirect motive of European *employés* in dealing with the question of the extension of native employment in India; and it seems to me of vital importance that everything shall be done to secure that the European officers employed shall be absolutely above suspicion. I cannot help saying that I think that in the appointment of Mr. Crawford to the position in which he found himself there was some cause for blame in those who made the appointment, because Mr. Crawford had been known for years before to be in a condition of hopeless impecuniosity, and in such a condition as naturally to create suspicion in the minds of those who heard the rumours to which I have referred. Upon this matter coming before the public there was in some quarters an outcry in favour of the immediate dismissal of the native officials who had testified to their having given money to Hanmantrao. The Government of Bombay were called upon at once and without hesitation to violate the pledge they had given that the men should not suffer on account of their evidence, and to dismiss them. A greater hardship than that could hardly be conceived. I think it ought to be known that to some extent undoubtedly that outcry proceeded from the friends of Mr. Crawford. They were only too desirous that punishment should be inflicted upon these men whose evidence no doubt had been in part the cause of the consequences for which Mr. Crawford was suffering. Others joined in the outcry because they belonged to a class who were only too ready to point to all questionable acts on the part of native officials with the view of securing attention to the attitude which they maintain, that we already employ too many native officials, as compared with European, and that it is not safe to trust them. There were others, I quite agree, who condemned the action of the Bombay Government because they were jealous for the purity of the Service. But I cannot think that these critics fully appreciated the difficulties of the Bombay Government and the enormous importance of obtaining evidence if the charges were true. No doubt the case put forward by those who called for the immediate dismissal of these men was a plausible one. They said they had confessed that they compensated Hanmantrao for giving them their offices; they had purchased them, and no man who had purchased his office and admitted it ought to be allowed to continue in it. But that, I think, is not a true description of the action of these men so far, at all events, as regards a great number of them — probably a large majority of them, for aught I know of all of them. I am not speaking wholly without knowledge on this matter, because I was in India at the time the inquiry was going on, and I read the evidence as it appeared day by day in the Indian journals. We must remember what the relation of these native officials is to the Commissioner. He has their future, you may say, in his hands; their promotion, their degradation, their being moved from one place to another, all depend upon him, and the Commissioner has — generally has justly — deserved the greatest consideration and respect and regard of all the native officials throughout his district. He has the control of them all, subject only to the control of the Government, and one knows that substantially the control is his. I am satisfied that these men did believe and had good reason to believe that the solicitations and the threats which came to them from Hanmantrao really came from the Commissioner himself, and I say so for this reason, that at the very outset of the inquiry, and before the evidence had come before the public, I found European officials unconnected with the Government of Bombay who shared these views, and who entertained the idea that Hanmantrao had really been but the instrument in Mr. Crawford's hands. These views were shared by European officials unconnected with the Government of Bombay. In the circumstances the nature of the acts done was not a buying of offices, and I do not believe they bought their offices; they obtained their

positions in the ordinary way, subject to the ordinary conditions, and they would have obtained them if they had never given one rupee to Hanmantrao. They believed that if they had not done it they would have suffered unjustly. It was a levying of blackmail, and not a buying of offices; the money was extorted from them, and they paid it in the hope that the payment would save them from injustice. That was the true character of the acts, certainly of many, perhaps of all these men, and it seems to me that that is an extremely different thing from the buying of offices. We must remember that it is not so long ago in England that buying of offices was not thought to be such a discreditable thing. We must bear in mind what the progress is that has been made in India, and, although it has been vast, we cannot expect it yet to have reached the level of European or English ideas in that respect. That there has been an enormous progress is beyond question. I made considerable investigation on the subject, and on all hands I heard that the change which has been brought about in India has been enormous, and that the vast majority of the Indian native officials are as little subject to corruption and as little yield to temptation as do the European officials themselves, and this is certainly a great change from what could have been said, as I heard on all hands, some 30 or 40 years ago, and it is a matter upon which we may well congratulate ourselves. But we must still bear in mind the relation of these men to a person in the position of Mr. Crawford. It is hardly possible for an Englishman who has not seen with his own eyes the administration of India and realised what the relative position of these native officials and the Commissioner is to understand how they would feel that their future was hopeless unless they yielded to what they believed to be the solicitations of the Commissioner. Therefore, my Lords, I do not believe that the men who have thus acted are necessarily at all unfit for the public service. It needs a very strong man to withstand the extortion and blackmailing to which these men were subject, and if the circumstances could be repeated in this country I am not quite sure that there would not be officials in this country found to yield to the temptation to which these native officials yielded. Therefore, the Government of India having given this pledge, and this being the true character of the transaction, it seems to me that the Government were bound to the utmost limit possible to adhere to the pledge that has been given, and that more harm would be done by a pledge solemnly given by a branch of the Government of India being broken, and those who had trusted to that pledge suffering from it, than would be done by maintaining men in the position which they had held whose error was only of the nature which I have described. I do not mean to say, of course, for a moment that they are free from blame. No one, I think, will attribute to me any indifference to purity in the administration of justice or in the administration of the country in any other respect, but at all events one ought, as far as possible, to judge of the transaction fairly and impartially. My Lords, I have only this further to say. The Government of Bombay may have erred in giving this pledge. Upon that it is not necessary for me to express any opinion. I have pointed out the grave difficulty in which they were placed, and how much there is to be said against either course that might have been taken. But I am convinced that through the whole of these transactions, which have been most anxiously and carefully considered by the Government of Bombay, and personally by the Governor, they have been actuated by one motive, and one motive only, and that was to secure that the administration of the country through the officials should be purified, and that no official, European though he be, and however high placed, should be permitted to retain his place any more than one in the lowest rank, if the maintenance of that position was likely to lead to the corruption and degradation of the administration throughout the province. I have now only to put to the noble Viscount the question of which I have given notice.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount CROSS): The question of dealing with the Mamlutdars has been one of considerable difficulty. I wish to take this opportunity of publicly stating that Lord Reay deserves much credit for the manner in which he has

endeavoured, I hope successfully, to put a stop to bribery and corruption in his province. He was, however, in my opinion ill-advised in offering a guarantee to the officials who came forward as witnesses, which was not simply an indemnity against public prosecutions or private suits, but "involved retention in office of certain Revenue officers who were also officers holding second or third class Magisterial powers." That part of the guarantee seemed to me to be illegal and to be an indemnity which, in the case of really corrupt officials, could not be carried out. The witnesses have been divided fairly enough by the Government of Bombay, as they have been divided by the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down, into two classes—

"(1) those who either practically volunteered the payment of bribes to secure their own objects or to escape the results of previous misconduct, or who, on slight provocation or under slender temptation, paid money to purchase favours to which they had no substantial claim."

The noble and learned Lord will I think agree that that class of witnesses, if such there be, fall distinctly within the meaning of the Act of George III. against the purchase of offices. The second class was described by the Government of Bombay as

"Those who only paid under extreme pressure in order to avoid unmerited degradation, unjust supersession, or transfers, ruinous to their purse, and destructive, as they feared, of their health."

That is evidently a totally different class, and corresponds to the class to which the noble and learned Lord referred in the latter part of his observations. It was quite impossible to give effect to the indemnity with regard to the first and corrupt class. The second class, on the other hand, can hardly be said to have had any corrupt intention whatever, but to have been the victims of the most cruel extortion. The consideration of individual cases is now before the Government of India. I believe that this very day the Governor of India is considering these cases in Council. I have no doubt that those whom they consider corrupt will without fail be dismissed from all their offices with such money compensation, if any, as the Government of India may think advisable, and that the rest will be allowed to remain in their offices undisturbed—an indemnity being given in all cases, but simply against private suits and public prosecutions. In conclusion, I should like to state that Lord Reay has certainly done his utmost to give full effect to the pledges which he gave, and has acted all through with the highest sense of honour, and although he was, in my judgment, ill-advised in the particular course which he took, and which I have not been able to sanction, I have every confidence in his administration, and I should like to take this public opportunity of bearing testimony to his continuous and successful efforts to promote the moral, social, and material prosperity of the people committed to his charge.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

*LORD DENMAN, in rising to ask the Lord Chancellor if the Bills for the Duration of Speeches in Parliament and for Women's Suffrage might be down for Second Reading on Monday, the 2nd September, said that the Second Reading of the two Bills referred to would have a good effect in another place. They related to subjects in which he had always taken great interest, and, if at all practicable, he would like another opportunity during the present Session of pressing their importance upon the House, because owing to his advanced age he might not have an opportunity in a subsequent Session.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said that there would be no difficulty in placing the Second Reading of the two Bills in question upon the Orders of the Day for the 2nd September, if the House happened to be sitting upon that day, but he ventured to express the hope that that contingency would not arise.

EDUCATION GRANTS (CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN): In introducing this Bill to your Lordships, I would like to explain briefly what the object of the measure is. Under the Act of 1872 four Scottish counties—Argyll, Inverness, Ross, and Orkney and Shetland—were exempted from the limitation of what is called the

Parliamentary Education Grant. The Act of 1876 imposed a limit of 17s. 6d. on the whole of Scotland, but under the provision of the Act of 1872 the four Counties I have just named were held to be exempted. To those four counties the Education Department added, with the consent of the Treasury and of Parliament, the two counties of Caithness and Sutherland. This year, however, the Auditor General has raised a difficulty as to whether this was legal, and in order to remove any doubt on the subject this Bill was introduced into Parliament.

Bill read 1ª; then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) moved that the Bill be now read 2ª; agreed to; Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee negatived; Bill read 3ª, and passed.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed: the Lord Foxford (*E. Limerick*) chosen Speaker *pro tempore*.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) moved that the Bill be now read 2ª; agreed to; Bill read 2ª accordingly: Committee negatived; Bill read 3ª, and passed.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª to-morrow: (The Lord President). (No. 244.)

House adjourned at a quarter after Ten o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 28th August, 1889.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (IMPRISONMENT OF MEMBER).

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received the following Letter, relating to the imprisonment of Mr. William O'Brien, a Member of this House:—

"Cork,
"27th August 1889.

"Sir,

"I have the honor to report for your information that on yesterday, the 26th instant, at Clonakilty Petty Sessions, in the County of Cork, Mr. William O'Brien, Member of Parliament, was convicted by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, constituted under 'The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887,' of an offence against sub-section 1, of the 2nd section of the said Act, and was sentenced to be imprisoned in the County Gaol at Cork for two calendar months without hard labour; and, at the expiration of that period of imprisonment, to enter into a recognisance, himself in £400 and two Sureties in £200 each, to be of good behaviour towards all Her Majesty's subjects for 12 months, or in default to be imprisoned for a further period of two months unless he shall sooner enter into such recognisance.

"He was on yesterday the 26th instant committed accordingly to the County Gaol at Cork.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"J. B. IRWIN,
Resident Magistrate,
and Chairman of said Court."

"The Right Honble. The Speaker,
House of Commons, London."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): In reference to the letter which has just been read, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether he is able now to say definitely what arrangement will be made as to the prison treatment of my hon. Friend with regard to the use of books and writing materials?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I do not know that I have anything to add to what I said in reply to the right hon. Gentleman yesterday; but I will remind him that the medical officer of Cork Prison is well acquainted with the health and constitution of the hon. Member for North-East Cork, and I do not think that the hon. Member, or any of his friends, or the House, need be under any apprehension whatever as to every attention being paid to the health of the hon. Member. The most careful

consideration towards the hon. Member for North-East Cork will be paid by all the prison authorities.

QUESTIONS.

BARBADOS.

MR. HENRY J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state how it occurred that, during the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act through the House of Assembly in Barbados, the age at which the Bill sought to protect girls was reduced from 16 to 13; whether the Solicitor General of the Colony is responsible for proposing this alteration of the Bill; and, whether it is a fact, as reported, that the Solicitor General said in Debate that he hoped the Act would never be put in force?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): In an Act of the Legislature of Barbados, corresponding to the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, which was transmitted to the Secretary of State by the last mail, the age at which girls are protected is 13 years instead of 16 years, as in the Imperial Act. This alteration was made during the passing of the Bill through the House of Assembly, but it was intended to have been made in the Bill as introduced, the figure 16 having accidentally been inserted. The Executive Committee considered that the lower limit of age was preferable. The alteration appears to have been proposed by the Solicitor General. In the report of a Debate in a colonial newspaper the Solicitor General is reported to have expressed a hope that the Statute would never be put in force, as it would thus show that the object aimed at had been achieved; but the Secretary of State does not know whether this report is correct.

MR. H. J. WILSON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the reason why the Colonial Legislature made the alteration?

*BARON H. DE WORMS: I cannot answer a question of that nature across the Table of the House.

ALLEGED MURDER IN COUNTY GALWAY.

MR. JOHN KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is the fact, as alleged in the daily papers of the 27th instant, that John Mullan, an old man of 70 years of age, and his servant, an old woman named Walsh, were burnt to death in the Woodford district of County Galway on the night of Sunday last; and, whether the house of John Mullan was maliciously fired; and, if so, whether the police have any information as to what was the motive for this murder?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is, I regret to say, the case that this old man Walsh and his servant were burnt to death on Sunday night in their house at Woodfood. The police have been engaged in investigating the matter, and I am informed that, although there were some elements of suspicion, so far as they are able to form an opinion they think the burning was accidental.

TELEGRAPHISTS AT TRALEE.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General, in the case of the three telegraphists removed from Tralee, whether any charge was made against any one of them before removal, or any cause assigned at the time, or whether the charge that they kept objectionable company in Tralee was the first intimation they or any of them received of the cause for which the transfer was made; and whether one or more of these men objected to or protested against this transfer at the time; and if so what was the nature of the reply to such objection?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigtonshire): The Postmaster General has not yet received information.

CASE OF MICHAEL CONNELL.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if it is true that Michael Connell, over 70 years of age, was, at the last O'Dorney (County Kerry) Petty Sessions, sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment without the option of a fine for having arms in a proclaimed district; whether the arms

in question consisted of a rusty gun barrel and a broken stock which did not match it, which were alleged to have been found concealed in an outhouse of Connell's; whether the police who gave evidence in the case, as well as the Magistrate presiding, expressed their belief that the old man never knew of their existence; and if, under the circumstances, he would advise the Lord Lieutenant to order Connell's discharge?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not yet been able to obtain information. I have telegraphed for it, but have not received it.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Bearing in mind that the arms in question consisted of an old rusty gun barrel and a broken stock, and that Connell is upwards of 70 years of age, cannot the right hon. Gentleman order his release at once?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will inquire into the matter. I have no information at present.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE WITNESSES, MULLETT AND NALLY.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now say if the prisoners James Mullett and Patrick Nally were visited by Mr. Thompson, Mr. Shannon, Mr. Walker, or any other agent on behalf of the *Times*, some time before their removal, as witnesses for the *Times* at the Royal Commission; whether each prisoner was brought into the presence of such agent without having been told the name of the agent, or the object of his visit; whether this agent promised Mullett and Nally that "each would have his liberty, and would be put into a good position besides if he consented to serve the *Times*;" whether he told Nally that his parents were "growing very old, and that they desired to see him before they died," and that Nally replied that "they (his parents) would rather see him a corpse than to know of him swearing falsely against anyone"; whether he is aware that the agent for the *Times* afterwards, in February last, went to Mrs. Mullett, wife of James Mullett, and asked her to use her influence with her husband, whom he had seen, "to swear what would be beneficial for the *Times*, that it would be of great benefit to her and to him, and that his (Mullett's) imprisonment would then cease at once"; and, whether, considering the nature of these allegations, he will grant an independent inquiry by a Committee of Members of this House into all the circumstances in connection with these visits of agents of the *Times* to persons undergoing terms of imprisonment?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The General Prisons Board report that it is the case that the convict James Mullett was visited in Downpatrick Prison by Mr. Shannon on the 20th and 21st of October last, but that no such visit was paid to the convict Patrick Nally. The then Governor of the Prison reports that he announced to Mullett that Mr. Shannon, a solicitor from Dublin, was there and wanted to speak to him, and that he could see him if he wished. Mullett replied that he would hear what he had to say. The Prisons Board have no knowledge of what was said during the interviews between Mr. Shannon and Mullett, but it is obvious that no such promise could have been held out to Mullett as that indicated in the third paragraph; while as regards the alleged conversation with Nally, it would appear that he was not visited at Downpatrick Prison by any person on behalf of the *Times*. The Government have no reason to believe that any person on behalf of the *Times* made the representations indicated in the fifth paragraph.

ABERTILLERY LEVEL CROSSING.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea): I beg to ask whether the attention of the President of the Board of Trade has been drawn to the danger and inconvenience existing at the level crossing on the Cwm Tillery branch of the Great Western Railway, near Mr. John Ward William's foundry at Abertillery, Monmouthshire, and about 250 yards North-East of Abertillery Station.

*BARON H. DE WORMS (for SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): No, Sir. The attention of the Board of Trade has not been called to the circumstances referred to in the hon. Member's question. The level crossing mentioned is upon a mineral branch, which is not open for the public conveyance of passengers, and is therefore not required by the law regulating railways to be inspected by the Board of Trade, and

they have no power to order the erection of a bridge over the crossing. The Board of Trade will, however, communicate with the Great Western Railway Company and call their attention to the circumstances.

THE CROFTERS HOLDINGS ACT.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherlandshire): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, having regard to the fact that the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands) 1884, reported regarding the distribution of land as follows:

"The principal matter of dissatisfaction in connection with the occupancy of land urged on our notice in almost every district is the restriction in the area of the holdings;"

that the Crofters Commission in their Special Report on the Enlargement of Holdings, during the last Session of Parliament, reported as follows—

"As to the causes which have prevented applications for enlargement being lodged in any number, we are of opinion that one of the main causes is to be found in the Act;"

and that the people have never ceased to make representations on the subject, Her Majesty's Government will, during the Parliamentary Recess, consider the advisability of introducing legislation at an early period next Session to remedy the acknowledged defects of the Crofters Holdings Act in the matter of the redistribution of the land.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): In the absence of my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury, I have to say that the Government cannot undertake to give any pledge with regard to this subject.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Light Railways (Ireland) Bill, with an Amendment.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.
(No. 378.)

Lords' Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered and agreed to.

Baron H. de Worms

GAME LAWS (SCOTLAND).

Order [27th May] for a Return relative to Game Laws (Scotland) read, and discharged; and, instead thereof—

Return ordered, "under the Game (Day Trespass) Act for Scotland, 2 and 3 William 4, chapter 68 (17th day of July 1832), and 'The Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1877,' 40 and 41 Victoria, chapter 28, showing, for five years after the 1st day of January 1884, (1) persons convicted under the said Acts; (2) place and date of conviction; (3) penalties and forfeiture; (4) name of moderator or other officer of the Kirk Session of the parish where the offence was committed, to whom the penalties and forfeiture were paid for the use and benefit of the poor of such parish; and (5) dates of payment."—(*Dr. M'Donald.*)

NATIONAL DEBT.

Order [20th November, 1888] for a Return relative to National Debt read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

NATIONAL DEBT.

Return ordered—

"Showing at the close of each Financial Year, from 1835-6 to 1888-9, both inclusive, the Aggregate Gross Liabilities of the State as represented by the Nominal Funded Debt, Estimated Capital Value of Terminable Annuities, Unfunded Debt, and other Liabilities in respect of Debt, the Estimated Assets, and the Aggregate Net Liabilities, also the Exchequer Balances; and, showing at the close of each Financial Year, from 1835-6 to 1888-9, both inclusive, the Gross and Net Expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund on account of the National Debt, and other payments in respect of Debt."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 351.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY SITTING.)

Ordered—

"That Government Business be not interrupted this day at half-past Five nor Six o'clock, and may be begun at any hour, though opposed."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

POLICE FORCES (SUPERANNUATION FUNDS).

Order [15th August] for Address relative to Police Forces (Superannuation Funds) read, and discharged; and, instead thereof—

POLICE FORCES (SUPERANNUATION FUNDS).

"Address for Return for England and Wales, including the Metropolis and the City of London, of the strength of the various Police Forces; the number of Pensioners; the number who have left the Force during the past five years; the number of Men now serving over 45 years of age; the number who have served respectively over 15 years, and over 20 years, and over 25 years, and over 30 years; the annual amount of Pensions, Particulars as regards those Pensioned during the past five years, and of the number of Pensioners who have died during the past five years; Particulars of the Income and Expenditure of the Police Superannuation Funds for the Police year ended in or within the financial year 1888-9, and the amount of the Capital of the Funds as invested on the last day of the Police year.

(FORM OF RETURN.)

STRENGTH OF POLICE FORCES AND NUMBERS PENSIONED, &c.

Name of Force.		
Mean Strength of Force.	Superintendents.	
	Inspectors.	
	Sergeants.	
	Constables.	
Number in receipt of Pension.	Superintendents.	
	Inspectors.	
	Sergeants.	
	Constables.	
Numbers who have left Force during past five years.	Of less than 15 years' service.	With Pension.
		Without Pension or Gratuity.
		With Gratuity.
		Dismissed.
	Of more than 15 years' service.	With Pension.
		Without Pension or Gratuity.
		With Gratuity.
		Dismissed.
Number of Men now serving who are aged—	45 years and less than 50 years.	
	50 years and less than 55 years.	
	55 years and upwards.	
Number who have served—	15 years and less than 20 years.	
	20 years and less than 25 years.	
	25 years and less than 30 years.	
	30 years and upwards.	
Annual amount of Pensions payable.		
Particulars as regards Men Pensioned.	Total number pensioned during last five years.	
	Their average age.	
	Their average length of service in the Force.	
	Their average Pensions.	
	Number of Pensioners who have died during past five years.	
	Average period for which their Pensions were paid.	

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF THE SUPERANNUATION FUNDS IN THE POLICE YEAR ENDED IN OR WITHIN THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1888-9.

Name of Force.		
[Receipts.	Capital.	Balance in hand at end of Police year [ended in financial year 1887-8.]
	Income.	
	Interest received on Capital invested.	
	Contributions from pay of Force.	
	Deductions for sickness.	
	Fines on Constables.	
	Fines for assaults, drunkenness, &c.	
	Fees for service of summonses, warrants, &c.	
	Proceeds of sale of old clothing	
	Proceeds of Capital sold out and instalments repaid.	
	Other receipts.	
	Deficiency met out of Rates.	
	Balance due Treasurer at end of Police year [ended in financial year 1888-9.]	
Payments.	Balance due Treasurer at end of Police year [ended in financial year 1887-8.]	
	Superannuations.	
	Gratuities.	
	Amount invested during the year.	
	Other payments.	
	Capital.	Balance in hand at end of Police year [ended in financial year 1888-9.]
	Income.	
	Total available Funds, Capital, and Income, at end of Police year [ended in financial year 1888-9.]	
	Remarks.	

And similar Return for Scotland.—(*Mr. Stuart Wortley.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I regret, Sir, that through the action of the Government in appropriating the time of private Members and in postponing the discussion of the Irish Estimates until a late period of the Session, I have not been able to find a suitable opportunity for bringing before the House the facts connected with the failure of the national system of education in Ireland. But even at this late period of the Session I feel it my duty to bring forward the salient features of the case, and to invite the Government to communicate to the House any views and intentions they may have in regard to it. As long ago as the 31st of March the Standing Committee of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland adopted a series of resolutions upon the education question, and sent a copy to the heads of the Government in both Houses. I have not heard that the Government have as yet sent any reply to those resolutions, but I gathered from the reply of the Chief Secretary to my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that the resolutions themselves have been under the consideration of the Government. As they have had ample time to consider them I trust that they are now in a position to deliver their reply. My contention is that the just claims of a very important body of men have been systematically and unjustifiably neglected. I refer to the school teachers, who have performed their duty well, and are a patient, reasonable, and intelligent body of men. They do their work at least as well as the primary teachers of Great Britain. It is not to be expected that they should go on contributing to the support of a system which is entirely beyond the sphere of their influence and under which the industrial and technical training of the people has been deplorably neglected. Fourteen years ago an Act was passed with the object of improving the condition of the primary teachers of Ireland by enabling Boards of Guardians to contribute to their income. I maintain that if the Act has failed to achieve its purpose, some other mode ought to be adopted. The Act has unquestionably failed. In 1878 this House unanimously adopted a Resolution declaring that the condition of the National School teachers required the immediate attention of the Government with a view to its amelioration. About that time the teachers received an increase of emolument, all round, of about 1s. 6d. per week; but in consequence of the reduction of the pension fund and the increasing claim upon the Guardians to contribute to the income, the upshot has been that the teachers are certainly not better off—probably they are something worse—that they were 11 years ago, when the House passed the Resolution to which I refer and declared that their condition demanded immediate attention. I find from a recent Return issued by the National Board that the average salary of the male principal teachers is £79 and of the female teachers £66. Of the assistant teachers the average salary of the males is £48 and of the females £39; and these averages are made up by leaving out 2,048 of the worst-paid teachers. If they were included, the average in the case of the highest class would be reduced to £65, or little more than one-half of what is paid in Great Britain. Very few of the school teachers in Ireland receive higher wages that an artisan; many of them receive less; most of them are worse paid than a police constable; and many of them receive as little as a day labourer. This is a state of facts which connot be paralleled in any other country, and it is certainly most discreditable to a country like this. The Chief Secretary has stated that the Imperial purse contributes more to education in Ireland than it does in England, but I must remind him that the system in England is controlled by those who use it. It is, therefore, I presume, acceptable to the public feeling of those who adopt it. In Ireland the primary education ignores the history of the country and neglects its literature, and so long as such a state of things exists it will be condemned. It is only under State control that such a system can be possible, and, of course, the State control which keeps up such a

condition of affairs must be paid for out of the Imperial Exchequer. But what I assert is that you have no right to use the energies and exhaust the lives of men in the Public Service, and not pay them adequately for the duties they perform. Until the Irish primary system is made such as the Irish people can accept, the responsibility rests on the Government of paying the men they employ, and paying them adequately. And now, Sir, let me say a word about the residences of the teachers. There are in all about 8,000 teachers, 12,000 of whom have residences provided for them out of private funds. At the end of 14 years, since the Act was passed which dealt with this subject, only 700 residences have been provided by the State—making about 2,000 in all, and still leaving 6,000 teachers unprovided for, who are compelled to live in unsanitary and unsuitable houses, many of them at great distances from the scene of their labours. I know of my own personal knowledge that a great number of the teachers, both men and women, have to trudge several miles, in all states of the weather, to the schoolhouse. This state of things should not be allowed to continue, and the only matter of astonishment is that it should have been allowed to continue so long. To remedy the teachers' grievances the amount of the grant ought to be liberally increased, the rate of interest on moneys lent by the State in connection with the machinery of education ought to be reduced, and the period of repayment extended, and compulsory powers ought to be given to acquire sites for the erection of teachers' dwellings. Before I come to speak of the Resolution which I propose to move, I desire to say something about the schools. Twenty years ago, Earl Powis's Commission recommended that the public should be left to supply the most suitable books. Nevertheless, the National Board continue to do what Lord Powis's Commission declared they ought not to do. They still continue to provide the books, and the books they provide are not suitable for the purpose for which they are supplied. They are marred by a dull spirit of pedantry, and are not well designed to interest and attract the minds of Irish children. If the existing monopoly were abandoned, I am satisfied that a much better description of books would be provided by public competition, and anyone who has studied the matter knows that there is very great need indeed for revision. Let me refer the right hon. Gentleman to the 5th Reading Book published by the National Board. In that book you will find this extremely odd and silly doctrine laid down, that according to so distinguished a person as Archbishop Whateley, whatever their grievances may be, farmers and labourers are not on any account to seek for an alteration of the law. Then, again, on the top of page 62, it is asserted as coming from the pen of the same eminent Prelate—

> "If you were to make a law for lowering rents, so that the land should still remain the property of those to whom it belongs, but that they should not be allowed to receive more than so much an acre for it, the result would be that the landlord would not let the land to the farmer, but would take it in his own hands and employ a bailiff to work it for him."

This, in the light of subsequent legislation, is no doubt highly instructive, seeing that Parliament has established a Court by which the rent of a good deal of land in Ireland has been lowered, and I find that not only is the landlord willing to continue to let it to the farmer, but that he is anxious to sell it to the farmer altogether. The existence of such passages is in itself a reason for the revision of these books. The National Board, under whose auspices this rubbish is distributed, is composed of 20 gentlemen—10 Catholics and 10 Protestants, and it includes a number of officials and ex-officials and rejected Parliamentary candidates, with a residue of gentlemen entirely unknown to the country. They discharge assiduously those functions for which they are paid and give very little heed to those which are purely honorary. The people know very little about these gentlemen and have no great confidence in them. In return the members of the Board take no interest in the people; they discharge their functions in a perfunctory manner; the Judges have no time to attend, and the Board becomes, in fact, a one-man power, with this unfortunate result, that its administration is marked by numerous errors and defects. It has not applied itself diligently to the industrial interests of the people; but no doubt if it were reconstituted, these defects would speedily be remedied. The present Board, how-

ever, cannot be re-constituted, and the only satisfactory mode of dealing with it would be to place on it such gentlemen as the people themselves would place there if they had any power of choice. As regards the Catholic members of the Board, I feel bound to say that they do not represent the Catholic feeling of the country; as a matter of fact, they represent nobody but themselves. Two or three years ago I suggested that the four vacancies then existing should be filled up by the appointment of really representative men. But my suggestion was disregarded, and two Fellows of Trinity College and two other absolutely unknown men were appointed. The main point in the resolution of the Prelates relates to a fundamental rule of the Board—the combination of secular and the separation of religious instruction. This rule was devised for the protection of the minority conscience. When there really is a minority the rule is accepted and acted upon; but when, as in most cases, there is no such minority it is absolutely unmeaning. In what are called the "mixed schools" half an hour is devoted to religious instruction. During the rest of the day the Bible cannot be read, although all the children may be Protestants, and no Catholic emblems can be displayed, or the *Angelus* or other Catholic prayers be said, though all the children are Catholics. But whenever the denominations are able to provide schools of their own they do so. A school, however, is considered "mixed" if there is even one child who differs from the others in faith. Ten years ago the mixed schools formed 56 per cent. of the whole, and the unmixed schools about 43½ per cent; but at the end of that period it was found that the mixed schools had fallen from 56 to 48 per cent, while the unmixed schools had increased from 43 to 51 per cent. That course of progress in one direction has been steady and unbroken, and in Ulster, where the sectarian spirit most prevails, the increase of unmixed schools within the last 20 years has been much greater than in any other part of Ireland. The mixed schools have fallen from 83 to 67 per cent, whereas the unmixed schools have actually doubled in number—from 16 to 33 per cent. Is it not obvious that the mixed system is one which is objectionable to both denominations? Last year there were 901 unmixed Protestant schools, attended by 95,000 children, and 3,297 Catholic schools, attended by 475,000 children, of whom but one was a Protestant. How, then, can the universal application of the Board's rule be defended? In the face of these figures why should religious teaching and practice be excluded from such schools as these, because in certain other schools Catholics and Protestants are mixed? To show the absurdity of the present system let me point out to the Chief Secretary that in the City of Dublin there are schools, under Catholic management, with 25,000 children, not one of whom is a Protant; but because these schools may have a Protestant child, which is almost impossible, there is a rule which deprives these 25,000 children of that religious instruction in school which their parents and guardians deem essential. I protest against that part of the Irish education system which prevents religion being taught in the schools during the whole of the time that secular instruction is going on. The State is only asked to pay for secular instruction, and the Irish Catholic Prelates are willing that the State should be satisfied in the most absolute manner that full value is being obtained for the public money granted to the schools, that the proper discipline and management of the schools are obtained, and that the secular instruction given is efficient. The people of Ireland have shown a desire that separate schools should be established for each denomination, in order that there may be no objection raised to the form of religious instruction that is given. If this proposal, which is in conformity with the recommendations of Lord Powis's Commission, which sat 20 years ago, when the case was not so strong as at present, were carried into effect, it would get rid of a great stumbling block of offence, and the Catholic Prelates and Priests, who now hold aloof altogether from the Irish National Board, would be willing to nominate representatives upon that Board, which would thus acquire a stability and strength it has never had before. The Government are themselves able to set a useful example in respect of authority by adopting the recommendations of the Powis Commission and showing that they are able to respect authority

themselves. As matters stand at present, tens of thousands of Catholic children are imperatively shut out from the benefit of the State schools and from participating in the advantages which are offered by the National Board; but if the demand of the prelates is acceded to, all the Catholic children in Ireland will come into the national schools with great advantage to the intermediate schools, which are now being starved for want of funds. The Irish model schools have been condemned in the most sweeping and unqualified manner by Lord Powis's Commission. Instead of being attended by the children of the poor, as it was originally intended that they should be, they are attended by children of the professional, mercantile, and official classes. The 29 model schools cost the State £32,000 per annum, and only return to the Exchequer the sum of £2,000 per annum, while the cost of each child in attendance amounts to the large sum of £4 a year. As a matter of fact, according to Lord Powis's Commission these schools have failed in everything; they are lax in discipline and unsatisfactory in educational results. Yet the National Board, with a coolness which is worthy of the Chief Secretary himself, continue to report year by year, in defiance of the Report of the Commission, that the model schools maintain their high character. If the Vote for carrying out primary instruction were conducted on the same scale, the Vote, instead of being three-quarters of a million, would be something like four millions. They were established to offer a model method of teaching, with an extensive and expensive staff of teachers and costly appliances. No doubt the children of the middle classes are in regular attendance; but the schools have afforded no assistance whatever to the ordinary Irish National teachers, who have to teach with little or no assistance, with meagre appliances, and, instead of a regular attendance of middle class children, with a casual attendance of the children of the poor. They are not primary schools for the people, but intermediary schools for one class and one creed. They cannot be much longer maintained, and they may as well be gracefully abandoned. The recommendation of the Commission was that the buildings should be used for denominational training colleges. They might be used for that or some other public purpose; at present, instead of being used for primary education, they are used for an unauthorised intermediary education. I ask the Government to transfer them to an authorised intermediary education. At present one-third of the income of the Board is applied to the cost of administration; another third to prizes for the students; and the rest to the payment of result fees. By general admission that part of the income requires to be considerably augmented if the system is to prosper. The schools, which have been established as training colleges for teachers, are absolutely unnecessary, seeing that there are training colleges maintained by the State, while in addition each denomination has its own training college. One very objectionable feature in the model schools is, as was very well put by Mr. Chichester Fortescue, a former Secretary for Ireland, that young persons of both sexes are brought up together in a sort of domestic life without having identity of religious faith. These schools are attended by but a very small percentage of Catholic children. Let me now say a few words concerning the denominational training colleges. The claim of the prelates in this regard is a claim for equality, first with England, and then in Ireland. We have not at present equality with England, because in this country there is no State college to compete with the denominational training colleges. Moreover, in England, for the first 20 years of the training college system, the cost of erecting and maintaining the colleges was provided by the State. In England the sytem was nursed until it was able to do without nursing. This has never been done in Ireland. The two grounds of inequality in Ireland are these. No State provision has been made for the erection and maintenance of the training colleges, of which there are three, two of which are maintained by the Catholics, the third being maintained by the Protestants. These colleges are maintained out of private sources, and the first step in order to produce equality with England is to make an allowance for the cost of erecting and maintaining the colleges. Again, these colleges and the State-aided colleges ought to be treated equally in all respects. The teaching and practice

of religion ought to be free in all schools which are solely attended by children of one creed. In that way the intermediate system could be fortified, and it could be fortified also by applying to industrial and technical training the money which is now wasted upon model schools. The prelates make two other suggestions on the intermediate system. One is that when boys and girls compete in examinations the programmes and prizes for both sexes should be the same. They also suggest that Catholics should have an equal power with Protestants on the Board of National Education. The Catholics send up the majority of the successful students, and the prelates submit that it is not fair that they should be in a minority on the Board. This claim is so just that I think the right hon. Gentleman ought to concede it. With regard to the University question, what is its position in Ireland? We have, on the one hand, the University of Dublin with its solitary college and its magnificent endowment. This college and this University are essentially and to all intents appurtenant to the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland. Then there is the Royal University. It is an examining body, which awards prizes to and confers degrees upon students, without regard to their place of education. This University examines the students from the three Queen's Colleges, which are richly endowed, and also the students from the Catholic colleges, which do not receive a single penny from the State. The Queen's Colleges have their professors and their teaching staff upon the Board of the Royal University as examiners. Consequently the Queen's Colleges have a controlling influence on the Standing Committee of the Royal University. With regard to the Queen's College at Belfast, I may say that I consider it to be an efficient teaching institution. There we get value for our money, as the college discharges a valuable educational function for the Presbyterians; but I must say that the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway have absolutely failed. Each of these Queen's Colleges costs about £10,000. They are practically closed against Catholic students. They have professors, laboratories, museums, libraries, and all the costly appliances of education. They have very liberal prize funds, which are distributed among the students of each Queen's College without any outside competition whatever. The students of the Queen's Colleges are assisted by prizes from the purse of the State, while they are not able, in many cases, to qualify themselves even to pass the University examination. Is that a proper use of public money? The examiners of the students of the Queen's Colleges are those who have been their teachers, and that alone gives them great advantages. The student examined by his own teacher is certainly in a very different position to the student who is examined by a perfect stranger. How stands the case? The Queen's College is paid for by the State, and the students are pampered with prizes, for which there is no outside competition. Then they are sent forward to be examined for prizes by their own teachers, while the students of the Catholic Colleges have to struggle on without a penny of endowment, and have to be examined by strangers, who are the teachers of their competitors. Is that what is commonly called fair-play? Manifestly not. Yet even though Catholic students labour under these great disadvantages, what are the results of the Universities examinations, as between the two Queen's Colleges which get £10,000, and the two Catholic Colleges which do not get one penny? I take the Royal University Examinations for the preceding year, which do not materially differ from those of previous years. In honours of the first class the Queen's College, Galway, obtained 9; and the Queen's College at Cork, 6. The Catholic College at Blackrock, obtained 9; and the Catholic College at Dublin, 26. The Catholic Colleges, therefore, obtained 35, and the Protestant Colleges, 15. In Exhibitions of the highest class, Dublin, 2; Blackrock, 1; Galway, 2; Cork, 1. In Exhibitions of the second-class, Dublin, 6; Blackrock, 3; Galway, 1; Cork, 2. Other Exhibitions, Dublin, 8; Blackrock, 4; Galway, 3; Cork, 3. I pass from Arts to the Faculty of Medicine, and I find in 1887:—First-class honours obtained by Queen's College, Galway, 0; Cork, 0; by the Catholic College, Dublin, 2; Blackrock, 2. I ask whether an honest use is made of the £10,000; do you get any return for it? Would any body of

electors in this country tolerate such a condition of things? I say it is a shameful spectacle, and as a Catholic I protest against it. The Catholics of Ireland by your laws were long kept in a state of enforced ignorance. They have been slowly and grudgingly relieved of their disabilities, and though there is now a nominal equality between Catholics and Protestants in regard to the admission to degrees, it is a narrow and barren equality. It cannot become truthful until the Catholic and Protestant students are placed in such a position that they can wage the battle of life on equal terms. I do not pretend to be dogmatic; I only venture to put before you an alternative outline. This question may be determined upon the basis of one University. If it should be, it will be requisite to establish in Ireland a great Catholic College, placed on a level with Trinity College in point of endowment and privileges. From this concession two other essential conditions would flow. The first of them, that the Catholic students of a College so established would be on a level in point of eligibility, nationality, and privilege with the students of Trinity College in regard to the honours, distinctions, offices and dignities of the Common National University. And, further, that the Catholic body should have upon the governing body of the Common University a sufficient representation of persons possessing the confidence of the Catholic body, to secure the interests of the Catholic students and to protect their rights. That would be a satisfactory settlement of the question. In that event the Belfast Queen's College must continue in the discharge of a useful function. The Queen's College at Cork and Galway would have to be reconstituted so as to be available for the Catholic students of the West and South of Ireland without violation of conscience. The results of the examinations to which I have referred show that the Catholics are not only ready but able to meet any competition that can possibly arise. If the question is not settled upon that basis, then the failure—I put it upon record—to arrive at that settlement will not rest upon the Catholics of Ireland. I end by saying that the present Government has governed Ireland in a spirit of pure oppression, owing to the sinister fact that Debates upon Ireland in this House are unfortunately a series of bitter and fierce contentions. Dealing, however, with the question of education, which ought to be above and beyond the sphere of Party, I have endeavoured to treat the case in a temperate spirit and to offer fair and moderate proposals for the consideration of the House. I for one shall be happy, and I think I can speak for the Leader of my Party the hon. Member for Cork, and for the body of Irish Members, if the Government will give us such a reply as will render it possible for us to believe that upon any Irish question the Government are willing to accept a principle which, unfortunately, they seem either to have forgotten, or to have utterly disregarded in all the concerns of Ireland, and that principle is that the Government ought not to be the instrument of any faction or any class, but the helper and friend of the whole people.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Sir, I think the House will consider that the right hon. Gentleman is to be congratulated not only upon the lucidity butthe tone and temper which characterised his remarks. And, Sir, I think the House is to be congratulated upon hearing the case of those gentlemen in the House and in Ireland, who are represented by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast, being so ably and effectively put before it. I shall endeavour to follow the example of the right hon. Gentleman as far as I can in the temper of my observations. This, I think, is one of the subjects on which differences of opinion, though they undoubtedly exist, are not so sharply marked and need not be so sharply expressed, as they have been, unfortunately, on certain other topics connected with the question of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech by calling attention to a subject which has been before brought to the notice of this House—namely, the alleged inadequacy, I will go further and say the real inadequacy, of the remuneration of Irish teachers. None of the many gentlemen who have occupied the position that I now hold have ever concealed from the House their desire that the pecuniary position of the Irish teachers should be improved. The difficulty has not been as to the end

which we all desire, but the possibility of meeting it by further contributions from Imperial resources. Though I regret that the position of the Irish teachers is not more satisfactory than it is now, I am afraid I cannot go the length of the right hon. Gentleman in his contention which he made—namely, that since the year 1878 the Government has not carried out the Resolution which the House then arrived at as to the unsatisfactory position of Irish teachers. The right hon. Gentlemen himself admitted that there had been an increase in the class of fixed salaries, amounting, I believe, to £44,000 a year. But he appears to have forgotten that that was not the only amount which Parliament and the Educational Board in Ireland have been able to bestow upon this deserving class of public servants. There has been sanctioned a relaxation of the regulations as regards the contingent moiety of fees, the result of which has been that the sum received by the teacher in respect of the contingent moiety had risen from £58,000 in 1877 to £102,000 at the present time. It is quite true that the number of teachers is increased, but that increase bears no proportion to the actual amount of the augmentation of the contingent moiety. Again, since the resolution was passed by the House, the sum of £1,300,000 has been granted out of the Church surplus to provide pensions. That is a gift to the Irish teachers, which has no parallel in the dealings of the Government with English or Scotch teachers, and should not be left out of sight when we are considering how far the Resolution of the House has been carried out by successive Governments. The right hon. Gentleman led the House to believe that the system under which loans are granted to teachers for residences is one peculiarly onerous to the borrower. And I think he based his contention upon the fact that the annuity asked for repayment of principal and interest is 5 per cent for 35 years, which, no doubt, represents a larger annuity than is required by the Board of Works for various other kinds of loans. But the right hon. Gentleman forgot at the moment, or perhaps he is not aware, that of this 5 per cent, a half is contributed by the Education Board for nothing, so that practically, the terms for repayment of principal and interest are $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum—a far lighter annuity than is required by the Treasury for any other class of loan. The amount of money which is being paid under that head to the various school managers in Ireland has increased, and is increasing with rapid strides—strides far less satisfactory to the Treasury than to those who are interested in the progress of Irish education. The total amount applied for by the school managers since this Act was passed is £172,000. To that there is no parallel in the history of education in England or Scotland. Neither in England nor Scotland can school managers borrow on terms like these for the Imperial Exchequer. With regard to the payment of teachers, while the contributions of the State to the English male principal teacher has been £57 per annum, to the Irish male principal teacher it has been £64 per annum; and while the contribution to the English female principal teacher has been £39, the contribution from Imperial resources to the Irish female principal teacher has been £54. Under these circumstances, however much we may be prepared to sympathise with the position of the Irish teachers, I must again repeat that the Imperial Exchequer is certainly not responsible for that condition, and in any case we may derive this consolation from a consideration of the figures during the last few years—namely, that the pecuniary remuneration of the Irish teachers has been increasing with rapid strides. Now, I pass from that which, I venture to think, is the least important part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, to the most important part of it—namely, that which dealt with the Resolutions recently unanimously arrived at by the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Ireland. Those Resolutions deal with a variety of topics, and I will endeavour briefly to touch upon them. The right hon. Gentleman has renewed the complaint, often made before, that the expenditure of public funds upon the model schools in Ireland is useless or wasteful. I, for my part, am prepared to admit that the condition of the model schools in many parts of Ireland is not one upon which the Educational Authorities have reason to congratulate

themselves. I admit that, in a town like Athy, the fact that not one Roman Catholic child should attend the model school is a very unsatisfactory result, and one deserving the serious attention of the Government. In Ulster, at all events, these model schools are largely attended by Presbyterians and Protestants and Episcopalian Protestants, and there they give great satisfaction. It may be true that they do not fulfil all the expectations of those who originally founded them. But we ought to consider whether this particular portion of the educational machinery commends itself to the sentiments and affections of the population of the various localities where the model schools are situated; and I venture to say that no general rule applicable to all parts of the country can be laid down as to the best method of dealing with this peculiar portion of the Irish Educational System. If it is unsatisfactory in some parts of Ireland, it is not necessarily unsatisfactory all over Ireland, and I am myself disposed to think that these model schools may, in many cases, supply a very useful link in the educational chain. With regard to the question of Training Colleges, an undenominational Training College was established by the Education Board at the sole cost of the State, and the denominational Training Colleges are a subsequent growth, and have been established in Dublin on the model of the English Training Colleges. Though it may be true, as the right hon. Gentleman says, that the Irish denominational Training Colleges are somewhat at a disadvantage as compared with the English Training Colleges, because they have to compete with State-aided undenominational Training Colleges; nevertheless, in point of contributions, they are in as good a position as the English Training Colleges. But, says the right hon. Gentleman, this may be true, and yet it may be very unfair to run side by side with these denominational Training Colleges, a College supported entirely out of the Imperial Funds, for which no sacrifice is asked from the pulpit, or from any religious denomination, or from any section of the community. I am not disposed to contradict that statement of the right hon. Gentleman. I am inclined to think that there ought to be steps taken to put these Training Colleges on an equality, so far as Imperial aid is concerned. Of the various alternatives which present themselves to anybody who considers this question, and which have been fairly be laid before the House by the right hon. Gentleman, I am myself disposed to think that probably the best alternative would be to adopt, neither a levelling up nor a levelling down policy, but to find some intermediate plane on which to place the various Training Colleges. I pass from that not very difficult question to one of far greater complexity, that of the higher education in Ireland. Again I repeat in the House what I have said outside the House, that, in my opinion, something ought to be done to give higher University education to the Roman Catholics in Ireland. I regret —I do not deny that I do regret—that the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland have felt it their duty to discourage men of their religion from taking full advantage of the Queen's Colleges in Galway or Cork, or of Trinity College in Dublin. But regrets are vain things. The Roman Catholic hierarchy have thought it their duty to adopt this policy, and we have to take the facts as we find them. The experiment of undenominational higher education in Ireland has now been tried sufficiently long to make it, I am afraid, perfectly clear that nothing Parliament has hitherto done to promote that object will really meet the wants and wishes of the Catholic population of the country. That being so, we have no alternative but to try and devise some new scheme by which the wants of the Catholic population shall be met. This would not be the proper time for me to suggest, even in outline, the main lines of what the scheme should be, but we ought to make some attempt, if possible, to carry out a scheme of the kind I have indicated. With these few remarks on higher education in Ireland, I pass to the question of primary education. Well, Sir, here I am more disposed to part company with the right hon. Gentleman than I am on any other part of his speech. Anyone unacquainted with primary education in Ireland, and listening to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, would suppose that a system, practically undenominational, was thrust down the throats of the Roman Catholic population in Ireland against the

will of the people and against the will of the leaders of the people. Sir, I think that that is a very great exaggeration. Of course, in a primary system of education which is supported by the State, you must necessarily take into account the unhappy religious differences which divide society in Ireland, and have so long divided it. The religious question is difficult enough to deal with in England. The religious differences of the English people are as nothing compared with the religious differences in Ireland. Therefore, the difficulty of dealing with the matter in Ireland is necessarily greater than the difficulty of dealing with it in England. But what is the actual Irish system as it is worked? The State pays four-fifths of the income of the teachers. These teachers are not the servants of the public, but the servants of the managers. The managers of the Irish schools have absolute power of selecting their teachers, of paying their teachers, and of dismissing their teachers. The management of schools in Ireland is, on the whole, clerical—whether it be by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Episcopal, or the Presbyterian Church. I find that of the 2,800 managers of schools in Ireland, no less than 2,000 are clergymen of various denominations. Recollect that not only does the State pay four-fifths of the income of the teacher—teachers in the schools so managed—but it pays for every child in Ireland 30s. against 17s. 6d. in England and Scotland. Here you have contributions out of the Exchequer, which is in the main a Protestant Exchequer, to the managers of schools in Ireland, who are largely composed of Catholic priests. While 88 per cent of the Protestant children attend schools where the teachers are wholly Protestant, 97 per cent of the children attend schools where the teachers are wholly Catholic. In other words, only 3 per cent of the children, being Roman Catholics, attend schools where there is any teacher who is not Roman Catholic. The managers of the schools are themselves Roman Catholics, they are generally priests; and the teachers are not only Catholic, but they are persons of whose faith and morality the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland are satisfied.

MR. SEXTON: Why are the restrictions made so irksome?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The restrictions to which the right hon. Gentleman refers are those which prevent the symbols of the Roman Catholic Church being put up in the schools under the National Board, and forbids and makes certain regulations as to the hours of religious teaching.

MR. SEXTON: Protestants also.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And Protestants. But I am dealing with the grievances of Roman Catholics. Well, Sir, I am disposed not to dissent from the right hon. Gentleman in this, that where there is no Protestant child attending the school, there need be no particular objection to the Catholic symbols being shown in the school. The difficulty is this: you are supporting these schools out of the public funds; they are intended for the education of every member of the community, be he Roman Catholic, or Episcopalian or Presbyterian, or a member of any other Christian denomination. But how can you be sure that your school will always only be attended by Roman Catholic children?

MR. SEXTON: We should be willing that the freedom should be dependent on uniformity of creed of the children attending. I would point out that there is no prospect whatever of a Protestant child attending a Catholic school, or of a Catholic child attending a Protestant school, in those localities where the denominations have severally provided themselves with schools.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is so. It is true that if in every part of Ireland there were denominational schools the difficulty could hardly arise. But it is not easy to lay down a principle which would apply to those parts of Ireland where that is not the case.

MR. SEXTON: I would make the rule binding where there is even one child.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am discussing how far there is a real practical grievance with regard to primary education. I would remind the House of a fact which is doubtless new to many of its Members—namely, that there are no less than 255 convents and 22 monasteries which have placed their schools under the National Board, and that no less than £77,000 a year are contributed out of the Imperial Ex-

chequer to support those schools which are denominational schools, if ever there were denominational schools. It is perfectly true that the Conscience Clause operates in the convent schools as well as other schools, but I think it will be admitted that this House cannot be accused of undue intolerance if it grants £77,000 a year towards convents and monastic places of education. We are all apt to forget, too, in discussing this question, the sums given to denominational industrial schools in Ireland. This sum is relatively far in excess of anything given in England or Scotland, and it is given absolutely to religious institutions, who use it practically for denominational education; and none of the restrictions which the right hon. Gentleman regards as vexatious in the administration of the national system of education at all apply to this large sum of money given annually to the maintenance of industrial schools. I find that £82,000 a year is given to these Catholic schools, outside altogether of the ordinary Education Vote; and £13,700 is given in a similar manner to Protestant Schools. Keeping in view how much this system of national education really does for the denominational education in Ireland, let us consider what has been the growth of contributions from the Exchequer to public schools since 1833. In that year £25,000 was given for national education, while in 1862 the sum increased to £317,000, which in 1888 advanced to £928,000, and if we add to this the £95,000 or £96,000 given for industrial schools, we arrive at a total of more than £1,000,000, which is given from the Imperial Exchequer, to assist that which if it be not denominational in the full sense desired by the right hon. Gentlemen, is, I believe, more denominational than any system of public elementary instruction in any country of Europe. Recollect that this is substantially a Protestant Exchequer which provides these funds. ["Oh!"] That the great mass of the taxpayers are not Roman Catholics will not be contested. We support, in Ireland, where the majority are Roman Catholics, a system more favourable to the Catholics than is afforded by the Exchequer of any Catholic country in Europe to the Catholics of that country.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman is leaving out of view that I made my claim in respect of primary education on behalf of 900 Protestants as well as 3,000 Catholics.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I acquit the right hon. Gentleman of anything unduly Sectarian. Of course, he was speaking, and very properly speaking, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, and it was from that point of view I was discussing the subject and the arguments laid before us by the right hon. Gentleman. In conclusion, I would say this: I admit that certain reforms and alterations are practicable, and, if practicable, should be undertaken. I hope to be able to undertake some of them. Still, I wish the House to recollect, and especially the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, to recollect that this money obtained from the Imperial Exchequer, and which certainly could not be obtained from purely Irish sources, is expended, even under the present imperfect system, in a manner which I think ought to make them regard their lot, as compared with the lot of the Roman Catholic populations of the Continent, as extremely fortunate in the matter of education. I hope the House and the right hon. Gentleman will consider that I have not dealt with the subject in an unduly controversial sense; and I hope and trust that what I have said may do something in this country, and especially in Ireland, to remove any sense of real grievance on the part of those who are interested in denominational education in that country.

MR. PARNELL (Cork City): I should like to say I wish well to the Chief Secretary in his attempt to settle the much vexed question of University education in Ireland. But I should also be glad to know whether there is any prospect that the Government will deal with this important question early next Session, or what arrangements are in contemplation for bringing the matter before the House. On the question of primary education it is perfectly true, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman, that the disproportion between local contributions and State aid is very great when Ireland is compared with Great Britain. The reason is that in Ireland the system of primary education, though largely denominational, is not so entirely

denominational as the people desire, and there will be no difficulty in increasing the local contributions so as to do away with this disproportion if more encouragement is given to denominational schools. But the fact must be faced as it stands. Whatever the personal opinions of hon. Members may be—and for myself I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of mixed education—the history of the question shows that the great majority of all creeds in Ireland are in favour of denominational education. This is as true of the Anglicans and Dissenters as of the Catholics. By persistently refusing to recognise the state of feeling in Ireland the Government prevent the people from so cordially co-operating with them as they otherwise would in the great work of education. There may be differences of opinion as to how a denominational system is to be carried out which thus necessitates separate schools and a separate system; but it is surely straining the point rather too much for the right hon. Gentleman to seek refuge in the plea that there are some districts where a few Protestants might have to attend a Catholic school, owing to want of educational facilities for themselves. I think that argument was very fairly met by the right hon. Member for West Belfast, who stated that in any such case we should wish that the present system should be maintained, and the consciences of these Protestant children be protected by the safeguards now in force. With regard to the question of model schools, I think those schools ought to be dealt with as a whole. The Government ought to consider, in determining as to their future existence, whether the £30,000 a year paid for their maintenance is justified by the result. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the advantages arising out of these model schools in certain portions of Ulster, but he seemed to everlook the fact that there they have been turned practically into intermediary or secondary schools. If the right hon. Gentleman thinks a good educational purpose is served by the existence of those schools in Ulster, perhaps in any modification of the system they might be still maintained. I think, however, that where education is so much required, and where money is so much required as in Ireland, it is a lamentable waste to continue the existence of those schools in the districts referred to by the right hon. Gentleman. I and my friends are anxious to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposes to embody his attempt at a solution of this question in a Bill next Session, or what other steps he proposes to take for the purpose of bringing the matter under the notice of Parliament?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman rather misunderstands what I stated about the model schools. I told the House that no doubt their original objects had not been fulfilled, but I did not go the length of admitting that in Ulster they are merely secondary schools. They are a grade above the ordinary primary schools over a large part of Ireland, but they cannot properly be said to be secondary schools. With regard to the question with which the hon. Gentleman concluded, there is no possibility, I believe, of dealing with the question of University education without a Bill. Of course, I cannot give any pledge at the moment as to the exact order in which the questions will be brought before the House, and the hon. Gentleman will hardly press me upon the point at present.

*MR. WOODALL (Hanley): The House must have listened with interest to the very valuable, temperate, and significant Debate on this question. But I must say that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary indicated an important departure and a disposition on the part of the Government to surrender some of the most fundamental principles on which the educational system of Ireland has hitherto been conducted. The Chief Secretary told us, that with regard to training colleges, model schools, and Universities, he is prepared to make a very important departure indeed. I beg to offer him my congratulations upon his conversion to the principle of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, but I could have wished that he had gone further, and remitted this problem to the Irish people themselves. I have seen enough of popular feeling in Ireland to know how universal among the Catholic population is the feeling to which expression has been given by the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and I may be excused, perhaps if I express my regret that there is such a difference between popular

feeling in Ireland and that which animates educational movements in all other countries, and especially the Catholic countries of the Continent. I admit there is great force in the assertion that this system which we have applied to Ireland has failed largely because it has not commanded the co-operation and support of the people themselves. At the same time I hope the Imperial Parliament will not go back from the undenominational principles on which that system has been based. If this important change which has been foreshadowed is to be made, it should be made by a popular representative body answerable to the Irish people and upon their responsibility.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): When the Bill to which the Chief Secretary has made reference is brought forward I am sure it will receive a kindly and considerate hearing from all parts of the House, notwithstanding that there may be differences of opinion as to the fundamental principles upon which such legislation should be based. We hold it the first essential of good statesmanship to legislate in this matter in accordance with the prejudices of the large section of the people. I join with my leader in the promise that when the Chief Secretary brings forward the Bill, it shall have kindly consideration on our part, and we will do all we can to help it forward. On the subject of model schools I desire to say a word or two. I have observed the operation of one of these schools in the City of Cork, and from this I can bear out the truth of the assertion of my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin, that these schools have failed to become what they were intended to be, primary schools for the education of the poorer classes of Ireland, and have become intermediate schools of the first class, and their operation is entirely confined to the superior education of those children whose parents are best able to provide for this superior intermediate education. To judge of all the model schools by what I know of the schools in Cork, they have failed to fulfil the purpose for which they were intended; and it is monstrous to maintain them at great cost to the State under such circumstances. As to primary education and its teachers, we have to approach the consideration of this subject, remembering that promises have been made which have not been fulfilled. An Act was passed in 1875 for the amelioration of the condition of National School Teachers, and only three years elapsed when the House of Commons by a unanimous vote, and on the Motion of an hon. Member from Ireland, passed a resolution that the Act of 1875 had failed in its purpose, and since that time Chief Secretary after Chief Secretary has promised to remedy the state of things existing, but nothing has been done in fulfilment of those promises, or to give effect to the resolution of the House. Promises have even been made on behalf of the right hon. Gentleman who is now leading the House, at the time when he was assuming office. Mr. Holmes, the then Attorney General and now Chief Justice, said in 1887, I think, in reply to my question, that "the right hon. Gentleman had been working assiduously for some time in fulfilment of his promise"—he was alluding to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks Beach)—and that he had left the result of his work to the present Chief Secretary, his successor, and that there would certainly be no difficulty in the matter on the part of the present Chief Secretary. Does his speech of to-day fulfil that promise? Has he endeavoured to work out the skeleton of the measure that was contemplated by his right hon. predecessor? Has he searched the pigeon-holes of Dublin Castle, that charnel house of stillborn hopes and abortive projects, for the measure that was to ameliorate the condition of a deserving class of the community? I cannot congratulate the right hon. Gentleman if his speech is to be taken as the result of his researches, because he has endeavoured to fritter away any good feeling that may have been attained in the House for the National School teachers, based on the examination of their grievances and the establishment of their claim to the consideration of this House. I said that nothing had been done since the resolution of 1878, but perhaps I am not strictly accurate. Some temporary relief was afforded in 1878; a sum of £16,000 was given to the National School Teachers, but conditions were attached by which £12,000 of that amount was devoted to the formation

of a pension fund, and at the same time there was a decrease of £5,000 in the result fees they obtained from Poor Law Guardians, and so the sum of £46,000 was reduced to £29,000, distributed over 11,000 teachers. This is all that has been done to give effect to the resolution from the day it was passed until now. From that day the teachers have had to live on promises from year to year on the principle of "live horse, get grass." I must traverse the figures of the Chief Secretary by which he attempted to show that the State contributed £64 to male teachers in Ireland, as against £57 to the same class in England, and £54 to female teachers as against £39 in this country. The real facts of the case, as I draw them from official sources, are that the average payments to Irish male teachers are £63, and to female teachers £40, while the average payments in England are £120 and £73 respectively. What on earth can be the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman coming down to the House and attempting to mislead us by his calculations? I quote from official sources—not for this year, because my opportunities for consulting my Parliamentary Papers have been restricted in the last few months—but I imagine the figures of this and last year do not differ much. I protest against this attempt to fritter away the good feeling that has been established on behalf of the National School teachers by figures that are not supported by official information. Not only are school teachers of the same class in this country compensated at a rate almost double for their labours, but when we examine the Papers we find that the teachers in Ireland secure better results in the examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic as compared with the results in this country. If all the good things the Chief Secretary has stated to-day were true we should have no reason to complain, and should not have to recur to this subject year after year, and the House would not have had to listen to the able *exposé* of the condition of things from my distinguished Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin—of grievances often recognized and never rectified. It is discreditable to the Government that such a state of things should be allowed to continue. One word more in reference to teachers' residences. When I brought forward a Motion some years ago on this subject I stated that 80 per cent of the teachers were without proper residences, and I believe I should not be far wrong if I applied that statement to the present time. No material improvement has taken place. Teachers have still to walk long distances to and from the scene of their daily labours, and to begin work that requires the exercise of all their vigour, fatigued by a long march, in some cases of more than an hour. The work of instruction must necessarily suffer, for it is work that requires energy unimpaired. The state of things upon which I founded my Motion years ago remains to-day, all the grievances are still alive, and the Chief Secretary has not given any hope in his speech that he will use his best efforts to remove the necessity we are under year after year to appeal to the House on behalf of this deserving class. Still, I trust the right hon. Gentleman may be induced to introduce some measure next year side by side with that he has promised in regard to higher education, and that the House will be ready to settle this question.

Mr. J. O'Connor

*Mr. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I am unwilling to intervene in an Irish discussion, and I will confine myself to the single observation that I congratulate my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary on having shown that it is possible to give the hope of redressing Irish grievances, temperately expressed, even in an Imperial Parliament. But I am tempted by what I have heard to make a brief remark or two upon a cognate subject—I mean the question of education in England. I have often admired the pertinacity with which hon. Members opposite advocate their views in the House, and the manner in which they endeavour to convey the conviction that they have popular opinion behind them. Differing from them, as I often do, I cannot but admire their earnestness and pertinacity. We, too, have our convictions; but there is a habit among English Members, and especially Conservative Members, to so subordinate our own views to the support of the Government in whom we trust that we sometimes fail to give public expression to our convictions in language adequate to the occasion. I am not quite certain that some of the failures of the Session, to which this

seems the proper opportunity to refer, have not been due to this silence or reticence on our part. One of the failures of the Session was the withdrawal of the Education Code, not that I think the withdrawal of the Code was in itself a misfortune, but the circumstances attending its withdrawal cannot have been satisfactory to anyone. The necessity for its withdrawal arose from the fact that Her Majesty's Government did not pay sufficient attention to the feelings of English Conservative Members and especially to those animated by the deepest convictions in regard to education, and particularly religious education; certainly that attention has not been shown to them which the Chief Secretary has shown to the convictions of hon. Members from Ireland. I would suggest that the Government, as a better arrangement for future Sessions, that they should take the opportunity to ascertain the convictions, which are just as deep, though not so loudly expressed, as those of hon. Members opposite, that they should take the proper means of ascertaining the deep convictions of English Members who represent the nation on important educational questions, and I will venture to say that they will not find the difficulties in passing an Education Code which they had to encounter this Session. If I may presume on the attention of the House for a moment longer I will touch upon one other failure of the Session, the withdrawal of the Tithe Rent-charge Recovery Bill, which can have given little satisfaction to anyone. Again, I mention this in support of my suggestion, for its failure was due to a somewhat similar cause, that Her Majesty's Government went into a large subject with small preparation. The Government, however, have indicated a different course this afternoon in connection with the Irish education question. They are going to grapple with it after great deliberation, great judgment, and with great courage—qualities which were not displayed in dealing with the tithe question, where they attempted to deal with a large question in a very small way. Having on the Tithe question changed their mind in the middle of their project they tried to substitute a larger measure; but no sooner had they displayed their new project than they fell, Sir, under the lash of your most solemn and irresistible censure. This collapse they might have avoided if they had given a little more deliberate thought and consideration to their subject. I will conclude by saying that this great subject, this tithe question, must not be allowed to sleep by Her Majesty's Government. We must not be put off next year by any talk of a Joint Committee of both Houses. Her Majesty's Government must come to the House, after due deliberation and due consultation with those they ought to consult, prepared with a measure they will be determined to recommend to the consideration of Parliament, and having so determined they must do their best to pass it into law.

*MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I had no intention of saying a word in this Debate on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill; but what I have heard and seen since I entered during the latter part of this discussion has made it impossible for me to remain altogether silent. I have not had the benefit or the pleasure—and I am sure it would have been a pleasure—of listening to the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin; but I have heard enough from the reply of the Chief Secretary to make me understand that a most impressive and, to my mind, a most alarming departure has been taken in education policy not merely for Ireland, but for the whole Empire. I think that the statement of the Chief Secretary, followed as it was by the applause of his supporters—applause articulated as it has been by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down—will strike a good many of the public, who look upon these matters from the same point of view with myself, with surprise and alarm. If I understand the policy—not simply foreshadowed now, but almost distinctly stated—it is that a great impetus is to be given to denominational education, first in Ireland, and then, by way of gratitude, in England. From what we have seen of the extraordinary billings and cooings which have been going on between the Government Bench and the Irish Members, I think that the departure is quite as new as it is beautiful. It has not impressed me in a pleasurable way. I have seen with much greate satisfaction the hurlings of defiance o

both sides than these mutual embracings. We know when a certain class of persons fall out certain other persons come by their own; and now I am beginning to think that when a certain class of persons agree some other people ought to look after their own. Therefore, I think that those who understand the value of a true system of national education, as distinguished from denominational education, should take the alarm from what has been going on and be prepared for a struggle. I am not going to speak too hastily about a discussion which I have only heard fragmentarily until I have had the opportunity of maturely considering it in its reported state; but I think I may be allowed to state one or two impressions forced upon my mind. I was struck by the statement of the Chief Secretary, and I have no doubt it is perfectly correct, that nowhere in the world is a larger amount of Protestant money devoted to Catholic education than in this country.

MR. SEXTON: It is our own money.

*MR. WALLACE: I have a right to my opinion. I am now reproducing the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He said that nowhere in the world was so large an amount of Protestant money devoted to Catholic education as here, and in this connection I naturally expected that the right hon. Gentleman was going on to make proposals to diminish what he evidently intended to describe as an evil. To my astonishment and consternation, however, the conclusion which the Chief Secretary drew from that was that he would magnify the evil which he had been deploring. He told us that the denominational system was immediately, or as soon as Government exigencies would allow, to be developed in one of its most important aspects in Ireland, and that we are going to have a Bill brought in for creating a Catholic University in Ireland, for a seat of learning devoted exclusively to the interests of the Catholic community. [MR. SEXTON: Why not?] I am giving a narrative of the statements; I am speaking not in an argumentative or polemical sense, but from the historical point of view; and I will not be tempted by the interruptions of the right hon. Gentleman to attempt to speak from two points of view at once. I say the right hon. Gentleman has given an alarming pledge that the Government will on the earliest opportunity bring in a Bill for the creation of an exclusively Catholic University in Ireland. Well, it is only 20 years since a movement was inaugurated, and thereafter carried out with triumphant success, to disestablish religion in Ireland; but now we are to have a reactionary policy for re-establishing religion in Ireland, for the creation of a Catholic University devoted to the purposes of one religious body alone. If that is not the re-establishment of religion in a country where it was disestablished, then I am labouring under some hallucination as to the meaning of common words in the English language. I am one of those in whom the declaration of such an extension creates not hope, but first of all a feeling akin to despair, and then a determination to resistance that sometimes arises out of despair. Then the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University proceeded, to my mind in a most significant manner, to apply the idea originated by the Chief Secretary, for he said if you are going to apply this principle to Ireland, it would be a gratifying thing if the Government would pluck up courage and go on to apply it in England, evidently with the idea that the gratitude of hon. Members below the Gangway would be an important assistance in promoting what they think an admirable conception, but which some of us would describe in very different phrase. It is possible that the Government imagine that in this way they may succeed in driving a wedge into the constitution of the Party sitting on these Benches, and that they will produce a sort of estrangement between the Irish Members and many of us who have the greatest happiness in co-operating with them in what we believe are noble national aspirations. If that is the conception of the Government, I may inform them that this wedge will not be so successful a mechanical agent as it is found to be in Departments of more humble but honourable industry. This proposal to extend denominationalism in Ireland will make many of us not less ardent, but more ardent, agitators for Home Rule than we are at present, though it may be from a different point of view and in a somewhat changed spirit. We shall be taught to see that the great educational difficulty in Ireland, and the

corresponding perplexities that spring out of it in this country, disturbing and poisoning the political atmosphere, constitute one of the strongest and most insuperable reasons why those who wish well to a true system of national education should do all they can, and at the earliest moment, to realise the wishes of the people of Ireland. I agree that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas, but I also think it should be governed with Irish money. The Irish nation should be as speedily as possible put in a position in which they themselves can carry out their own ideas, according to their own will, and out of their own pockets. These are one or two of the views which occurred to me in listening to the speech of the Chief Secretary. I think I may promise the right hon. Gentleman and the Government that if this is the sort of march they are going to take in educational matters it will not be a funeral march, but a very lively march for them indeed. I hope that those who, in years gone by, have stood up for the principles of national, as opposed to sectarian education, will take warning from what has transpired here this afternoon, and that they will see it is necessary to concentrate their forces in time for the considerable struggle that seems to be approaching.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.): I am glad to have the assurance of my hon. Friend (Mr. Wallace) that no difference of opinion which he and his friends may have with us upon purely Irish matters will cause anything like a wedge to be placed between us and them, and that while he differs from us on this particular point he remains true to the principle that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas, and that the Irish people should have the means of carrying on the affairs of their own country in a Parliament of their own. But I must take exception to my hon. Friend's position in this matter, because this is an important attempt of the Government to legislate for Ireland according to Irish ideas, and I deplore that on one of the first occasions on which there has been an attempt to legislate for Ireland in that fashion, it should provoke the hostility of my hon. Friend. We hear a great deal about the British taxpayer, but I should like to say a word for the Irish taxpayer. What is this proposal? It is a proposal to give the Irish taxpayers back some of the eight millions of revenue which the Imperial Exchequer annually receives from them. At present the Irish people only get half of that revenue back. We do not get anything like what we ought to receive. The provision of the Act of Union in regard to the Imperial taxation, and the proportion which Ireland is to bear, has been positively violated. Then, there are 5,000,000 people in Ireland, paying £8,000,000 in taxes to the Imperial Exchequer. Fully four-fifths of these people are Roman Catholics, and these four-fifths require for themselves a special form of education, and when this Government, for once in a way, recognises that the majority of the Irish people have a right to some measure of justice, I am surprised that my hon. Friend (Mr. Wallace) should run across the path of the Irish people. I am quite sure that when the hon. Member considers the matter more deeply he will find that the proposed Bill is one which he can well support. The Irish Catholics are not asking money from the British taxpayer, and I consider have a perfect right to obtain the redress they seek out of their own revenue, for their own purposes, and within their own country. My hon. Friend spoke about re-establishing religion. There is no proposal to re-establish religion or give an impetus to denominationalism. Denominationalism exists in Ireland at present, but it exists under grossly unfair conditions to the Catholic denomination. At the present time we have the established religion—if you choose to call it so—in Trinity College and in the Queen's Colleges. They are establishments which the great body of Roman Catholics of the country have insuperable conscientious objections to support, or to send their children to, and will anybody deny that if they choose to take that view they have not a perfect right to do it, and that their money should not be given to institutions of that kind when they want it for institutions of their own? The Chief Secretary expressed surprise and regret that the Catholic prelates do not make use of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, but encourage the members of their own religion not to enter these establishments. Let me say

one word as to the reason why we Catholics object to these Colleges. There is no difference of religious opinion in the question whatever, and there are many Protestants who hold quite as strong views on the matter as we do. What we say is that the whole system of training and teaching in institutions like Trinity College is fatal to the principles of religion, and is dangerous to the youth of the country in view of the battle which religion must wage against the illegitimate pretentions which science is setting up for itself [*A laugh*]. That is so. I had the honour to spend some years in Trinity College, and I know something about the state of things which prevails there. You have on the one hand either the worship of science, which is quite as blind and idolatrous as any form of religious fanaticism which the scientists condemn, or—

*Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think the relations of science to religion have anything to do with the Appropriation Bill.

Mr. GILL: I will not pursue that line of argument any further. I am glad the right hon. Gentleman is about to introduce a measure to make proper provision for a Catholic University in Ireland. There were two alternatives submitted by the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), and I would like to say a word in favour of one of them. My right hon. Friend said that there might be a Catholic University absolutely distinct or incorporated with Dublin University, and forming with Trinity College a co-equal college, and standing on an equality with it. That is the form to which I would give the preference. Trinity College has been for a long time in many respects the National University, and though there are many reasons of complaint, there are a good many reasons why we should be proud of it. I would like to see its prestige retained, whilst its danger to the Catholic religion, from the method of training adopted and its unequal position, is altered. I hope the right hon. Gentleman, in the scheme he intends to introduce, will give due consideration to that form of alternative. It is one, at any rate, which manifests the readiness of the Catholic body in Ireland to enter into fair and friendly competition with the members of other religious denominations. It will help to dispel the idea that there is hostility between the Protestant and Catholic bodies in Ireland, and that in seeking to give Catholic training in a Catholic University the Catholic body entertain any feeling of bigotry in any shape or form. Catholics and leading Protestants are agreed upon this point, and it is because I believe that a University formed on such lines will have a most potent and ennobling effect in the formation of public opinion in the country, in the removal of complaints between one religion and another, and in the removal of all quarrels, that I give this scheme my most hearty support, and I earnestly press upon the right hon. Gentleman not to lose time in devoting his best energies to its consideration.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I rise because the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down seemed to be aggrieved at the spirit in which his remarks were received in this quarter of the House. I can assure him that we have the greatest respect for his religious opinions. What I ventured to smile at had nothing to do with the religious convictions of the hon. Gentleman, but was the incongruity of the position he took up as compared with the alliance now subsisting between him and his friends below the Gangway and those who sit above the Gangway and support the Liberal Party. If hon. Members below the Gangway are to stand by the opinions which they have expressed to-day with regard to education, they will drive a very wide wedge between themselves and the Radical Party. The first principle of the Radicals is that education should be entirely free from clerical influence of all kind, and we cannot recognise the right of prelates, Catholic or otherwise, to dictate to this House how education should be conducted. As far as our legislation is concerned, we regard freedom from clerical control as essential. I am prepared to give as much power as any man to an Irish Parliament, but when measures are brought before this House we must act upon our principles, and one of those principles is that the State has no right to regard the existence of priests in matters of education. I did not hear the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, but I understand that the right hon. Gentleman is going to introduce a great measure of denominational Uni-

versity education in Ireland. On the bare principle of such a measure I must express my entire sympathy with the views of my hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh. This scheme of a Catholic University is a cunning device resorted to by the Government in consequence of what has happened in this House in the present Session. The Government must know that on several occasions there have been very open divergence of opinion between the Irish Members and the Radical Party, and if they intend to put forward some measure to divide the ranks of the Liberal Party in this House, they could not have adopted a better one than that which seems to have been put forward by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The only question, however, to which I had intended to call attention, was that of the loss of Her Majesty's ship *Sultan*, and the inquiries which have taken place. When the first inquiry took place I and my friends deliberately refrained from bringing the question before the House, in order not to prejudice the inquiry then supposed to be pending. I ought to say now, also, that I do not mention the matter with the view of fixing the responsibility upon any of the gallant officers concerned. The Duke of Edinburgh has been mentioned in connection with it, but I have never mentioned his name, and if I do so now it is only because it is necessary to do so in connection with that of other gallant officers in recording the facts. The facts are these—On the 14th of March Her Majesty's ship *Sultan* was lost. No person has been made responsible for that loss. I believe that the invariable practice has been that when a ship has been lost all the persons who under the Naval Discipline Act can be held responsible are tried by Court Martial. That has not happened in the case of the *Sultan*, and, moreover, during the whole of the time that this matter has been before the country, we have tried in vain to obtain from the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord G. Hamilton) a promise that full reports of the proceedings should be laid before House. On the 8th of August I was under the impression, from what had taken place in the House, that no obstacle would be offered to the publication of the reports of the entire proceedings as a Parliamentary Paper. Then we were told by the First Lord that it had never been his intention to make the reports a Parliamentary Paper; and that he had only said that he would consider it. As long ago, however, as the 17th of May the First Lord, in answer to a question put by the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Sir W. Lawson) distinctly said he proposed to present a Report of the whole inquiry when it had been completed, but that it must be postponed until the Duke of Edinburgh had come to England. Since then we have been given to understand that the proceedings cannot be laid before the House at all. I do not know whether the noble Lord draws a distinction between the proceedings before the Court Martial and those before the Court of Inquiry, and whether he intends to give the one and withhold the other. The *Sultan* was stranded on March 6 and was lost on March 14, and in April a Court Martial was held on the captain of the ship, but the charge was strictly limited to the question of "stranding and hazarding the ship." On May 28 the First Lord of the Admiralty gave the remarkable explanation that at the time of the Court Martial it was uncertain whether the *Sultan* would be lost or not; yet the first evidence produced before the Court was a letter from the captain of the ship saying that she was lost. The noble Lord referred hon. Members of this House to the reports of the proceedings in the public Press, and refused to produce an Official Report. That is very convenient, because the accounts in the newspapers are not full or accurate. Some of them were less than a column in length, and the longest was about a column and a half long. In each case the report professes to give the evidence of the officers, but not the actual words used. I have no means of testing the accuracy of the reports except from internal evidence, but it is perfectly clear that they are not accurate. I may also fairly complain that Members of this House, in a matter of this importance, should be driven by the action of the noble Lord to ransack the columns of a newspaper like the *Times*, when two or three months old. Of course I cannot tell whether the reports were cooked before they were sent to the *Times* or garbled afterwards, but they are certainly not such reports as this House might expect to receive. Let me

say what these reports show to have taken place. Contrary to the usual custom the Court Martial was conducted without the presence of a prosecutor. The noble Lord has throughout the whole discussion sheltered himself behind precedent, and it seems remarkable that, on the very threshold, we find that the Inquiry begins in a way that is unusual and that appears undesirable. The Admiralty has throughout pursued a very curious line of conduct with reference to this Inquiry, and the noble Lord has pursued an equally eccentric course of conduct in refusing to let us know anything about it. According to the account in the *Times*, the prisoner stated that he was not prepared to prove what took place subsequently to the ship striking, as the necessary witnesses were not present, the Duke of Edinburgh having only sent home those who could give evidence as to the stranding. The Court held that it was their duty to investigate all that occurred up to the time when the captain was relieved "by his superior officer who took charge." The noble Lord has told us all along that no person could be made liable except Captain Rice, and that the Duke of Edinburgh merely supervised the operations after the stranding took place. Here, however, we have the Court Martial conducting an Inquiry into what took place until the captain of the ship ceased to have command and was relieved by his superior officer. It appears from the evidence that the Duke of Edinburgh went on board half-an-hour after the striking of the ship. Therefore, according to the Court Martial, within half-an-hour after the stranding the Duke of Edinburgh took charge of the ship. It is no part of my duty now to insist on the culpability of anyone, and I will make no remark respecting the finding of the Court Martial. After the Court Martial had been held, a Court of Inquiry was ordered by the noble Lord into the circumstances that followed after the ship struck. On this occasion Captain Rice could not be tried, according to the noble Lord, because he had already undergone trial. I fail to understand the noble Lord's reasoning. Captain Rice having been tried on one charge, why should he not be tried on another? It must be remembered that between the moment when the ship struck and the loss of the vessel eight days elapsed, and during that interval very important operations were carried out for which somebody was responsible and for which somebody ought to be made responsible. I will ask the House to allow me to state very briefly what is shown by the reports to which we are referred. The Duke of Edinburgh is reported to have said at the inquiry that he assumed the full responsibility for all the steps taken after the *Sultan* struck up to her sinking, observing that he was only absent during the time occupied in fetching a ship from the harbour of Valetta. On March 13, the Duke heard that Captain Rice was anxious to have a "pull at the ship that afternoon." The Duke went to the *Sultan* and decided not to make the attempt that day, taking upon himself, as commanding officer, the responsibility of that course. This delay appeared to be the proximate cause of the ultimate loss of the ship. Meanwhile a gale sprang up, the ship was forced off the rocks and suddenly went down. It is only fair to say that Captain Rice declared that he could not be relieved from responsibility by the Duke's statement, for every suggestion he made was carried out, and he was in charge till the ship foundered. Both Captain Rice and the Duke of Edinburgh, each in the most gallant manner, claimed responsibility, and if any difference could be made between them, I am bound to say that the Duke seemed to be more emphatic in his demand for responsibility than Captain Rice. The President of the Court Martial said that Captain Rice had been relieved of his responsibility by his superior officer. Next came the Report of the Inquiry made on June 15, published on July 14. That Report treats the Duke of Edinburgh as the officer in command. For example, it is stated that "after examination, we are of opinion that the commander-in-chief and the officers and men acting under his orders acted throughout to the best of their judgment and according to the circumstances," &c. I would draw attention to the phrase "acted throughout to the best of their judgment." If this Court of Inquiry had been a Court Martial, that would not have acquitted the officers, if their judgment was bad. One paragraph in the Report amounts to what in a Court Martial would have been a condemnation—namely, that it did not

appear that sufficient attempts were made to tip the ship. The conclusion seems to be that the Court thought there was negligence in not taking a step which the commander, as a practical man and doing what he regarded as the best under the circumstances, did not think it wise to take. The Report, however, abstains from expressing a final judgment. Nothing could more clearly prove the unsatisfactory character of the procedure which the noble Lord (Lord G. Hamilton) has thought fit to adopt. The noble Lord has maintained that only Captain Rice, according to the practice of the Admiralty, could be tried by Court Martial, or, I suppose, made responsible in any way for the loss of the ship. If so, I should like to know why Captain Rice was not court-martialled by his commanding officer. I find no justification whatever in the Naval Discipline Act for the limitation which the noble Lord seeks to place on the responsibility of officers and men. I cannot, of course, pretend to speak about the practice of the Admiralty, or the precedents by which the noble Lord professes to have been guided. I am content to consider what is the law of the land, and it appears to me that the Naval Discipline Act furnishes no justification whatever for the contention of the noble Lord. Section 29 of that Act says that every person subject to the Statute who shall negligently or by any default lose, strand, or hazard, or suffer to be lost, stranded, or hazarded any ship in Her Majesty's Service, shall be dealt with in a way which is described. It seems to me that the language of the Section covers every person who has any hand in the management of salvage operations respecting one of Her Majesty's ships. If there has been any negligence it appears to me that no person, whatever his rank, is entitled to escape a Court Martial. I am not saying this with reference to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. Here you have a case of the most serious loss. This ship is alleged to have cost something like three-quarters of a million sterling. I do not know whether that is the case, but no Court Martial has been held upon anyone, and a line of investigation has been adopted by the Admiralty which seems to me to have been tortuous and unsatisfactory to an extreme. The Court Martial was not allowed to inquire into the question of the loss. A Court of Inquiry is not a Court Martial. It is a mere confidential investigation for the information of the Admiralty. It has, I believe, no judicial power or authority. It cannot summon witnesses and it cannot compel anyone to attend and give evidence. I do not believe it can take evidence on oath, and its conclusions are worth no more than the opinion of the First Lord about those conclusions. Undoubtedly, the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry in this case have partaken of a confidential character, inasmuch as the noble Lord has refused to lay the Report before the House. I think I have said enough to show that the conduct of the Admiralty certainly demands some explanation. We are entitled to something more than the garbled Reports to which we have been referred. ["Oh, oh!"] I call a Report garbled which attributes to the Duke of Edinburgh a letter written by Captain Rice. I think the House is entitled to have all the facts laid before it, and I hope the noble Lord will even now consent to lay all the Papers on the Table. They are all imperfect and incorrect, and my contention now is that we in this House are entitled to have before us all the proceedings—first, of the Court Martial which was held on Captain Rice for the stranding of the ship and, secondly, of the Court of Inquiry which, in substitution for a Court Martial, was held into the circumstances which occurred after the stranding.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I would point out to the hon. Member what a Court of Inquiry is. It is not in substitution for a Court Martial, but to elicit facts for the information of the authorities.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I did not say that a Court of Inquiry was always in substitution for a Court Martial, but that generally speaking it was.

COLONEL BLUNDELL: If a Court of Inquiry establishes a set of facts which show a Court Martial to be desirable, of course a Court Martial is held.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I am glad the hon. Member has at last brought this matter formally before the House after a great many insinuations and innuendoes.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I made no "suggestions and innuendoes."

*LORD G. HAMILTON: The hon. Member said the accounts of these inquiries were cooked and garbled, whether by the Admiralty or by the Press he did not care to inquire.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I said the noble Lord had referred me to a number of Reports which had appeared in the Press, and that I did not know whether they were cooked before they were sent to the Press, or garbled afterwards, but that one or other they were.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: That is what I say. In plain English the hon. Member desires in some way or other to insinuate that I have made use of my official position for the purpose of screening the Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Edinburgh.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I never said anything of the kind.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: The House heard the hon. Member, and will be able to decide for itself whether or not I put a correct interpretation upon the hon. Member's remarks. I think I can dispose of the series of charges and allegations the hon. Member has brought forward in five minutes. Captain Rice was the officer in command, and ran his ship aground. In consequence of that stranding the ship was lost—I will assume that it was lost in order to meet the argument of the hon. Member. If she had not stranded she would not have been lost. According to the invariable practice of the Navy the officer in command was responsible for the safety of the ship, and he and his officers were the only persons who could be tried by Court Martial for the loss. If the officers could have shown that they were acting under the orders of a superior officer, and that obedience to such orders occasioned the loss, or if it could have been shown that they had made suggestions upon which their superior had declined to act, and which would have saved the ship, the responsibility might have been transferred to the superior officer. To such an extent is this principle carried out that when the *Captain* was lost through defects in her construction, the gunner and two seamen the only survivors, were brought before a Court Martial. Therefore, in the ordinary course Captain Rice would have been tried on two counts—first for the stranding, and secondly for the loss. The Court Martial would naturally have been held at Malta. But as those who would have sat on the Court Martial would have been the fellow officers of the prisoner, some of whom had been associated with the attempts to save the ship after the stranding, and as difficulties would have arisen, I deliberately changed the venue from Malta to Portsmouth, where I thought the proceedings would be above criticism. This change involved both convenience and inconvenience. It was better that the trial should be held on the *Duke of Wellington;* on the other hand, the witnesses who could speak to the efforts made for getting the ship off the rocks were at Malta; the Commander in Chief, the Chief Constructor of the Dockyard at Malta and the Commander in Chief's technical advisers, and certain officers of the *Téméraire* who took part in the endeavours which were made to get the ship off the rocks, were all at Malta and could not come home for some time. It was clear when all the incidents were fresh in the minds of those who were connected with the stranding that the Court should be held as soon as possible, and therefore I was compelled to try Captain Rice on the first charge only. But that officer was warned by the prosecution that the second charge was by no means dropped, and that whatever the finding might be on the first count, he would still be liable to be tried on the second. The Court Martial decided that Captain Rice was in default for the stranding of the *Sultan.* That meant a severe sentence on a distinguished officer who has served many years in the Navy, and it was a sentence which no doubt seriously affected Captain Rice. But a month or six weeks afterwards the Duke of Edinburgh's flagship came home and the time of the Chief Constructor at Malta was up, and there were at Portsmouth all the witnesses who could speak as to the efforts made to save the *Sultan* after she had stranded. We then had to consider whether, Captain Rice having been censured, we would try him on the second charge, that is to say for having lost his ship. I accept the full responsibility of what was done, but in the opinion of the Naval Authorities and of distinguished

officers outside the Admiralty it would have been a hard thing to try again a well-known officer on virtually the same charge. Accordingly I determined that the second charge of losing the ship should be inquired into by a Court of Inquiry, and reserved to myself the right of taking action upon the Report of that Inquiry. The Court Martial had sat with open doors, and the evidence had been reported in the public Press, and I therefore resolved that the Court of Inquiry should be equally public and the evidence was published *verbatim* in the newspapers, and when the evidence was concluded and the Court sent its Report to the Admiralty, that Report was also sent to the Press. Several newspapers published that Report in *extenso*, and thus the public were in possession of the whole proceedings in the case—of the evidence taken at the Court Martial, of the evidence taken by the Court of Inquiry and of the Report of the latter Court. Anyone who reads that Report—and the hon. Member apparently has read it because he quoted from it—will see that there was no case established before the Court of Inquiry for trying anyone else than Captain Rice. If the Court had found that the measures taken by the Commander in Chief or other officers had prevented the vessel from being saved, or that they had acted with lack of judgment, further inquiry might have been necessary. But it was decided that there has been neither lack of judgment nor of energy in the attempts to save the ship. Under the circumstances does the hon. Member contend that because the Commander in Chief happened to be a person of especially high position, he should, therefore, have been tried by Court Martial?

MR. E. ROBERTSON: No.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: Then if he does not do that why does he find fault with me? The proceedings from first to last were perfectly straightforward and open. I have explained over and over again the reasons for the course I took, and I have now only to say one more word. The Commander in Chief has a very heavy responsibility resting on him. He was not disposed to shirk it, and I say it would be a monstrous thing to hold him responsible for his subordinate when he was not on the spot. The loss of the ship was due to the stranding—if she had not stranded she would not have been lost. I cannot help thinking that if the Commander in Chief had been a person of less exalted position, the hon. and learned Member would not have brought the matter before the House on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I would express a hope that Her Majesty's Government will give instructions to the inspectors of Irish fisheries to meet at once in order that they may take the necessary steps to prevent the fishing gear of the fishermen on the Irish coasts from being destroyed by steam trawlers. Immediate action is necessary, owing to the passing of the Steam Trawling (Ireland) Bill. Many of us took exception to that measure, but seeing that opposition to it from this part of the House would have killed it we allowed it to pass. We thought it would not afford security to the fishermen along our coasts, but the Solicitor General for Ireland said it would do so, as it would give the inspectors of fisheries power to stop steam trawling where they thought it injurious to the fisheries. I would ask the First Lord of the Admiralty to draw the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to this matter. We ask that an official communication should be sent to the inspectors, pointing out the duty which devolves on them under this Bill of preventing injury to our fishermen. I do not say that these inspectors are not zealous and efficient individuals. I believe they are, but they may be scattered throughout the country, and may not contemplate meeting for some time. I therefore hope steps will be taken to cause them to meet at once. This matter is one of special interest to my constituents, who live almost entirely by the fishing industry.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I will communicate with my right. hon. Friend the Chief Secretary on the subject, and will ask him to take such measures with regard to this matter as may be deemed necessary.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I desire to explain that I did not suggest that the Duke of Edinburgh should have been subjected to a trial by Court Martial for the loss of Her Majesty's ship *Sultan*. I did not say that the noble Lord should have made him subject to

a Court Martial. I made no such imputation, and from the beginning distinctly avowed that I did not.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): With the permission of the House, I desire to say a few words before this Debate comes to a conclusion. I may say that I think the Debate we have had to-day has been one of the most important Debates of the Session. Some most important statements have been made from the Government Benches to the Irish Members, and I think that when the public come to read, mark, and inwardly digest the incidents of to-day, these incidents will be found to have a very considerable influence on the political situation. I will not say more on that question, especially as the opinions which I hold very strongly on the question of denominational education have been expressed by two Scotch Members on this side of the House. But on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill it is very often the custom to review the legislative harvest—to sum up the legislative progress—to see whether much has been done for the good of the nation. Now, I am not going to find any great fault with anybody. Like the hon. Member for the University of Oxford I would deal with the failures of the Government—not make any condemnation of their sins of commission, but rather of their sins of omission. We should consider, I think, whether during the Session we have done much to promote the peace, order, happiness, and morality of the great body of the people. We have done some little, no doubt, in the passing of the Cruelty to Children Bill——

*MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Baronet is laying the foundation for his Motion on the Paper I must point out that that Motion is out of order. The subject it deals with is in no way connected with any clause in the Appropriation Bill. Anything that does not bear upon that Bill is quite out of order.

SIR W. LAWSON: I have put the following Motion on the Paper:—

"That this House is unwilling to pass a Bill appropriating a large portion of national taxation to the purposes connected with the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime, without expressing its opinion that one of the main sources of crime, the liquor traffic, requires the immediate attention of this House."

I do not, however, propose to move that Motion, but merely to make a few general remarks upon the legislation of the Session. In doing so I am simply following the precedent set in former years by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale. In my opinion, the Bill for Preventing Cruelty to Children is one of the brightest features of the Session; but I greatly regret that the House has not dealt with the subject of the liquor laws, which so vitally affect our national life, habits, and character. There is very widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country that no steps have been taken to bring our liquor laws into harmony with the wishes of the people. We have been occupied during a great part of this Session with Irish matters, as we have been to-day; but I think we might do great good in Ireland by legislating on lines which we have not yet followed, though it seems to me eminently desirable that they should be followed. I do not know whether many hon. Members have read the Memorial presented by the Magistrates of Ireland.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must call the hon. Baronet's attention to the fact that it is out of order to discuss the abstract question of the liquor traffic. It has no relation to the action of the Government, nor does it bear on any clause of the Appropriation Bill. It has been ruled that the discussion of such questions as the land and state of agriculture are not in order on the Appropriation Bill when unconnected with Government Bills.

SIR W. LAWSON: Shall I not be in order in reading a Memorial on the subject which has been presented to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet would be distinctly out of order in doing so. The hon. Baronet does not stand in the same position now as he would on going into Committee of Supply on a Friday when he could raise any question, however abstract its character might be.

SIR W. LAWSON; Should I be in order in alluding to the Sunday Closing Bill, which was a measure before the House this Session?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet would be distinctly out of order in doing so, either on this stage or any stage of the Appropriation Bill.

SIR W. LAWSON: Of course I bow to the ruling of the Chair, although I greatly regret that I am thereby precluded from pointing to a great evil from which the country is now suffering. I am sorry that, although every other sort of Bill has been discussed to-day, I am precluded from dealing with one which I consider the most important of all.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I gave notice a few days ago that on the Appropriation Bill I would call attention to the case of Mr. Browning, who, until lately, was Paymaster of the Royal Engineers at Chatham. But, as I have privately intimated to the Secretary for War, I do not intend to proceed with the case—not that I have altered my mind as to its merits, but because it could not receive that attention it deserves in the present state of the House, and because many hon. Members who would have taken an interest in the matter are absent. There are, however, two matters connected with the administration of the Criminal Law to which I desire to draw attention. I have already mentioned them in the House, and should not have thought it necessary to again bring them forward if my complaints had been fairly met, and the Home Office had appeared to appreciate the gravity of the cases. The other day I called attention to the treatment of unconvicted prisoners in England, and alluded specially to a case in Ipswich Gaol. If that case had been a single and isolated one it would not have been of much importance; but, as a matter of fact, it revealed a systematic breaking of the law by the Gonor of an English gaol, and it further revealed that, though there was a monthly inspection by the Prisons Board, yet the Visiting Commissioners had either failed to discover the violation of law or had winked at it. Parliament has done its duty in the matter, declaring the manner in which unconvicted prisoners are to be treated in a most clear and unmistakeable manner. It appears to me the Prison Commissioners are either incompetent or unable to protect unconvicted prisoners. The 39th section of the Prisons Act, 1877, declares the duty of the Home Secretary very clearly. It says a clear difference is to be made between the treatment of persons unconvicted of crime, and, therefore, in law, presumably innocent, and the treatment of prisoners who have been convicted; and, in order to secure the observance of such a difference, the Act says there shall be in force in every place in which prisoners are confined special rules regulating their confinement in such a manner as to make it as little oppressive as possible having due regard only to safe custody, the preservation of order and good government, and the physical and moral well-being of the prisoners themselves. Therefore, it is enacted that the Secretary of State shall make specially rules with regard to various matters which may be conducive to the amelioration of the condition of prisoners who have not been convicted of crime. Then, again, by the ninth section we find that the duty of inspection and supervision is imposed on the Prison Commissioners, who are, subject to the control of the Secretary of State, to visit and inspect the prisons and inquire into the condition of the prisoners. I need not to-day repeat the particular misconduct of the Governor of Ipswich Gaol. Suffice it to say, it was thought sufficiently serious, in the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice and the jury who tried the case, to justify a verdict of £75 as damages. But now I come to the serious part of the case, showing the neglect of the Inspecting Officers of the Prison Commission. What was the defence set up by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Home Department when I brought this case before the House? It was that the Governor of the prison, in the exercise of the discretion vested in him to make rules, had made a rule which was in conflict with the statutory rules. He called it Local Option in fact, and in this case apparently Local Option means power vested in the Governor of an English prison to dispense with the laws of this land. I do not think that even the hon. Baronet who spoke last (Sir W. Lawson) would approve of such a drastic measure of Local Option as that. I also understood the hon. Gentleman to argue that these rules made by the Governor of Ipswich Prison were a survival of the local control which prevailed prior to the passing of the Prisons Act, 1877. Yet ever since the

passing of that Act an Inspector of the Prisons Commission has been constantly visiting Ipswich Gaol, and has never discovered that for a series of years the rules made and enforced by the Governor of the prison were in direct violation of the Statute Law, and that constant infractions of the law have occurred in that prison in the carrying out of the rules so made. It has often been said that abuses go on in the prison walls without the Prison Commissioners knowing anything of them. On the other hand, the Government have constantly denied that anything of the kind can occur; yet here we have a distinct case of a grave abuse carried on for a series of years without the knowledge of the Prison Commissioners, or, what is worse, if they had the knowledge they winked at the practice. Now, I desire to call attention to another matter, and that is, the present mode of conducting business in the Metropolitan Police Courts, and the inconvenience, unnecessary expense, and delay which arise from the block of business in the Courts. Owing to the enormous amount of business in the Police Courts, the aggregate number of hours of attendance by the Metropolitan Magistrates is insufficient for the discharge of the work. It is the duty of the Home Secretary to apply a remedy to this state of things. Mr. Sheil, one of the learned Magistrates, has been complaining in forcible language of the manner in which business is now conducted at the Wandsworth Police Court, and particularly to the practice of remanding prisoners whose examination has been conducted at successive intervals by different Magistrates, none of whom had heard the examination from beginning to end. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary indulged in the gratification of a sneer at my expense yesterday, when he said he did not desire to be taught the elementary principles of law by me; but he gave himself away, because he permits and encourages Magistrates under his control to act in a manner inconsistent with the elementary principles of law. In a case which was recently tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, complaint was made of the most mischievous and untenable practice which had grown up in this country in regard to preliminary inquiries by Magistrates, and Mr. Justice Wills said—

> "It seems to be contrary to every notion of what Judicial proceedings ought to be if depositions taken before one Magistrate are to be read by another Magistrate who has not seen the witnesses, and who comes upon them to a decision. A prisoner is entitled to a Judicial decision from the Magistrate, even though that decision should not finally decide his guilt or innocence. And how can such a decision be come to by a person unless he has conducted the case from beginning to end?"

The learned Judge also completely demolished the distinction relied upon by the Home Secretary, that the rule only applied to summary jurisdiction, and not to cases where the defendant was merely committed for trial. The preface to *Stone's Justices, Manual* shows that the practice to which Mr. Sheil has drawn the attention of the Home Secretary in a most unmistakeable and emphatic manner is now pursued at all events at Wandsworth Police Court, and presumably at many other Metropolitan Police Courts, owing, as the right hon. Gentleman says, to the arrangements at present existing, and which the right hon. Gentleman told me yesterday cannot be avoided under existing circumstances. It cannot be contended for a moment that persons should be sent to prison illegally to suit the convenience of the Metropolitan Magistrates, or the right hon. Gentleman himself. Every prisoner who is committed for trial under the system which Mr. Sheil condemns is entitled to have his *habeas corpus*. It is true that when he gets that, the Queen's Bench may not discharge him, because they may think that the committing Magistrate had before him sufficient evidence upon which to justify his position. But, at all events, one of the highest Courts in this country has condemned the practice in the most emphatic and unmistakeable terms. I hope, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will reconsider the answer which he gave to me the other day, and weigh not so much my words but the representations the learned Magistrate, Mr. Sheil, has made; that he will make such arrangement one way or another as will supply this Metropolis with an adequate number of Magistrates, or with Magistrates who will give an adequate number of hours to the duties of their office, and thus put an end to the existing public scandal.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The hon. Member, of course, knows that the work of the Metropolitan Magistrates has increased considerably of late, Wandsworth and Hammersmith Police Courts having been made whole day courts. The Treasury desire that an endeavour should be made to work these additional courts with an addition of only one Magistrate to the Magisterial Staff. There are now 22 Magistrates to do the work of 12 courts. I should myself prefer that there should be two Magistrates to each court, but the question of expense must be considered. The whole subject, as the House knows, is in a transitional state; and if the expense of the police courts are ever thrown upon the rates—a change which many people wish to see—a good opportunity will be afforded for reconsidering the present arrangements. I have drawn up a rota for the equal distribution of the work of the Magistrates; but I need hardly say that we are exceedingly anxious to return to the system under which there were two Magistrates to each court. In a very protracted case it sometimes happens that the different stages cannot always come before the same Magistrate, and a part-heard case has sometimes to be heard *de novo* in consequence. This, in the circumstances, is almost inevitable, and I do not believe that much, if any, hardship is caused. I cannot assume that the law has been violated in the case specially referred to by the hon. Member. Coming next to the question of prison rules, I may explain that an untried prisoner has a right of option in the matter of bathing and wearing prison dress; but in the case of the bath his option is subject to the review of the Governor. The Governor of Ipswich Prison issued instructions to his warders which made the prisoner's option less apparent than it should have been, and the warders imagined that the bath and possibly the use of the prison clothes were imperative; and, in consequence, they exceeded what the rules warranted. In the vast majority of cases, it should be observed, both the bath and the use of the prison clothes are looked upon as privileges of untried prisoners, whose own clothes are often very much in need of purification. The damages, amounting to £75, awarded against the Governor of Ipswich Gaol appears to me to be quite disproportionate to any injury received by the plaintiff, whose dignity alone suffered. The Inspector was, no doubt, to blame for not having discovered what was amiss. I agree that the Inspector was to blame, but I do not think that the fault was one that ought to have been treated with great severity. There has been no intention of overstepping the law.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I will only trouble the House for a moment; but in the absence of my Colleagues in the representation of East Anglia I desire, in a few words, to express my concurrence in the remarks of the hon. Member for Oxford University with reference to the tithe question. We, in the Eastern Counties, have been asking for bread for a considerable time, and at last the Government offered us a stone, which we declined, accentuating our refusal by putting the Government in a majority of four. I was extremely sorry to hear the answer given the other day by the First Lord of the Treasury to my hon. Friend the Member for Devonport, in which the right hon. Gentleman stated the intention of the Government to refer this subject to a Committee of both Houses next Session, because that practically means the postponement of settlement indefinitely; and I very much fear that if the consideration the Government can give to the subject during the Recess does not lead to the introduction of a sufficient and comprehensive Bill next Session, it is possible there may be an Amendment moved to the Address, and the agricultural Members may again succeed in placing the Government in the historical majority of four. I would not have ventured to take up time now, but that the remarks of the hon. Member for Oxford University induced me to say this much on behalf of the tenant farmers of South-East Essex.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I very much regret that we have had no opportunity during the Session of discussing some urgent Colonial questions. I must ask the House to listen to a remark or two upon the condition of affairs in our latest Colony; but, before I do so, I should like to express my very deep regret that the Government were forced

to withdraw the Western Australia Constitution Bill. I think if the Government had only had a discussion on the question, if they had stated their own case only, that opposition to the Bill would have disappeared, and the Bill would have been carried with the assistance of both Parties, for it was a very simple issue, and the Bill embodied a principle that has been carried out by both Parties in respect to other Colonies, and was a wise solution of what is left of the Australian question. It was out of the fear that people entertained that the giving away of the Crown lands would lead to much jobbery among a few persons that opposition arose against the Bill on both sides; but, as a matter of fact, I supported the Bill, because I know that the result of it would have been to stop land jobbing. I do not want to blame Mr. Forrest, the Commissioner of lands in West Australia; he discovered these lands, and nearly lost his life in doing so; but the jobbing away of millions of acres of Crown lands is just what has been done in most of our Crown Colonies, where the Governor appoints the members of the Council. But whenever a Bill of this kind is passed, and members of the Council are elected by the people, then this jobbing away of acres by the million is put a stop to. I am sorry the Government did not give us the opportunity of considering and passing this Bill. It would have been better had they done so, in compliance with the urgent requests of the other Colonies, instead of troubling about the Tithes Bill and the Technical Instruction Bill. Of course, I admit the importance of those subjects, but remember our Colonies are growing. They are still very loyal, and the sentimental feelings towards the Mother Country are still very strong, stronger perhaps than the feelings here towards the Colonies; but a younger generation is growing up "who know not Joseph," and the feelings of attachment cannot be so strong as among those who left their homes in England to found new homes in the Antipodes. If you estrange your Colonies the great Anglo-Saxon race will lose its mighty power for good, and this great Empire will be broken up. I am afraid the withdrawal of the Bill will have a very bad effect in the colony; but I earnestly hope the Government will reintrodnce the Bill next year, and unless both sides have changed their principles in regard to Colonial Government I am sure the Bill will pass without difficulty. And now a word upon our latest colony, I mean Zululand. In South Africa we have had a very discreditable record, and there has been much both in the action of the British and the Boers that cannot be justified. I am generally supposed to be in favour of the Boers, and to support the Boers; but in 1887 I moved an Amendment to the Address against the settlement by which Sir Arthur Havelock transferred to the Boers a large territory in Zululand. Of course I was defeated, and the land of the Zulus upon which white men had never set foot was given to the Boers, and the interests of the Zulus were sacrificed by that settlement. In 1887 Dinizulu, the son of Cetewayo, was King of Zululand, but in 1887 Zululand was annexed to this country.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know how the hon. Member proposes to connect his remarks with the Appropriation Bill, in which I believe no Vote for Zululand is included.

Dr. CLARK: There is the Vote for the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and there is the Vote for the expenses of Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Natal, in connection with Zululand; and it is on the present condition of Zululand I wish to say a word or two, and as to the action the Secretary of State has taken in regard to the ex-King Dinizulu and his uncles. I will not enter fully into the subject. In 1887 you annexed the country and made Dinizulu an unwilling subject. Probably it was the wisest course. I am not prepared to say it was not. It was a difficult problem the Government had before them, and they thought this the wisest settlement. But you appointed the enemies of the Zulus to govern your unwilling subjects, and by the end of 1887 the action of Mr. Addison and Mr. Osborne had goaded the son and the brothers of Cetewayo into rebellion. I say they were goaded into rebellion, though as the result of the trials this was not established. This arose from the action of the representatives of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dinizulu was defeated, and took refuge in the Transvaal, and was advised by Miss Colenso to come and defend his conduct before a jury in Natal, and he

eventually surrendered himself for the purpose. What has been the result? I have a great respect for Sir Arthur Havelock; he is a nice gentlemanly man, but not the sort of man for dealing with the class of men you have in South Africa, and he, after resisting a little, surrendered to the pressure brought to bear upon him, and the result has been a most discreditable condition of things, which is, I understand, to end in the deportation of Dinizulu and his uncles to St. Helena or elsewhere. Dinizulu has been on his trial, not for murder, the charge upon which Mr. Melnotte Osborne and the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Richard Addison, got him extradited, and not before a Jury, but on another charge, before a Commission like the Parnell Commission, by whom he and the two old brothers of Cetewayo were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, for the old men a life sentence. Now, if these sentences are going to be carried out, if these men are going to be deported, Zululand will remain in a state of anarchy for years. If you shot the men the thing might be finished perhaps, but you will have the state of things repeated such as arose when Cetewayo was sent away. I have read carefully all that has been published by the Government and much that has only found publication in the Natal newspapers; and I say if these sentences are to be carried out, if you are going to carry out the sentences of three roving Commissioners who were not bound by the ordinary rules of law, but who made rules for themselves; if Dinizulu and his two uncles are to be imprisoned, then the state of things in Zululand will be that of anarchy. It seems to me that the only solution now would be to annex the new Crown Colony of Zululand to Natal. You have got rid of Sir Arthur Havelock by kicking him upstairs, you have a new man, and you may have a new policy. If you want the new colony to have peace and prosperity annex it to Natal, and let other white men have a voice in its destinies besides Messrs. Melnotte, Osborne, and Co. You can give the Chiefs a location within defined limits. Usibepu is a splendid old fellow, a brave man who fought for his own hand, and wanted to be King in Zululand when the Kingship was thrown open to fight for, but there is plenty of room for Usibepu as well as for the King's party. A peaceful settlement you cannot have while Messrs. Osborne and Addison are allowed to remain the arbitrary dictators of Zululand. Dinizulu is young and has been misled; but from what I have seen of him he might be made loyal to the British Government, if only the Government would do something to bring about a settlement, and to undo, as far as possible, the troubles and evils that have arisen from the letting loose of Messrs. Osborne and Addison. If I remember rightly, Mr. Addison was one of Usibepu's white men, one of the filibusters fighting for his own hand under his black chief. He took Usibepu's side against Cetewayo, and now takes his side against the son and brothers of Cetewayo. I do think the Colonial Office should bring about a settlement by annexing the country to Natal, with reserves for the chiefs, and thus bring the reign of misrule in Zululand to an end.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. DE WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): In reply to the first observations of the hon. Member for Caithness, in reference to the West Australia Bill, I can assure him on behalf of the Government that we entirely sympathise with his views, and we extremely regret that it was not possible to proceed with the Bill this Session. When the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy and others gave notice of opposition a pledge was exacted from Her Majesty's Government that they would not proceed with the Bill at a late period of the Session. The Bill was set down for Second Reading in the hope that it would not meet with serious opposition, and that, at all events, the principle of the Bill might be affirmed; but it was found that the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy and others were obdurate, they would not withdraw their opposition, and, therefore, in accordance with pledges given on behalf of the Government that no controversial matter should be proceeded with at an advanced period of the Session, Her Majesty's Government were reluctantly obliged to withdraw the Bill. But I can give this assurance to the hon. Member—that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to proceed with it at the earliest

opportunity next Session, and I have very little doubt that with the assistance of the hon. Member for Caithness, and those who think with him, we shall carry it to a satisfactory conclusion. Now, in regard to Zululand. I am sure the House will not wish me to follow the hon. Gentleman into his retrospect of the events of 1887, or to give an opinion on the unfortunate occurrences of that period. It appears to me that the speech of the hon. Member was in the nature of an appeal *ad misericordiam* on behalf of Dinizulu, and the other Zulu Chiefs; and I can only repeat what I have already said in answer to questions on the subject, that the sentences upon Dinizulu and the other Chiefs will not be carried out until the Secretary of State has had the fullest opportunity of reviewing the whole of the evidence, and that Dinizulu and the other prisoners are being treated with the utmost leniency. The hon. Member may rest assured that the Secretary of State will consider most favourably any circumstances that may be adduced in their favour. The same remarks apply to Usibepu. I trust the hon. Member will accept my assurances that the Secretary of State will only sanction what is just and fair in this matter.

*Mr. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): I desire, in a few words, to call attention to the great neglect by the Government of London questions during the Session. After the London County Council was instituted it was expected by Londoners that the Council would receive increased powers. When Her Majesty's Government showed no disposition in that direction the London Liberal Members took upon themselves to introduce a few Bills; but the Government turned a deaf ear to these proposals, and took no heed to the representations of London Members. I do not propose to go over all these Bills, but there are two or three subjects upon which I must lay emphasis. Especially I would mention the London County Council Money Bill, into which the Government at first introduced a clause giving the County Council power to inquire into the water supply of London. Her Majesty's Government withdrew that Bill and introduced another, from which this clause was excluded, and we understand that this was done under the pressure brought to bear upon the Government by those interested in the Water Companies on the other side of the House. Now, any hon. Member who has read the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, and noticed the terrible state of water supply which it reveals, must admit that the Government have acted most unwisely in not giving the County Council this power of inquiry. We have now a great Central Authority to look after the sanitary condition of London, and the refusal of this power is a point I desire to strongly emphasise. Then there is the utter neglect by the Government of the question of the control of open spaces, and the regulation of the right of open-air meetings, which, I contend, should be in the hands of the County Council. Then, in regard to the control of the police, this is another of those questions that I commend to the consideration of the Government during the Recess, and I cannot better illustrate the absurdity of the County Council having no control in these matters than by a reference to what occurred at the Fire Brigade Review, and by the fact that when the Shah visited London the Chairman of the London County Council had to write to the *Times* to appeal to the people to protect their own property, and to see that their trees, &c., were not destroyed, simply because the London County Council have no control over the police. There was another occasion lately which illustrated the necessity of giving more control to the County Council. I refer to the order relating to the muzzling of dogs.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now advocating a general change in the law. That is not relevant to the Appropriation Bill.

*Mr. CAUSTON: I will leave that matter, Sir, and refer to another subject which I think will be in order—the registration of voters. The Government lately adopted the Occupiers' Disqualification Removal Bill, to which I moved an Instruction to the Committee giving it power to widen the scope of the Bill in order to make provision for the removal of disqualification by reason of change in occupation. Now, I only wanted to deal with the question of the successive occupation of voters. The hon. Member for Chelsea, who sits opposite,

moved the Second Reading of the Bill; but the Attorney General refused to accept the extension I contemplated. Now, I want to guard myself and other Members on this side of the House against the supposition that we are not desirous of removing any disqualification. We are anxious to remove the voters' disqualification, but we want to have other disqualifications removed at the same time. The registration law of London and the rest of the country is in a disgraceful state, and I wanted to introduce a clause in the Bill which would enable men removing from one part of a town to another to have a vote as a successive occupier.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now advocating a general change in the law.

*MR. CAUSTON: Then I must content myself with expressing my regret that the Government have not accepted the proposals that have been made on the subject. I hope that the Government will turn their attention to the question of registration during the Recess, because, owing to the present state of the law, hundreds and thousands of workmen do not appear upon the register at all. The Government have it in their power to remove this state of things by bringing in a thoroughly efficient Bill next Session.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I wish to obtain from the Government some assurance as to their action with reference to the Royal Niger Company. I desire to know whether the Government have received a Memorial from certain native Kings and Chiefs in the Oil River district, addressed to Her Majesty's Commissioner, declaring that the trade charges imposed by the company are ruining them, and that, while they and their fathers had traded down the river without hindrance, they are now confined to certain districts? The Royal Niger Company are asking for an extension of their Charter, so as to cover the whole of the Oil River district. The Aborigines Protection Society and others are anxious that nothing should be done until ample opportunity has been given for discussion. May we depend upon it that no extension will be granted before an opportunity has been given next Session of inquiring into the matter, and that the Government will give a candid and careful consideration to the Memorial of the natives?

*MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I wish to ask a question as to the position of affairs in Asiatic Turkey at the present time. Yesterday there was a very important expression of opinion in the Press by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) as to the Treaty rights of this country in dealing with Turkey. The right hon. Gentleman states—

"It should be borne in mind that we are entitled by Treaty to demand from the Sultan the suppression of all such outrages and the condign punishment of the miscreants concerned."

The crimes of Moussa Bey have been already brought fully before the House, and what I have to ask is whether Her Majesty's Representatives at Constantinople and Her Majesty's Ministers here are really exerting themselves to obtain the punishment of this notorious miscreant and those who have been guilty of the atrocious outrages in Armenia, and whether the Government are pressing on the Porte, in conjunction with other Powers, the wisdom as well as the duty of carrying out reforms in that country. I saw it to-day announced in the Press that some Armenian notables had been arrested for refusing to sign one of those false documents circulated by the Turkish Governors to the effect that Armenia was in perfect order and that the Armenians were contented. There is also a statement in the Press to-day that the Representative of this country, in conjunction with the Representative of Italy, has made representations to the Porte on the state of Armenia and that satisfactory assurances have been obtained. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Sir J. Fergusson) will say whether he has received any confirmation of these Reports. I see also that one correspondent declares that the disarmament of the Armenians has been determined on by the Turkish Government after long discussion. Has the right hon. Gentleman any information on this point? I would not for a moment suggest that Her Majesty's Government should contemplate the application of force to Turkey, but I think that every moral and diplomatic influence ought to be exerted to bring about a satisfactory state of things in Armenia.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I have not the least difficulty in answering the question of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton). An inquiry by Her Majesty's Commissioner is at this moment proceeding in the Niger district. The Commissisner will make the fullest examination into the circumstances of the case and report to Her Majesty's Government as to the forming of a firm administration in that region. Great Britain has incurred certain responsibilities to other European Powers in respect of its protectorate there, and it is desirable that some more regular form of Government should be established. With regard to the trading licences required by persons trading on the Niger there is much to be said on both sides. Her Majesty's Government recognise their duty in regulating the exactions of the Royal Niger Company, and those exactions are at that moment the subject of inquiry by the Commissioner. Certainly no decision will be arrived at in regard to the extension of the company's charter before the next Session of Parliament. I have seen in the *Daily News* the letter of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) referred to by the hon. Member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Channing). Two of the occurrences which are mentioned in that letter are embodied in the Blue Book containing the Vice Consul's Report, and therefore they have not escaped the Government's attention. It was in consequence of one of the grossest and most shameful of these outrages that Moussa Bey has been called to Constantinople to give an account of himself. The Ottoman Government has granted a safe conduct to all persons who wish to go to Constantinople to give evidence against Moussa Bey, and a large number of persons have safely passed through the district where his influence is predominant, and we have no reason to doubt that their testimony will be fairly heard. It would not be proper for a Foreign Government of the Porte to interfere in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire so far as to prescribe any particular form of procedure. But undoubtedly, after the occurrence of certain events known to the whole world, the investigation of them will not be unobserved. I believe the Sultan and his advisers are anxious to rectify the evil condition of affairs in Armenia. They have given the best earnest of this desire by sending a new Governor-General, who when at Jerusalem gave strong evidence of firmness, impartiality, and justice. What is wanted is firm government; and the best way to obtain it is to appoint officers of known capacity and proved administrative ability. I hope the hon. Member will consider this statement sufficient. There must be prudence and reserve in the representations made by Foreign Powers. I can assure the hon. Member Her Majesty's Government has not failed to do that which seemed to them proper and likely to be effective in bringing to the notice of the Ottoman Government the occurrence of these painful events. The Government have received no intelligence as to the reported disarmament, but the hon. Member will observe it is not only the disarmament of the Christians which is reported in the newspapers to have taken place, but also the disarmament of the Mussulmans. Such statements must be received with caution. Only lately it was reported that certain persons who had made representations to the Sultan of occurrences in Armenia had been exiled; but that statement was quite without foundation.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I only rise to emphasise my complaint that an old man, over 70 years of age, has been imprisoned in County Kerry because some mysterious fellow took it into his head to hide a rusty rifle barrel and a stock, which did not fit the barrel, in an outhouse of the man's dwelling. I am, of course, at a disadvantage in raising this question when there is no Irish Minister present to answer me, and I intervene in the Debate particularly because I wish it to be put on record that I have brought the matter before the attention of the House. I wish it to be widely known that a man 70 years of age was, without the option of a fine, lodged in gaol for 14 days, though the Magistrate who tried the case assumed that the man had no knowledge of the possession of the rifle barrel and stock, or of the probability that they were on his premises. When I raised this matter the other day I was told there had not

been sufficient time to receive information from Ireland. I raised the point last night and again to-day, and on both occasions I was told there was no information in the possession of the Government. I was confined in Tralee Gaol a year and a half ago, and I there saw a man 75 years of age, belonging to Castleisland, who had been imprisoned because in a rick of hay on his premises there was found a gun. The theory put forth by the police and the Magistrates was that the gun might have been used by the man's sons. It was thought by the Magistrates it would be as good as a warning against crime and outrage in Kerry to imprison the old man. You actually punished a man whom you believe to be innocent in order to strike terror into the guilty. Such proceedings are not merely cruel, but cowardly.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

(No. 350.)

Order for consideration, as amended, read and discharged.

Bill re-committed in respect of an Amendment to Clause 8 and a new clause (Application of Act to Ireland); considered in Committee, and reported; as amended, considered.

*MR. CHANNING: I have felt it my duty to place on the Paper the Amendment that stands in my name. It is identical with the Amendment I moved in Committee, and after the long discussion we had in Committee upon it I do not propose to discuss it again. I have put it on the Paper merely to emphasise, before the Bill leaves the House, the main ground of objection which is taken by myself, and, I believe, by many other hon. Members to the measure—namely, that it will have the effect of substituting for the regular, and I might almost say, constitutional authority in matters of education, a totally new set of authorities with new functions. I wish to protest against that cardinal error and fundamental mischief in the Bill. I am glad that our discussions have resulted in some Amendment to the Bill. I recognise the conciliatory spirit displayed by the Vice President of the Council in accepting some of the Amendments, but I do not desire the Bill to pass without definitely saying that none of these Amendments so accepted by the Government in the slightest degree mitigate or remove my conviction that this is a thoroughly bad Bill, based on a thoroughly bad principle. I would like once more just to emphasise this point. I hold, and many Gentlemen outside this House hold, that there has been on the part of those interested in voluntary schools, and also of those who have great influence at the Education Department, an organised and determined conspiracy, I may call it, to bring the School Board system to an end so far as is possible. That policy was admitted in the Local Government Bill last year, and it has been admitted and partly carried out in the present Bill. The Memorandum issued by Sir Francis Sandford, at the time the Local Government Bill was before us, distinctly contemplated getting rid of the elected Educational Authorities as the best means of ridding education of the disputes between the denominational and unsectarian parties, and of so placing the voluntary schools on the same footing as the Board Schools. I introduced this Amendment in Committee in order to challenge directly in the plainest way this policy initiated by some of the former and present Members of the Education Department, which, I venture to say, is a policy aimed at the extinction of the School Board system, by substituting for the School Boards and other authorities who are less likely to feel the influences under which the School Boards are elected. I acquit the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of everything but the best intentions as to technical education; but I do think I have a right to affirm that this intentional attack on the School Boards has gone on for two or three years, and that this Bill is brought in for the purpose of furthering that attack.

SIR R. TEMPLE (Worcestershire, Evesham): I beg to move in line 7, of Clause 1, after "extent," to add "including the erection of buildings." I am not quite sure whether the Amendment is necessary, but, at all events, it will do no harm. Sub-section 4 of Clause 4 says that the Local Authorities may borrow for the purposes of this

Act, and, I presume, that will cover the erection of buildings.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 7, after the word "extent," to insert the words, "including the erection of buildings."—(*Sir R. Temple.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): There is no need for any apprehension on the point the hon. Member desires to cover by his Amendment. If he will look at the Directory of the Science and Art Department he will find that this statement on my part is more than confirmed by the word "Supply."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name. It is an Amendment which I moved verbally in Committee, but withdrew at the request of hon. Members opposite, in order to move it on report after they had had an opportunity of seeing it on the Paper. I propose to insert after "rate" in Clause 1, line 16, the following words "and receiving technical or manual instruction." As the sub-section stands it is possible that a denominational school, by receiving a few pounds from the rates for the purpose of technical instruction, may be prevented from making religion part of its curriculum in respect of scholars who are not receiving technical instruction at all. The object of this Amendment is to limit the sub-section to those scholars only who are actually receiving technical instruction.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 16, after the word "rate" to insert the words "and receiving technical or manual instruction."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, W.): One of the greatest objections I had to the Bill was that the Conscience Clause did not appear to be strong enough, and I admit that the right hon. Gentleman met us in a generous way in trying to strengthen it. I hope he will not accept the present Amendment, because if he does, whatever else it will do, it will tend to weaken the clause. Inasmuch as the Bill is to a great extent a compromise, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will stand to his guns. If he does not, I am afraid we shall have to call attention to other matters which I should be glad to avoid.

*MR. W. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): It is open for the Local Authorities to aid the erection of technical schools, and it is, therefore, important that every school erected under the Bill should be guarded by the Conscience Clause. Now that we know that the denominations are to get money, or may get money for the erection of buildings, we should understand that they will be safeguarded by the Conscience Clause. This Amendment applies both to existing and to future schools, and will allow denominational colleges and schools to be erected under this Act. It entirely destroys the value of the clause, and unless a further alteration is made, will be most dangerous.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E.): It is absolutely necessary to insert these words. Let me put a case. You might have a school in which a great number of subjects of education are taught, but which has been built and is carried on for the teaching of particular religious tenets, whether Nonconformist, Roman Catholic, or Church of England. Seeing that the Act is passed for the purpose of technical education, you should be able to take advantage of such a school and obtain money for it under the Act. It is clearly fair that if scholars in such schools take advantage of the Act, they have a right, under the general principle of the Conscience Clause, not to attend any particular religious instruction. That I admit, but I do not admit that, if there are other scholars in the school who are not taught this technical education at all, that they should be affected by the Bill. It is impossible for us to consent to limit in this Bill the whole curriculum of the religious teaching authority that exists in a school established for purposes totally different to technical education.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I hope the hon. Member for Preston will not imperil the passing of this Bill at this stage by introducing an Amendment which is likely to excite irritated feel-

ings. The point raised by the hon. Member for Crewe has not been met by anything said by the noble Lord. The Bill enables managers of denominational schools by the aid of money lent by the Local Authority to build schools for technical instruction. We are not going at this stage to object to that, of course, but we must fight against the idea that when this money has been given to denominational school managers for the erection of technical schools, it should be used practically for denominational purposes. That is not in the Bill as it stands at present. I hope the right hon. Baronet the Vice President of the Council will not allow a point of this kind to be forced upon us just as we are prepared to sink our earnest convictions with regard to this Bill in order to come to an amicable conclusion with regard to it. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Channing) refrained from moving his Amendment, so as not to disturb the harmony of our proceedings.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The Government do not wish to introduce any fresh matter into the Bill, and they are anxious that the compromise which has been arrived at shall not be disturbed, but I wish to point out that the words proposed to be inserted are interpretation words. It is not intended to impose any new limitation which hon. Members opposite were not themselves prepared to impose when they were dealing with the matter in Committee.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: We hold that in schools built out of the rates, or the building of which has been aided by the rates, no denominational education should be given. I would join in the appeal to the Government not to give their sanction to this Amendment.

*MR. CHANNING: The Conscience Clause which has been adopted is that in operation in all denominational schools.

SIR W. HART DYKE: I can assure hon. Members opposite that the proposed words will not damage the interests with which they are concerned. We are all anxious that the Conscience Clause should be applied only to the new species of instruction given under the Act; but there is some anxiety on this side of the House lest it should have a retrospective effect and be applied to existing institutions. The Amendment will meet that difficulty.

MR. H. STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): The Amendment will enable denominations to teach their religious formulas in rate-aided schools which may be erected for the giving of instruction under the Act. I hope the Government will bear in mind that we have put upon ourselves considerable repression in order to secure the passing of the Bill to-day. It will come ill from the Government if they now accept an irritating Amendment which comes from their own side. This Amendment would enable denominational education to be given in a school nineteen-twentieths of which have been constructed out of the rates.

MR. GOSCHEN: I hardly think any Local Authority would be likely to contribute nineteen-twentieths out of the rates, leaving the managers of the school to find only one-twentieth.

MR. H. STEWART: In arguing the matter of course I put an extreme case. We say it is not fair to try and alter the Bill in this direction.

*MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I, for one, cannot accept the views of hon. Members opposite in regard to this Amendment. If the Amendment be not accepted, a large number of very flourishing denominational schools may be absolutely changed in their character, because, forsooth, a small grant is made for the establishment and maintenance of a technical class.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 56; Noes 18.—(Div. List, No. 360.)

*MR. M'LAREN: I have to propose another Amendment, which I have submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to the Vice President of the Council, which I think might be accepted by the Committee, as it has been agreed to by the Government. The point which I and my hon. Friends on this side of the House are desirous of making is this: While we object to the denominational element in this Bill altogether, yet, taking it as it is, we are willing enough to admit that the existing denominational schools should derive all the benefit they can possibly get from its operation, and we do not want to raise any unreasonable controversy as to schools that are already in existence;

but we contend that, inasmuch as under this Bill, denominational schools may be erected, the building of which may possibly be assisted with money granted for the purpose under the provisions of this measure, it is not at all an unreasonable thing to expect that the amount of money given in aid of the erection of such schools for purposes of technical instruction may be very considerable. This being so, our object is to provide that when a new school is built or even aided in its erection by money granted under this Bill, there should be a thoroughly efficient Conscience Clause in regard to that school. Therefore I propose, at the end of this sub-section, to add the words which appear in the previous sub-section, with the proviso that they shall apply to future schools.

Amendment proposed, at the end of Sub-section C, to insert the words—

"Provided that in any school the erection of which has been aided under this Act it shall not be required as a condition of any scholar being admitted into or continuing in such school that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere." —(*Mr. M'Laren.*)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Government accept that proposal.

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and agreed to.

*MR. J. G. TALBOT: I have now to move an Amendment, the object of which is to give to the parents of children and to young persons in the schools in which technical instruction is afforded, the option of receiving religious instruction in cases where they desire to do so. It seems to me that the words of the clause as they at present stand constitute an anti-religious tyranny, promoted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, who are so afraid of the effects of anything like definite religious teaching, that they wish to place a ban upon it. They appear to be so terribly alarmed at the idea that this Bill should allow ordinary religious liberty, that they have put into this clause the prohibitory words which are now proposed. This, I say, is not the doctrine which the English Nonconformists are in the habit of proclaiming with regard to themselves. They demand, strenuously enough, in their own case, the fullest liberty of conscience, and I say that that liberty ought to be extended just as much to our side as to theirs. Unless my Amendment is carried the result will be that, no matter how desirous the parents of a child, or the young persons in a school, may be that definite religious teaching should be given, no such instruction can possibly be afforded in such school, and unless they are modified in the manner I suggest, the words of this clause will be offensive to that which I believe to be the religious sentiment of the majority of the people of this country. We are told that hon. Gentlemen opposite are willing to effect a fair and reasonable compromise in regard to the provisions of this measure, and for my own part I desire to be as conciliatory as possible. I do not wish to force our views upon those hon. Gentlemen, but I think that we on this side are entitled to corresponding justice at their hands.

Another Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 21, after the word "be," to insert the words "required to be."—(*Mr. John Talbot.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR W. HART DYKE: I fully appreciate the spirit in which my hon. Friend has moved this Amendment, and I agree with much that he has urged in support of the case he has laid before the Committee; but I desire to suggest one or two considerations which render it difficult for me to accept the words he wishes to have inserted in this clause. The hon. Gentleman will recognise the strong feeling that is entertained on both sides of the House in reference to this long-vexed question. The Bill, which I trust is now very near a successful termination, is the outcome of a compromise. I have done my best to keep faith with that compromise, and to act in all sincerity and in as straightforward a manner as possible towards hon. Members on both sides of the House. I am, therefore, placed in no little difficulty by the Amendment of my hon. Friend, who must be aware that many hon. Members, who are totally opposed to the proposal it contains,

and who have already sacrificed much of the principle for which they contend in the compromise they have made to secure the passing of the Bill, have gone away, on the understanding that the Bill would become law without the introduction of any such proposal.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Are we to understand that Her Majesty's Government do not intend to pay any attention to the strong desire which is entertained on this side of the House that the Amendment of my hon. Friend should be inserted in the Bill? I must say that I exceedingly regret the decision the Government would appear to have arrived at. I do not think they can fully realise the position they will, in consequence of their rejection of this proposal, occupy in the minds of the Church of England party in this country. I hold it to be of the utmost importance that some concession of this nature should be made to the party to which we, on this side of the House, for the most part, belong; and I am loth to believe that the Government have no suggestion to offer in favour of the principle for which we contend in regard to this very important question. I think the Amendment of my hon. Friend an extremely reasonable one. The Committee have already passed by a large majority an Amendment under which it is provided that no scholar receiving technical instruction shall be required to attend or refrain from attending any religious worship or teaching, and yet in the very teeth of that proposal, this Amendment is to be rejected. I say that in refusing this Amendment the Committee is stultifying itself, because it thereby says that no scholar receiving technical instruction in any school under this Bill shall be allowed to attend any place of religious instruction. I cannot help thinking that my hon. Friends who decline to accept this Amendment do not sufficiently realise the importance of the principle they are admitting to this Bill. If my hon. Friends below me say that I am exaggerating the importance of this question their opinion would have some weight in my mind; but at the same time, I would point out that there has been no contention or assertion that the study of art or science is at all incompatible with distinctive religious teaching. We know that a very important Royal Commission, appointed by the Government, and largely composed of their supporters, has arrived at the definite conclusion that there may be such things as rate-aids to schools which give distinctive denominational teaching; and that Commission having so reported it would be madness on the part of those who sit on this side of the House to admit the contrary. We believe that this conclusion is thoroughly in harmony with the feeling of the large majority of people in this country; we hold that it is their wish that religious instruction should be given where it is wanted, and if we were to take the opinions of all the Members composing this House, as well as of the constituencies at large, we believe we should find an enormous majority in support of the principle I have laid down—namely, that religious instruction is not inconsistent with assistance given from the rates. I hope my right hon. Friend will see his way to the acceptance of this Amendment, or, at any rate, that he will be able to suggest such words as will avoid the grave stigma that must otherwise attach to them before the country for proclaiming by their action on this occasion that religious instruction is incompatible with assistance from the rates.

MR. WOODHEAD (York, W.R., Spen Valley): Hon. Gentlemen opposite do not appear to understand the question we have before us. The question is, not whether religious education is beneficial, but whether it is a proper thing to introduce in connection with technical education? Our desire on this side of the House is to keep religious teaching outside of technical instruction. We raise no objection to religious education; we only wish to keep it out of these technical schools. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Cranborne) is, on the other hand, anxious that religious instruction should be associated with technical instruction; but I must say I think it rather unfair that such an Amendment as this should be sprung upon us now, and that we should be told we are endeavouring to place a ban upon religion. I reply that we are doing nothing of the kind; we simply refuse to admit religious instruction into schools in which it ought to have no place, and where its introduction would only lead to controvery and confusion.

We trust that Her Majesty's Government will act honourably in this matter, and fulfil the pledge they have given as the result of the compromise made between the two sides of the House.

MR. GOSCHEN: I deeply regret the view my noble Friend has taken with regard to the rejection of the Amendment moved by my hon. Friend behind me. Surely it is most unwise on his part, in connection with a Bill which establishes the very important principle that voluntary schools shall not be excluded from the advantages of technical education, to speak of the group of clauses attaching to this part of the question as if it constituted a great grievance to the Church of England and was against denominational education altogether. If one of the two parties has gained anything by the compromise, I think the gain is rather on the side of those who are in favour of voluntary education. I do not think that the noble Lord is justified in his opinion of the clause. It is only the persons who attend for the purpose of technical instruction to whom the clause applies. It ought not to be forgotten that this matter is being treated in a spirit of compromise. Seeing that we have come to a practical compromise I do trust that the hon. Member will not press his opposition.

MR. GEDGE (Stockport): As a staunch member of the Church of England, I hope that my hon. Friend will withdraw his Amendment. I cannot see the reality of the grievance of which he complains.

*MR. TOMLINSON: May I suggest an alteration of the phraseology? It is regarded by some of us as offensive to "prohibit" the teaching of religion. Why not simply provide that no "other" teaching shall be given in any such school?

Question put, and negatived.

Other Amendments made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."

MR. PICTON: I do not intend, of course, to occupy the time of the House, but I desire to say one or two words before we take farewell of this Bill. Not one of us on this side regrets in the slightest degree the opposition that has been made to this Bill, and I cannot help thinking that regard for the convenience of fellow Members has led us to give way too much to the natural amiability of our tempers. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted yesterday, we could, if we had chosen, have wrecked the Bill or necessitated a prolongation of the Session. I may state that I have received a telegram this day announcing that the Bradford School Board has passed a resolution condemning this Bill, and expressing a hope we would persist in strenuously opposing the Bill, and I fear we have incurred a heavy responsibility and much future reproach by allowing the measure to pass. The noble Lord (Lord Cranborne) just now insisted upon the constant assurance of definite religious teaching even with scientific technical instruction; while the right hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill declared that for the first time it had been acknowledged that representative denominational schools might justly receive aid from the local rates. That may, of course, be taken as a gain for them and a great loss for us. We profoundly regret it, and we believe these facts alone justify all our opposition. While protesting most heartily against this Bill as involving bad and dangerous principles, we are not now prepared to oppose the Third Reading.

*MR. CHANNING: I wish to repeat my protest as to the period of the Session at which this highly controversial Bill was taken, and the manner in which it was forced through the House. I trust we shall have no such proceedings in the future. We are certainly making a substantial concession to the Government in allowing this Bill to pass; but I desire to say that I warmly recognise the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President has acted in refusing to accept the Amendments moved from his own side of the House. We still regard the Bill as a bad Bill, and protest against the way it has been forced through the House.

*MR. H. J. WILSON: I wish merely to add that I also have received only to-day a very strong protest from the Chairman of the Leeds School Board against this Bill. I am convinced, notwithstanding the airy manner in which the First Lord of the Treasury has

treated the representations of the School Boards, he will find that the snub he has administered will not add to the popularity of the measure.

MR. HALLEY STEWART: I have a similar expression of opinion from the Chairman of the Spalding School Board, who has taken a determined stand on this matter. Representing, as I do, an agricultural constituency, I may admit that by and bye the Bill may be of advantage, as the Government last night, at our instigation, agreed that agriculture should be one of the subjects taught in these schools.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I feel exceedingly indebted to the Minister of Education for the way in which he has met us on several important points. Should our fears in reference to the working of the Bill prove fallacious no one will rejoice more than we shall. We have been opposing not technical instruction but the principle on which it was given.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Representing, as I do, Irish interests in this House, I wish at this stage to express the grateful recognition of Irish Members of the services which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Council has done to Ireland—a service which I think justified his refusal to make further concessions.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.

Resolution [see page 622], reported, and agreed to.

MOVABLE DWELLINGS BILL. (No. 163.)

Order for Consideration, as amended, read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL. (No. 98.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

DRAINAGE SEPARATION BILL. (No. 386.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to, Post Office Sites Bill, Regulation of Railways (No. 2) Bill, Coinage (Light Gold) Bill, Leaseholders (Ireland) Bill, Preferential Payments in Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill, London County Council (Money) (No. 2) Bill, without Amendment; — Amendments to—Interpretation Bill [Lords], Amendments to Amendments to—Poor Law Bill, without Amendment.

COLONISATION.

That they do request, that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships, a Copy of the Report from the Select Committee appointed by this House in the present Session of Parliament on Colonisation.

Lords Message considered.

Printed Copy to be communicated.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION (FOREIGNERS).

That they do request, that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships, a Copy of the Report from the Select Committee appointed by this House in the present Session of Parliament on Emigration and Immigration (Foreigners).

Lords Message considered.

Printed Copy to be communicated.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS ACTS.

Address for—

"Return of the number of Factories authorised to be Inspected under the Factories and Workshops Acts, with the number of Persons employed in each Industry, distinguishing men, women, young persons, children, half-timers; also giving the number of spindles, looms, and other machines used in each Trade and Industry Inspected (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 340, of Session 1885)."—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

Leave given to the Select Committee on the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) to report their observations to the House.

Report, with observations, brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 352.]

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (IRELAND) (APPOINTMENT OF MR. EDWARD MURPHY).

Copy ordered—

"Of Memorandum relating to the appointment of Mr. Edward Murphy by the Land Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 353.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the House, at its rising, do adjourn until 12 o'clock on Friday."—(*Mr. Secretary Jackson.*)

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I have seen it reported that the so-called official statement of the grounds for the Home Secretary's decision in the Maybrick case was not accurate, and I wish to know whether that is so or not?

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I understand that demonstrations are being made in Wales against the collection of tithes, and notices have been put up threatening violence and the visits of Captain Moonlight. I wish to know whether the Government will take measures to maintain order?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have no official information about the alleged tithe disturbances; but I shall continue, as hitherto, to afford the utmost possible protection to those who are simply carrying out the law. I am not quite sure to what report the hon. Member for Caithness opposite alludes. I have seen in most of the papers a statement of the supposed grounds of my decision, with which I find no fault; as far as I observe it is quite accurate.

Question put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 29th August, 1889.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.
(No. 244.)
SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The MARQUESS of SALISBURY): This Bill comes before your Lordships for Second Reading under somewhat unusual circumstances. It has been the result of careful deliberation, and I may say of a compromise among all the various schools of opinion in the House of Commons, and I have no ground for believing that if it was considered at greater length in this House anybody would be disposed to disturb a settlement which provides a satisfactory arrangement of a difficult controversy, and provides the means for forwarding a movement in which the people of this country take great interest. I should feel bound to apologize to your Lordships for the speed with which we propose to go in dealing with this Bill if the House was more largely composed, and if there were a larger number of noble Lords on the Benches opposite than I now see there. But Her Majesty's Government to so great an extent constitute the House at this moment that I feel that there would be an absurdity in saying that we have not had sufficient time to consider this Bill. Of course, if any noble Lords felt any great interest in it I have no doubt they would be in their places to state their objections; but as they are not, and as we are all agreed in the desirability of technical education, and as by mutual consultation and much Debate we have taken the greatest possible care to avoid all possible objections and to reconcile all divergent opinions upon the subject, I think I may, without any danger of taking a rash step, propose that your Lordships should assent to the Bill to-day.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF MORLEY: I do not for a moment wish—I should be sorry to be thought to wish—to obstruct useful legislation by insisting on a rigid adherence to the Rules of the House. Towards the end of a Session those Rules are always largely relaxed, especially with regard to Money Bills. I do think, however, that I should be lacking in duty if I did not make some remarks as to the course proposed to be taken in reference to this Bill. The noble Marquess rightly observed that the composition of the House at this time does not lend itself to any protracted Debate; but, at the same time, here is a Bill dealing with a subject of great interest to many noble Lords and others out-of-doors. Yet we are asked to assent to a Bill, passed by the House of Commons late last night, practically without notice, even without the Bill being in our hands, being passed through all its stages at one sitting. As I said before, I do not for a moment wish to stand in the way of legislation which the noble Marquess says has been agreed upon; but I do venture, humbly but firmly, to protest against a course of procedure which, I believe, is wholly unprecedented in a case of this kind, and which seems to be of very doubtful augury for the future. If the Bill is urgent, then surely it ought to have been introduced at an earlier period of the Session; if it is not urgent, then it ought not to be pressed through the House at the unseemly rate at which it is now being urged forward by the Government. I think it would be using mild language to say that it is treating the House with very scant courtesy; I would almost rather say that it is reducing legislation at the end of a Session to little more than a farce. I know nothing of the merits of the Bill—I hope that it is a useful one; but it is one which has been rapidly passed through the House of Commons, and I do not think the noble Lords opposite themselves can have any idea whether it does or does not contain errors of detail which it would be desirable to amend. As the House of Commons has adjourned until the hour for Prorogation, it is practically impossible to introduce any Amendments into the Bill, and therefore all that I can do is to protest in the strongest manner against the course of procedure which has been adopted.

*LORD DENMAN said, there had been no opportunity whatever of considering this Bill. He did not believe anyone had read it—indeed, he thought it was not yet printed. He urged that the House should adjourn to a later period of the year, when this Bill and the two Bills which he referred to yesterday might receive the attention which they merited. There was precedent for such a course. In 1668, the 20th of Charles II., the House was adjourned "in consideration of there being very few Lords in town." That was a reason which certainly existed at the present time. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. As there were not 30 Peers present the result of going to a Division would be that the Bill would have to be taken the next day. This Bill was on the Minutes with the name of the Lord President of the Council, and it contained a clause disrespectful to the Church of England. He recollected that when a question as to the Privy Council was before the House of Commons, the noble Viscount (then Mr. Gathorne-Hardy) agreed to Bishops being only assessors on questions as to the Church. He had protested against that Bill, and his Protest was entered on the Journals of the House. If this Bill were delayed, the clause objected to might be omitted. He believed that on this occasion he should find a Teller, and he would rejoice if that was the result.

Amendment moved, to leave out the word "now," and add at the end of the Motion "this day six months."—(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I may say in answer to my noble Friend at the Table that it is in his power, by becoming Teller to the noble Lord who has just sat down, to defer this Bill altogether, which will be something more than the mere protest which he told us he wished to make. I will, however, try to console his conscience in giving way to us, if he intends to do so, by reminding him that this Bill differs by only an imperceptible line from an ordinary Money Bill. The first clause runs thus—

"A local authority may from time to time out of the local rate supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction, to such extent and on such terms as the authority think expedient,"

subject to certain restrictions. I do not for a moment say that it is a Money Bill in the sense that the custom of Parliament would not sanction your Lordships' altering it. Undoubtedly, that is not true. But that is the enacting portion of the Bill; all the rest is merely the limitation of that one proposition. It is therefore as close to a Money Bill as it can be without being a Money Bill. It differs only that it undoubtedly does sanction a certain policy, and your Lordships have always claimed and insisted that where a Money Bill sanctioned a policy, your rights to deal with it were the same as in regard to any other Bill. But the policy is one upon which, I apprehend, everybody is agreed. I have never heard any difference of opinion upon the subject. The Bill therefore divides itself into two parts; it sanctions a policy, and it provides the money machinery for carrying out that policy. The policy is one in which we are all agreed; the money machinery is a matter with which habitually this House does not interfere. I do not think, therefore, that the strain upon our ordinary practice is so great as the noble Lord represents. However, as I have before indicated, the remedy is in his own hands.

LORD SANDHURST: I do not think the noble Marquess is quite accurate in thinking that all shades of opinion are agreed about this Bill, for I have been asked to move one or two Amendments in regard to representation on the Boards and in regard to the audit. That, however, is impossible; and I have only to say that, as it is impossible to move those Amendments, I cordially endorse what was said by my noble Friend at the Table, and I regret the rapidity with which it has been found necessary to pass this Bill through the House.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

Then original Motion agreed to, and Bill read 2ª accordingly.

LORD DENMAN moved that the House do now adjourn till Monday next. He considered that the haste with which important measures were passed really reduced that House to a very low position. If his present Motion were carried their Lordships would be able to give attention to the details of the Bill now before the House, and also to the Women's Suffrage Bill. As to the latter, he had done his best for very many years to advance it, and it had received favourable notice from the present Lord Chancellor, from the late Lord Iddesleigh, and other noble Lords. He felt so strongly upon this matter that if he could secure a Teller he would divide the House, and as there were not 30 Peers present, the adjournment would then in any event have to be made.

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn till Monday next."—(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am afraid it would not be convenient to the Members of the two Houses of Parliament if the House of Lords adjourned till Monday. The House of Commons has already practically adjourned; the Prorogation is fixed for to-morrow; and I do not think that sufficient advantage would be obtained to compensate for the inconvenience to which a great many persons at the end of a long and laborious Session would be subjected.

On question, resolved in the negative: Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) Committee negatived; Bill read 3ª, and passed.

SMOKE NUISANCE ABATEMENT (METROPOLIS) BILL.

A Bill to amend the Acts for abating the nuisance arising from the smoke of furnaces and fireplaces within the Metropolis—Was presented by the Lord Stratheden and Campbell; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 245.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 30th August, 1889.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
Paymaster General.
Court of Session and Bill Chamber (Scotland) Clerks.
Universities (Scotland).
Regulation of Railways (No. 2).
Coinage (Light Gold).
Leaseholders (Ireland).
Preferential Payments in Bankruptcy (Ireland).
London County Council (Money) (No. 2).
Poor Law.
Council of India.
Expiring Laws Continuance.
Merchant Shipping (Pilotage).
Public Health (Cholera Prevention).
Cotton Cloth Factories.
Bribery (Public Bodies) Prevention.
Light Railways (Ireland).
Interpretation.
Public Works Loans.
Infectious Disease Notification.
Merchant Shipping (Colours).
Steam Trawling (Ireland).
Technical Instruction.
Education Grants (Caithness and Sutherland).
Post Office Sites.

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament was this day prorogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR delivered Her Majesty's Speech as follows:—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

It is with much satisfaction that I release you from the labours of a protracted Session.

My relations with other Powers continue to be of the most cordial character. Since the commencement of this Session nothing has happened to diminish the confident expectation of unbroken European peace which I was then able to express.

The only exception to the tranquil course of events since that period has been a very partial renewal of the attempts formerly made by the followers of the Mahdi to invade the southern frontier of Egypt. The invading force was arrested and dispersed with conspicuous skill and complete effect by the troops of His Highness the Khedive, supported by a small British contingent, under the command of General Grenfell.

A Conference upon the affairs of Samoa, consisting of Representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, was assembled at Berlin in the spring, and agreed upon a Convention for regulating the government of those islands. This instrument has been accepted by me and by the German Emperor, and now awaits the assent of the Senate of the United States.

At my suggestion, the King of the Belgians has consented to summon in the autumn a Conference of the European Powers at Brussels which will consider the present condition of the Slave Trade, both by land and sea, and will deliberate upon measures for arresting or mitigating the evils which it still inflicts upon mankind.

I have come to an agreement with the French Republic by which various controversies with respect to the boundaries of our respective possessions on the West Coast of Africa have been adjusted.

A new Postal and Telegraphic Convention has been concluded with France and Germany.

It has afforded me much pleasure to accept the loyal offers of several of the native Princes and Chiefs who have come forward to share the military burdens imposed upon my subjects in British India, and I welcome their co-

operation in the common defence of the Empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I gladly acknowledge the care and liberality with which you have provided for the wants of the public service.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The measures which you have taken, with no grudging hand, to strengthen the naval defences of the Empire, will enable my subjects to pursue their industry and enterprise in more complete security and peace.

The Act for reforming the Local Government of Scotland will, I am convinced, contribute largely to the welfare and contentment of my people in that Kingdom.

I much regret that the pressure upon your time has prevented you from passing a Bill for conferring Responsible Government on my subjects in Western Australia. I trust that this very desirable object may be effected at an early period.

I note with satisfaction the valuable improvements which you have introduced into the constitution of the Universities of Scotland, and the steps you have taken towards the establishment of technical education in England and Wales. The Intermediate Education Act for Wales will supply a deficiency in the educational system of the Principality which has been acutely felt for many years.

I have assented with much pleasure to a Bill for bringing the less prosperous portions of Ireland into rapid communication with the principal markets of the United Kingdom, by means of a systematic extension of railways. This provision will confirm the increasing agricultural and commercial well-being which has accompanied the gradual suppression of disorder in that country.

I sincerely hope that the new Board of Agriculture may be the means of still further developing the oldest of our national industries.

I am thankful to be able to recognise that the signs of a growing prosperity, the fruit of returning confidence, are everywhere discernible. In the hope that, under the operation of your wise counsels, it may be strengthened and prolonged by the hearty concord of all my subjects, I commend you reverently to the merciful care of Almighty God.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the Sixteenth day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the Sixteenth day of November next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 30th August, 1889.

ROYAL ASSENT.

Message to attend The LORDS COMMISSIONERS:—

The House went;—and a Royal Commission to that purpose having been read, the *Royal Assent* was given to several Bills. (See page 825).

Afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the Sixteenth day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the Sixteenth day of November next.

[A TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES.]

The following Tables are Re-produced by Special Permission of The Comptroller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office from the Volume of Public General Acts Passed in the 52nd and 53rd Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Published by Authority.

A TABLE OF THE TITLES

OF

THE PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS

PASSED IN THE FOURTH SESSION OF

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

52 & 53 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1889.

1. AN Act to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, and one thousand eight hundred and ninety. (Consolidated Fund (No. 1).)
2. An Act to apply the sum of three million seven hundred and twenty-nine thousand two hundred and three pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety. (Consolidated Fund (No. 2).)
3. An Act to provide, during twelve months, for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army. (Army (Annual).)
4. An Act to provide for the Redemption of the Consolidated Three Per Cent. Stock, and the Reduced Three Per Cent. Stock. (National Debt Redemption.)
5. An Act to amend the Removal of Wrecks Act, 1877. (Removal of Wrecks Act, 1877, Amendment.)
6. An Act to amend the Law relating to the National Debt. (National Debt.)
7. An Act to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, to alter other Duties, and to amend the Laws relating to Customs and Inland Revenue. (Customs and Inland Revenue.)
8. An Act to make further provision for Naval Defence and defray the Expenses thereof. (Naval Defence.)
9. An Act to amend the Public Libraries Act, 1855. (Public Libraries Acts Amendment.)
10. An Act for amending and consolidating enactments relating to the administration of Oaths. (Commissioners for Oaths.)
11. An Act to regulate the Sale of Horseflesh for Human Food. (Sale of Horseflesh, &c., Regulation.)
12. An Act to relieve the Courts of Assize from the Trial of Persons charged with Offences triable at Quarter Sessions. (Assizes Relief.)
13. An Act to amend the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, and the Acts amending the same. (Purchase of Land (Ireland) Amendment.)
14. An Act to amend the provisions relating to Hackney Carriages of the Town Police Clauses Act, 1847. (Town Police Clauses.)

15. An Act to apply the sum of twenty-six million four hundred and seventy-three thousand nine hundred and forty-four pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety. (Consolidated Fund (No. 3).)

16. An Act to explain the Secretary for Scotland Act, 1887. (Secretary for Scotland.)

17. An Act to abolish any duties on Coals leviable by the Corporation of London. (London Coal Duties Abolition.)

18. An Act to suppress Indecent Advertisements. (Indecent Advertisements.)

19. An Act to extend the time for the preparation of the Registers of County Electors in England and Wales. (Registration of County Electors (Extension of Time).)

20. An Act to amend the Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1883. (Agricultural Holdings (Scotland).)

21. An Act for amending the Law relating to Weights and Measures, and for other purposes connected therewith. (Weights and Measures.)

22. An Act to amend the Friendly Societies Acts. (Friendly Societies.)

23. An Act to amend the Herring Fishery (Scotland) Acts; and for other purposes relating thereto. (Herring Fishery (Scotland).)

24. An Act to repeal certain Statutes, relating to Master and Servants in particular Manufactures, which have ceased to be put in force or have become unnecessary by the enactment of subsequent Statutes. (Master and Servant.)

25. An Act to provide a Site for a National Portrait Gallery and for other purposes connected therewith. (National Portrait Gallery.)

26. An Act to extend and amend the Law relating to the recovery of Small Debts in Scotland. (Small Debt Amendment (Scotland).)

27. An Act to amend the Law with respect to rating Places used for Advertisements. (Advertising Stations (Rating).)

28. An Act to declare the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada. (Canada (Ontario Boundary).)

29. An Act to amend the Passengers Act, 1855, and the Passengers Act Amendment Act, 1863. (Passengers Acts Amendment.)

30. An Act for establishing a Board of Agriculture for Great Britain. (Board of Agriculture.)

31. An Act to make provision for the Audit of the Manufacturing and Shipbuilding and other like Accounts of the Army and Navy. (Army and Navy Audit.)

32. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Investment of Trust Funds. (Trust Investment.)

33. An Act to provide for modifying the constitution of the Court of Appeal for the Windward Islands. (Windward Islands Appeal Court.)

34. An Act to amend the Telegraph Acts, 1863 to 1885, and the Post Office Acts in relation to the Isle of Man. (Telegraph (Isle of Man).)

35. An Act to make provision for the Support and Maintenance of the Children of His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. (Prince of Wales's Children.)

36. An Act to amend the Settled Land Act, 1882. (Settled Land.)

37. An Act to amend the Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1888. (Companies Clauses Consolidation.)

38. An Act to remove doubts as to the validity of certain Marriages solemnised in Basutoland and in British Bechuanaland. (Basutoland and British Bechuanaland Marriage.)

39. An Act to amend and extend the Law relating to Judicial Factors and others in Scotland, and to unite the offices of the Accountant of the Court of Session and the Accountant in Bankruptcy in Scotland. (Judicial Factors (Scotland).)

40. An Act to promote Intermediate Education in Wales. (Welsh Intermediate Education.)

41. An Act to amend the Acts relating to Lunatics. (Lunacy Acts Amendment.)

42. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Customs and Inland Revenue, and for other purposes connected with the Public Revenue and Expenditure. (Revenue.)

43. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Measurement of the Tonnage of Merchant Ships. (Merchant Shipping (Tonnage).)

44. An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to, and better Protection of, Children. Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children.)

45. An Act to amend and consolidate the Factors Acts. (Factors.)

46. An Act to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, and the Acts amending the same. (Merchant Shipping.)

47. An Act to amend the Practice and Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of the County Palatine of Durham. (Palatine Court of Durham.)

48. An Act to amend the County Court (Ireland) Acts. (County Court Appeals (Ireland).)

49. An Act for amending and consolidating the Enactments relating to Arbitration. (Arbitration.)

50. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Local Government in Scotland. (Local Government (Scotland).)

51. An Act to amend the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862. (General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, Amendment.)

52. An Act to prevent the Disclosure of Official Documents and Information. (Official Secrets.)

53. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Office of Paymaster General, and to make better Provision for the Discharge of the Duties of that Office. (Paymaster General.

4. An Act to regulate the Number and Duties of the Clerks of the Court of Session and Bill Chamber in Scotland, and for other purposes. (Clerks of Session (Scotland) Regulation.)

55. An Act for the better Administration and Endowment of the Universities of Scotland. (Universities Scotland).)

56. An Act to amend the Law respecting Children in Workhouses, and respecting the borrowing of Money by Guardians and Managers of District Schools, and respecting the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District. (Poor Law.)

57. An Act to amend the Regulation of Railways Acts; and for other purposes. (Regulation of Railways.)

58. An Act to Amend the Coinage Act, 1870, as respects Light Gold Coins. (Coinage.)

59. An Act to amend "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1888," with regard to Leaseholders. (Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1888, Amendment.)

60. An Act to amend the Law with respect to Preferential Payments in Bankruptcy in the Administration of Insolvent Estates, and in the winding-up of Companies in Ireland. (Preferential Payments in Bankruptcy (Ireland).)

61. An Act to further amend the Acts relating to the raising of money by the London County Council, and for other purposes. (London Council (Money).)

62. An Act to make further provision for the regulation of Cotton Cloth Factories. (Cotton Cloth Factories.)

63. An Act for consolidating enactments relating to the construction of Acts of Parliament and for further shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament. (Interpretation.)

64. An Act to remove doubts as to the power of the Local Government Board to make regulations respecting Cholera. (Public Health.)

65. An Act to amend the Law as to the Council of India. (Council of India Reduction.)

66. An Act to facilitate the construction of Light Railways in Ireland. (Light Railways (Ireland).)

67. An Act to continue various Expiring Laws. (Expiring Laws Continuance.)

68. An Act to amend the Law relating to Pilotage. (Merchant Shipping (Pilotage).)

69. An Act for the more effectual Prevention and Punishment of Bribery and Corruption of and by Members, Officers, or Servants of Corporations, Councils, Boards, Commissions, or other Public Bodies. (Public Bodies Corrupt Practices.)

70. An Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. (Appropriation.)

71. An Act to grant Money for the purpose of certain Local Loans, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans. (Public Works Loans.)

72. An Act to provide for the Notification of Infectious Disease to Local Authorities. (Infectious Disease (Notification).)

73. An Act to amend the Law relating to the use of Flags in the British Merchant Service. (Merchant Shipping (Colours).)

74. An Act to enable the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries to prohibit Steam Trawling within a certain distance of the Coast of Ireland. (Steam Trawling (Ireland).)

75. An Act to amend the Law in regard to Annual Parliamentary Grants in the Counties of Caithness and Sutherland. (Parliamentary Grant (Caithness and Sutherland).)

76. An Act to facilitate the Provision of Technical Instruction. (Technical Instruction.)

A TABLE OF THE TITLES

OF THE

PUBLIC ACTS OF A PUBLIC CHARACTER

PASSED DURING THE SESSION, WHICH ARE PLACED AMONGST THE LOCAL ACTS.

52 & 53 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1889.

i. AN Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Act, 1863, and the Acts amending the same relating to the Tramore River Drainage District, county Cork. (Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental (Ireland).)

vi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Kilrush and Cappoquin. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (Kilrush and Cappoquin).)

xv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Oxford, and to the Counties of Oxford and Berks. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation.)

xvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for Acton, Chiswick, and Liverpool to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Orders Confirmation (Acton, &c.).)

xxii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Wenlock. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 4).)

xxiii. An Act to exclude unauthorised Persons from certain Lands to be used for the purposes of the Royal Gunpowder Factory at Waltham Abbey, in the parish of Waltham Holy Cross, in the county of Essex, to regulate the use of a certain Footpath thereon, and for other purposes. (Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory.)

xxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Accrington and Sunderland, the Local Government Districts of Altrincham, Brentford, Haworth, Heston and Isleworth, Swindon New Town, and Walton on the Hill, and the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Belper, Chorley, and King's Norton Unions. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)

xliii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Boscombe, Clacton-on-Sea, Keppel, Port Ness, Woodda, and Wexford. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

xliv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Regulation of certain lands forming part of Amberswood Common, situate in the township of Ince-in-Makerfield, in the parish of Wigan, in the county of Lancaster, in pursuance of a report from the Land Commissioners for England. (Commons Regulation (Amberswood) Provisional Order Confirmation.)

xlv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. Giles, Camberwell, St. Marylebone, and St. John, Wapping. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)

xlvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Calne and Chippenham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)

xlvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Goole Fields Improvements, situate in the Township of Goole, in the parish of Snaith, in the county of York. (Land Drainage Supplemental.)

xlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Cork, Devonport, Dover, Milford-on-Sea, and Worthing. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

xlix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Youghal. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Youghal).)

lvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Auchmithie, Balintore, Littlestone, Mostyn, and Sharpness. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

lxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of King's Lynn, the Borough of Sheffield and the Local Government District of Handsworth, the Local Government Districts of Ealing and Romford, and the Improvement Act Districts of Lytham and Mansfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)

lxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Bradford (Yorks), Leeds, and Plymouth, and the Local Government District of Bromley. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)

lxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for Leake to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Leake).)

lxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Buckley Gas, Market Rasen Gas, Melton Mowbray Gas, Romford Gas, and Warminster Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation.)

lxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Brightlingsea Water, Corsham Water, Faversham Water, Harpenden Water, and Llandrindod Wells Water. (Water Orders Confirmation.)

cvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Aberavon and Kingston-upon-Hull, the Local Government Districts of Bingley and Cuckfield, and the Faversham Joint Hospital District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)

cviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to Leven Water. (Leven Water Supply Confirmation.)

cix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, and Acts amending the same, relating to Motherwell Water. (Motherwell Water Supply Confirmation.)

cx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Lancaster and District Tramways, Lincolnshire Tramways, and Stockport and Hazel Grove Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

cxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Gosport, Alverstoke, and Bury Cross Tramways, Newport and Parkhurst Tramways, and Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Hyde District Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

cxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Blandford Forum, Lyme Regis, Lymington, and Morpeth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)

cxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Halifax, Nottingham, and Southampton, the Improvement Act District of Newton-in-Mackerfield, and the Local Government District of Ince-in-Makerfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)

cxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Bangor, Buckingham, Carnarvon, and Ramgate, the Port of Harwich, and the Rural Sanitary District of the Houghton-le-Spring Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)

cxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Blackburn, Dover, and West Ham, and the Local Government Districts of Denton and Haughton, Dukinfield, and Tipton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)

cxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Banbury and Cambridge. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

cxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Manchester and the Boroughs of Middleton and Stafford. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 16).)

cxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, as amended by the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1868, and extended by the Poor Law Act, 1879, relating to the Parish of St. James, Westminster. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)

cxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to St. Ives (Hunts) Gas, Otley Gas, Pocklington Water, and Marlow Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)

cxx. An Act for the removal of the disqualification of certain Burgesses of the City of Winchester. (Winchester Burgesses Disqualification Removal.)

clxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Tipperary Waterworks. (Local

Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Tipperary Waterworks).)

clxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Killiney and Ballybrack. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Killiney and Ballybrack).)

clxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Castleisland Waterworks. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Castleisland Waterworks).)

clxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government Districts of Barnard Castle and Malton, and to the Counties of York and Durham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

clxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Faversham, Dunneheved, otherwise Launceston, and Saint Ives (Hunts). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)

clxxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)

clxxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Swansea. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation.)

clxxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, and Acts amending the same, relating to Linlithgow Water. (Linlithgow Water Supply Confirmation.)

clxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Listowel Waterworks. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Listowel Waterworks).)

clxxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Isle of Wight. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 2).)

clxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Chelsea, &c., and St. George's, Hanover Square, &c. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

clxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to various portions of the Parish of Kensington St. Mary Abbot and a portion of the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

clxxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to St. Martin-in-the-Fields. (Electric Lighting Order Confirmation (No. 4).)

clxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Saint Giles, &c., and Marylebone. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)

ccix. An Act to authorise the transfer of the Site of the Coldbath Fields Prison, in the County of Middlesex, to Her Majesty's Postmaster General, and for other purposes. (Post Office (Sites).)

A TABLE OF THE TITLES

OF

THE LOCAL AND PRIVATE ACTS

PASSED DURING THE SESSION

52 & 53 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1889.

LOCAL ACTS.

The Titles to which the Letter **P.** *is prefixed are Public Acts of a Local Character.*

Royal Assent, 11th April, 1889.

P. i. AN Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Act, 1863, and the Acts amending the same relating to the Tramore River Drainage District, county Cork. (Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental (Ireland).)

Royal Assent, 31st May, 1889.

ii. An Act to confer further powers on the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Hythe with respect to their Water Undertaking. (Hythe Corporation.)

iii. An Act to amend the Sheffield Corporation Act 1883 and for other purposes. (Sheffield Corporation.)

iv. An Act to empower the Caledonian Railway Company to subscribe towards and to confer on that Company certain other powers with respect to the undertaking of the Cathcart District Railway Company and for other purposes. (Cathcart District Railway.)

v. An Act for the Abandonment of the Ballina and Killala Railway and Harbour and for other purposes. (Ballina and Killala Railway and Harbour (Abandonment).)

P. vi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Kilrush and Cappoquin. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (Kilrush and Cappoquin).)

vii. An Act to empower the London Hydraulic Power Company to raise additional capital and for other purposes. (London Hydraulic Power.)

viii. An Act to revive the powers and to extend the period for the compulsory Purchase of Lands and to extend the period for the completion of the New Dock and Works authorised by the Workington Dock and Harbour Act 1882. (Workington Dock and Harbour (Extension of Time).)

ix. An Act for transferring to the Wood Green Local Board portions of certain funds derived from the sale of Waste Lands in the Parish of Tottenham in the County of Middlesex and for other purposes. (Wood Green Local Board.)

x. An Act for the granting of further powers to the Bristol Waterworks Company; and for other purposes. (Bristol Waterworks.)

xi. An Act to enable the Edinburgh and District Water Trustees to borrow additional sums of money; and for other purposes. (Edinburgh and District Waterworks.)

xii. An Act for enabling the Caledonian Railway Company to make and maintain certain Railways and other works, and take lands, in the Counties of Stirling, Midlothian, Lanark and Ayr; to acquire the Undertakings of the Glasgow Central and Moffat Railway Companies, and to raise additional money; for extending the time for completing certain Railways and other works in the Counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Forfar; for confirming certain agreements and authorising other agreements; for releasing the sums deposited with reference to the Port Carlisle Branch of the Solway Junction Railway Company, and to the Undertakings of the Annan Waterfoot Dock and Railway Company, and the Glasgow Central Railway Company; for dissolving the two Companies last named and the Moffat Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway.)

xiii. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Faversham Gas Company. (Faversham Gas.)

xiv. An Act for the granting further powers to the Yeadon Waterworks Company and for other purposes. (Yeadon Waterworks.)

P. xv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Oxford and to the Counties of Oxford and Berks. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation.)

P. xvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for Acton, Chiswick, and Liverpool to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Orders Confirmation (Acton, &c.).)

xvii. An Act to repeal and re-enact with amendments the Sun Life Assurance Society's Acts 1813 and 1837; and to make further provisions in relation to the Laws and Regulations and to the Capital of the Society; and for other purposes. (Sun Life Assurance.)

xviii. An Act for incorporating a Company with power to construct a Marine Lake at Weston-super-Mare in the County of Somerset and for other purposes. (Weston-super-Mare Marine Lake.)

xix. An Act for dissolving the Kettering Waterworks Company Limited and re-incorporating the Members thereof with others and for enabling them to construct Waterworks and supply Water and for other purposes. (Kettering Waterworks.)

xx. An Act to confer further powers on the Metropolitan District Railway Company and for other purposes. (Metropolitan District Railway.)

xxi. An Act to empower the Commissioners of the Deanhead Reservoir to execute Works and supply Water in bulk and for other purposes. (Deanhead Commissioners.)

Royal Assent, 24th June, 1889.

P. xxii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Wenlock. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 4).)

P. xxiii. An Act to exclude unauthorised Persons from certain Lands to be used for the purposes of the Royal Gunpowder Factory at Waltham Abbey, in the parish of Waltham Holy Cross, in the county of Essex, to regulate the use of a certain Footpath thereon, and for other purposes. (Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory.)

P. xxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Accrington and Sunderland, the Local Government Districts of Altrincham, Brentford, Haworth, Heston and Isleworth, Swindon New Town, and Walton on the Hill, and the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Belper, Chorley, and King's Norton Unions. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)

xxv. An Act for making and maintaining a Harbour at Thurso, in the County of Caithness; and for other purposes. (Thurso River Harbour.)

xxvi. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Morley Gas Company. (Morley Gas.)

xxvii. An Act to authorise the London Chatham and Dover Railway to abandon the authorised Maidstone and Faversham Railway, to acquire additional lands in the County of Kent and in the City of London, and for other purposes. (London Chatham and Dover Railway (Further Powers).)

xxviii. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Great Wigston Gas Light and Coke Company Limited. (Great Wigston Gas).

xxix. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of land for and completion of the Brighton Rottingdean and Newhaven Direct Railway and for other purposes. (Brighton Rottingdean and Newhaven Direct Railway.)

xxx. An Act to authorise the Redemption of the existing Preference Shares of the West Somerset Railway Company and to enable that Company to raise additional Capital and for other purposes. (West Somerset Railway.)

xxxi. An Act for amending the Memorandum of Association of the Tuscan Gas Company (Limited). (Tuscan Gas.)

xxxii. An Act for authorising the Undertakers of the Navigation of the Rivers of Aire and Calder, in the West Riding of the County of York, to construct certain Works and acquire Lands in the County of York, in connection with their undertaking; for abandoning certain Railways and stopping up a portion of St. John Street, in Goole; for confirming certain agreements; for amending and enlarging the Acts relating to the Undertakers and for conferring further powers upon them; and for other purposes. (Aire and Calder Navigation.)

xxxiii. An Act for amalgamating the Llanelly Railway and Dock Company with the Great Western Railway Company. (Great Western Railway and Llanelly Railway and Dock Companies Amalgamation.)

xxxiv. An Act to extend the Borough of Grimsby; and for other purposes. (Grimsby Extension and Improvement.)

xxxv. An Act to amend, vary, and extend the powers of the Northern Assurance Company. (Northern Assurance).

xxxvi. An Act for the granting of further powers to the Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company; and for other purposes. (Newcastle and Gateshead Waterworks.)

xxxvii. An Act to vest the Cork Corn Market and the control and management thereof in the Corporation of the city of Cork, to provide for the use of the market buildings as municipal offices, and for other purposes. (Cork Corn Market.)

xxxviii. An Act for amalgamating the Cornwall Railway Company with the Great Western Railway Company. (Great Western and Cornwall Railway Companies Amalgamation.)

xxxix. An Act to confer Additional Powers upon the Midland Railway Company for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands for raising further capital for vesting in that Company and the Great Northern Railway Company certain powers and a portion of the Undertaking of the Eastern and Midlands Railway Company and for other purposes. (Midland Railway.)

xl. An Act for enabling the Mayor Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Manchester in the County of Lancaster to execute works and acquire additional lands for the purposes of their Waterworks to amend and extend the provisions of the Acts relating to such Waterworks and for other purposes. (Manchester Corporation)

xli. An Act to empower the Corporation of Coventry to make additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Coventry Water.)

xlii. An Act to enable the Corporation of the City of Belfast to consolidate their Debts and create new Stock. (Belfast Corporation.)

P. xliii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Boscombe, Clacton-on-Sea, Keppel, Port Ness, Woodda, and Wexford. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

P. xliv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Regulation of certain lands forming part of Amberswood Common, situate in the township of Ince-in-Makerfield, in the parish of Wigan, in the county of Lancaster, in pursuance of a report from the Land Commissioners for England. (Commons Regulation (Amberswood) Provisional Order Confirmation.)

P. xlv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. Giles, Camberwell, St. Marylebone, and St. John, Wapping. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)

Royal Assent, 5th July, 1889.

P. xlvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Calne and Chippenham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)

P. xlvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Goole Fields Improvements, situate in the Township of Goole, in the Parish of Snaith, in the county of York. (Land Drainage Supplemental.)

P. xlviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Cork, Devonport, Dover, Milford-on-Sea, and Worthing. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. xlix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Youghal. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Youghal).)

l. An Act to enable the Windermere District Gas and Water Company to raise additional capital to construct new Waterworks and for other purposes. (Windermere District Gas and Water.)

li. An Act for amending the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Central Argentine Railway Company Limited; and for confirming an Agreement between the said Company and the Buenos Ayres Northern Railway Company Limited; and for other purposes. (Central Argentine Railway Company, Limited.)

lii. An Act to empower the Local Board for the district of Padiham and Hapton in the county of Lancaster to construct and maintain additional waterworks and for other purposes. (Padiham Local Board.)

liii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Metropolitan Railway Company with reference to their Aylesbury and Rickmansworth Railway and their surplus lands; and for other purposes. (Metropolitan Railway.)

liv. An Act to amend the Cleveland Waterworks Acts and for other purposes. (Cleveland Waterworks.)

lv. An Act to extend the Boundaries of the Borough of Burnley to confer further Powers upon the Corporation of Burnley with respect to their Gas Undertaking and for other purposes. (Burnley Corporation.)

P. lvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861 relating to Auchmithie, Balintore, Littlestone, Mostyn, and Sharpness. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

lvii. An Act to extend the time for the construction of certain waterworks authorised by the Heywood Waterworks Act 1877 and to make better provision for the health local government and improvement of the borough of Heywood and for other purposes. (Heywood Corporation.)

lviii. An Act for incorporating the Stapleford and Sandiacre Water Company and empowering them to construct Waterworks and supply Water and for other purposes. (Stapleford and Sandiacre Water.)

lix. An Act to increase the number of the members of the Council of the Borough of Saint Helens in the County of Lancaster to alter the boundaries of certain of the existing wards of the borough and to create new wards and for other purposes. (Saint Helens Corporation.)

lx. An Act for enabling the North-eastern Railway Company to make new Railways; for amalgamating with their undertaking the undertaking of the Whitby Redcar and Middlesborough Union Railway Company; and for other purposes. (North-eastern Railway.)

Royal Assent, 9th July, 1889.

P. lxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of King's Lynn, the Borough of Sheffield and the Local Government District of Handsworth, the Local Government Districts of Ealing and Romford, and the Improvement Act Districts of

Lytham and Mansfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)

P. lxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Bradford (Yorks), Leeds, and Plymouth, and the Local Government District of Bromley. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)

P. lxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for Leake to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Leake).)

P. lxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Buckley Gas, Market Rasen Gas, Melton Mowbray Gas, Romford Gas, and Warminster Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation.)

P. lxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Brightlingsea Water, Corsham Water, Faversham Water, Harpenden Water, and Llandrindod Wells Water. (Water Orders Confirmation.)

lxvi. An Act to provide for further Bridge accommodation over the River Cam and approaches thereto and for other purposes. (River Cam Bridges.)

lxvii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the authorised works for enlarging and improving the Port and Harbour of Neath and for other purposes. (Neath Harbour.)

lxviii. An Act to empower the Corporation of Wakefield to make additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Wakefield Corporation.)

lxix. An Act for conferring further powers on the Cork and Macroom Direct Railway Company. (Cork and Macroom Direct Railway.)

lxx. An Act to regulate the capital of the Southport and Cheshire Lines Extension Railway Company, and to confirm agreements between the Company and other railway companies; and for other purposes. (Southport and Cheshire Lines Extension Railway.)

lxxi. An Act to authorise the Cambrian Railways Company to provide or build work let and use Steam Vessels in connexion with their system of Railways. (Cambrian Railways (Steamboats).)

lxxii. An Act for conferring further powers on the Company of Proprietors of the Plymouth Dock Waterworks for changing the name of the Company and for other purposes. (Devonport Waterworks.)

lxxiii. An Act for the abandonment of the railway authorised by the Church Fenton Cawood and Wistow Railway Act 1882. (Selby and Mid-Yorkshire Union Railway (Wistow to Drax) Abandonment.)

lxxiv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company and for other purposes. (Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.)

lxxv. An Act to amend the Liverpool Corporation Loans Act, 1880; to confer further powers on the Corporation of Liverpool with respect to Markets and Public Libraries within the city; to make further Police and Building Regulations; and for other purposes relating to the Local Government of the city of Liverpool. (Liverpool Corporation.)

lxxvi. An Act to extend the time for completing the main line of the Stratford-upon-Avon Towcester and Midland Junction Railway; to abandon certain branch railways; and for other purposes. (Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway.)

Royal Assent, 26th July, 1889.

lxxvii. An Act for conferring further powers on the Eastbourne Waterworks Company. (Eastbourne Waterworks.)

lxxviii. An Act to enable the Rock Life Assurance Company to invest a further part of their Assurance Fund in the manner authorised by their Act of 1864. (Rock Life Assurance.)

lxxix. An Act to enable the Trustees of the Port and Harbour of Alloa to construct additional works to raise further money and for other purposes. (Alloa Harbour.)

lxxx. An Act to confer further powers upon the King's Lynn Docks and Railway Company and for other purposes. (King's Lynn Docks and Railway (Further Powers).)

lxxxi. An Act for the Abandonment of the Oswestry and Llangynog Railway. (Oswestry and Llangynog Railway (Abandonment).)

lxxxii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the City of Dublin Junction Railways authorised by the Dublin Wicklow and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Act 1884 and for other purposes. (Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways).)

lxxxiii. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Preston to borrow additional Moneys for the purposes of the Ribble Navigation and Preston Dock Undertaking and for other purposes. (Ribble Navigation.)

lxxxiv. An Act for conferring further Powers upon the Cheshire Lines Committee and upon the three Companies represented upon that Committee. (Cheshire Lines.)

lxxxv. An Act to authorise the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company to run Steam and other Vessels between Great Grimsby and certain Foreign Ports. (Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway (Steamboats).)

lxxxvi. An Act to confer further Powers on the Barry Dock and Railways Company. (Barry Dock and Railways.)

lxxxvii. An Act for enabling the Trustees of the Harbour of Dundee to transfer to their Harbour Undertaking a part of the Tay

Ferries debt, and to raise additional money; and for other purposes. (Dundee Harbour and Tay Ferries.)

lxxxviii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Folkestone Sandgate and Hythe Tramways Company and for other purposes. (Folkestone Sandgate and Hythe Tramways.)

lxxxix. An Act for conferring further powers on the Glasgow and South-western Railway Company for the construction of works the acquisition of lands and the raising of money; for abandoning certain railways; and for other purposes. (Glasgow and South-western Railway.)

xc. An Act to authorise the construction by the North British Railway Company of certain Railways and Works; the maintenance of other Railways; the purchase of additional Lands; and for other purposes. (North British Railway.)

xci. An Act to revive the powers and extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for, and to extend the time for the construction of certain authorised railways, to change the name of the St. Helens and Wigan Junction Railway Company, to amend the provisions of the Company's Acts, and to confer further powers upon the Company and others and for other purposes. (St. Helen's and Wigan Junction Railway.)

xcii. An Act to extend the Borough of Stockton otherwise called Stockton-on-Tees and for other purposes. (Stockton-on-Tees Extension and Improvement.)

xciii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Liverpool and Birkenhead Subway Company; and for other purposes. (Liverpool and Birkenhead Subway.)

xciv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company with respect to their own undertaking and undertakings in which they are jointly interested and for other purposes. (Great Northern Railway.)

xcv. An Act to authorise the Corporation of the borough of Waterford to consolidate and convert their debt by the creation and issue of debenture stock. (Waterford Corporation (Debenture Stock).)

xcvi. An Act to authorise the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of West Bromwich to create and issue Corporation Stock and for other purposes. (West Bromwich Corporation (Consolidation of Loans).)

xcvii. An Act for amalgamating the Ballymena and Larne Railway Company with the Belfast and Northern Counties Railway Company. (Belfast and Northern Counties and Ballymena and Larne Railway Companies Amalgamation.)

xcviii. An Act for conferring further Powers upon the London and North-Western Railway Company in relation to their own Undertaking and other Undertakings in which they are interested jointly with other Companies and also for conferring powers upon the North London Railway Company and other Railway Companies in relation to such other Undertakings for vesting portions of the North Union Railway in the Company and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company respectively and for other purposes. (London and North-Western Railway.)

xcix. An Act to authorise the Dock Company at Kingston-upon-Hull to make a Deep-water Entrance to their Albert Dock, and other Works; and for other purposes. (Hull Docks.)

c. An Act to amend and extend some of the powers of the Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society and for other purposes relating thereto. (Scottish Equitable Life Assurance.)

ci. An Act for conferring further powers on the Tees Conservancy Commissioners with respect to the sale or leasing of reclaimed lands and minerals for amending the Tees Conservancy Acts and for other purposes. (Tees Conservancy.)

cii. An Act to enable the Didcot Newbury and Southampton Railway Company to abandon certain portions of their authorised Railways and for other purposes. (Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton Railway.)

ciii. An Act to authorise the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company to make new Railways to confer further powers on the Company in connexion with their Undertaking; and for other purposes. (Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway.)

civ. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Railways authorised by the Dundee Suburban Railway Act 1884 and for other purposes. (Dundee Suburban Railway.)

cv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Eastbourne Seaford and Newhaven Railway Company and for other purposes. (Eastbourne, Seaford, and Newhaven Railway.)

cvi. An Act to provide for the Purification of the Water of Leith, and the tributaries thereof, in the county of Midlothian, and the construction of works in connexion therewith; and for the constitution and incorporation of Commissioners; and for other purposes. (Water of Leith Purification and Sewerage.)

P. cvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Aberavon and Kingston-upon-Hull, the Local Government Districts of Bingley and Cuckfield, and the Faversham Joint Hospital District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)

P. cviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to Leven Water. (Leven Water Supply Confirmation.)

P. cix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, and Acts amending the some, relating to Motherwell Water. (Motherwell Water Supply Confirmation.)

P. cx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Lancaster and District Tramways, Lincolnshire Tramways, and Stockport and Hazel Grove Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

P. cxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Gosport, Alverstoke, and Bury Cross Tramways, Newport and Parkhurst Tramways, and Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Hyde District Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. cxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Blandford Forum, Lyme Regis, Lymington, and Morpeth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)

P. cxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Halifax, Nottingham, and Southampton, the Improvement Act District of Newton-in-Mackerfield, and the Local Government District of Ince-in-Makerfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)

P. cxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Bangor, Buckingham, Carnarvon, and Ramsgate, the Port of Harwich, and the Rural Sanitary District of the Houghton-le-Spring Union. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)

P. cxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Blackburn, Dover, and West Ham, and the Local Government Districts of Denton and Haughton, Dukinfield, and Tipton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)

P. cxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Banbury and Cambridge. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

P. cxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Manchester and the Boroughs of Middleton and Stafford. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 16).)

P. cxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, as amended by the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1868, and extended by the Poor Law Act, 1879, relating to the Parish of Saint James, Westminster. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)

P. cxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to St. Ives (Hunts) Gas, Otley Gas, Pocklington Water, and Marlow Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)

P. cxx. An Act for the removal of the disqualification of certain Burgesses of the City of Winchester. (Winchester Burgesses Disqualification Removal.)

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cxxi. An Act for the Abandonment of part of the authorised Railways of the East and West Yorkshire Union Railways Company and for other purposes. (East and West Yorkshire Union Railways.)

cxxii. An Act to explain and define the powers of the New Oriental Bank Corporation Limited and for other purposes. (New Oriental Bank Corporation, Limited.)

cxxiii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Local Board for the District of Bridlington in relation to the Princes Parade and for other purposes. (Bridlington Local Board.)

cxxiv. An Act to authorise the London Tramways Company (Limited) to extend their tramway system to Lower Tooting and Streatham and for other purposes. (London Tramways Company (Limited) Extensions.)

cxxv. An Act to authorise the Plymouth Devonport and South Western Junction Railway Company to abandon a certain portion of their undertaking and to confer on them further powers. (Plymouth Devonport and South Western Junction Railway.)

cxxvi. An Act for incorporating the Shortlands and Nunhead Railway Company and for authorising the Construction of a Railway in the Counties of Kent and Surrey and for other purposes. (Shortlands and Nunhead Railway.)

cxxvii. An Act for providing a scale of Pensions and Gratuities in the Police Force of the City of London and for other purposes. (City of London Police Superannuation.)

cxxviii. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Woodhall Spa Gas and Water Company. (Woodhall Spa (Gas and Water).)

cxxix. An Act to authorise the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Dublin to consolidate their Loans and create Corporation Stock; and for other purposes. (Dublin Corporation Loans.)

cxxx. An Act for dissolving the Rastrick Waterworks Company Limited for re-incorporating the Proprietors therein with others and for conferring Powers on the Company so as to be incorporated and for other purposes. (Rastrick Waterworks.)

cxxxi. An Act for incorporating the South Kent Water Company and empowering them to construct Works and supply Water and for other purposes. (South Kent Water.)

cxxxii. An Act for the reduction of the dues payable on coal culm splint coke or cinders imported or brought into the town of Margate and for other purposes. (Margate Coal Dues.)

cxxxiii. An Act to authorise the transfer of certain portions of the Undertaking of the Wirral Railway Company to the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire and the Wrexham Mold and Connah's Quay Railway Companies and for other purposes. (Wirral Railway Transfer.)

cxxxiv. An Act to incorporate the West Highland Railway Company and to empower them to construct Railways in the counties of Dumbarton Perth Argyll and Inverness

and for other purposes. (West Highland Railway.)

cxxxv. An Act to authorise Agreements between the Barry Dock and Railways Company Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil Junction Neath and Brecon Pontypridd Caerphilly and Newport Swansea and Mumbles Cambrian Wrexham and Ellesmere Wrexham Mold and Connah's Quay Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Cheshire Lines Committee Wirral Seacombe Hoylake and Deeside Mersey Liverpool Southport and Preston Junction Southport and Cheshire Lines Extension West Lancashire and Blackpool Railway Companies or some of them for the purpose of Through Traffic; to authorise the appointment of a Joint Committee; and for other purposes. (Welsh Railways Through Traffic.)

cxxxvi. An Act to authorise the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Taunton to consolidate their Loans and create Debenture Stock; and for other purposes. (Taunton Corporation.)

cxxxvii. An Act to empower the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the borough of Wisbech to construct a Quay or River Wall at Wisbech and to authorise them to create Debenture Stock and to authorise the Great Eastern Railway Company to construct a Railway at Wisbech and for other purposes. (Wisbech Corporation.)

cxxxviii. An Act for incorporating the East Kent District Water Company and empowering them to construct Works and supply Water and for other purposes. (East Kent District Water.)

cxxxix. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in connexion with their own and other undertakings and upon them and other Companies in connexion with undertakings in which they are jointly interested for authorising and confirming Agreements with other Railway Companies and for other purposes. (Great Western Railway.)

cxl. An Act for the abandonment of parts of the Railways authorised by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Overhead Railways) Acts 1882 and 1887 and to authorise the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board to make and maintain a Railway in substitution therefor to empower the Board to alter the Ferry Landing Stage at Liverpool to amend in various respects the Acts relating to the Board; and for other purposes. (Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.)

cxli. An Act to incorporate a Company for the Construction of a Railway between Cowbridge and Aberthaw; and for other purposes. (Cowbridge and Aberthaw Railway.)

cxlii. An Act to authorise the Scottish Provincial Assurance Company to transfer their Undertaking to the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company; to provide for the consideration for such transfer; and for other purposes. (North British and Mercantile Insurance Company's (Scottish Provincial Transfer).)

cxliii. An Act to repeal an Act passed in the year 1807 intituled "An Act to enable the "Provident Institution to sue in the name "of their managing director and to inrol "Annuities" and an Act passed in the year 1810 amending the said Act and to alter the name of and to confer further powers on the Provident Institution and for other purposes. (Provident Life Office.)

cxliv. An Act to make better provision for vesting the Securities and Property of the Imperial Fire Insurance Company in the Trustees of the Company and to amend the Deed of Settlement and Acts of Parliament of the Company and for other purposes. (Imperial Fire Insurance.)

cxlv. An Act for consolidating the Preference Stocks of the Rhymney Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Rhymney Railway (Capital).)

cxlvi. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of land and for the completion of the railways in Liverpool and to abandon the railways in Birkenhead authorised by the Mersey Railway Act 1887 and for other purposes. (Mersey Railway.)

cxlvii. An Act to confer further Powers on the London County Council as to Streets and Open Spaces and for other purposes. (Metropolitan Improvements.)

cxlviii. An Act for empowering the Southwark and Deptford Tramways Company to construct New Tramways and for other purposes. (Southwark and Deptford Tramways.)

cxlix. An Act to alter amend and extend the Corporation of London (Tower Bridge) Act 1885 to extend the time limited for the construction of the works by that Act authorised to authorise the alteration of certain streets and for other purposes. (Corporation of London (Tower Bridge).)

cl. An Act for extending and amending the Acts relating to the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company, and for other purposes. (Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company's.)

cli. An Act to authorise the Shanklin and Chale Railway Company to make a railway from the Newport Junction Railway at Merston to St. Lawrence in the Isle of Wight; and to abandon certain authorised railways; and for other purposes. (Newport, Godshill, and St. Lawrence Railway.)

clii. An Act to extend the Borough of Newport in the County of Monmouth and to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses thereof to execute certain improvements and works and to make further provision for the improvement and good government of the borough and for other purposes. (Newport (Monmouthshire) Corporation.)

cliii. An Act for the Abandonment of the Burry Port and North Western Junction Railway. (Burry Port and North Western Junction Railway (Abandonment).)

cliv. An Act to confer further powers upon and to amend the Acts relating to the Hull Barnsley and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company with respect to the Raising of Money; and for other purposes.

(Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.)

clv. An Act to authorise the Belfast Water Commissioners to construct Works for filtering the supply of Water to the City of Belfast and the Suburban Districts adjacent thereto to confer further powers on the Commissioners and for other purposes. (Belfast Water.)

clvi. An Act for the Conservancy and Improvement of the River Dee. (Dee Conservancy.)

clvii. An Act for the Improvement of the Town of Newry; and to confer further powers on the Town Commissioners of Newry; and for other purposes. (Newry Improvement.)

clviii. An Act for dissolving the Lea Bridge Leyton and Walthamstow Tramways Company Limited and incorporating a new Company and for vesting in such new Company the powers conferred by the Lea Bridge Leyton and Walthamstow Tramways Act 1881 and for conferring upon them further powers for the construction of new Tramways and for other purposes. (Lea Bridge, Leyton, and Walthamstow Tramways.)

clix. An Act for conferring on the South Eastern Railway Company various Powers in connexion with their Undertaking and with those of other Companies, and for other purposes. (South Eastern Railway.)

clx. An Act to empower the West Ham Gas Company to raise additional capital for the purposes of their Undertaking and to make other provisions in respect thereof. (West Ham Gas.)

clxi. An Act for Appropriating Preserving and Improving certain Lands within the parishes of Christchurch and Holdenhurst in the County of Southampton for the purposes of Parks or Open Spaces. (Bournemouth Park Lands.)

clxii. An Act to confer further powers on the Blackpool Railway Company. (Blackpool Railway.)

clxiii. An Act to enable the Midland and South-western Junction Railway Company to abandon a certain railway and for other purposes. (Midland and South-western Junction Railway.)

clxiv. An Act to discontinue the division of the parish of Scarborough into townships and to make further and better provision for the improvement health and good government of the borough of Scarborough to authorise the Corporation of the said borough to construct new works and to raise further moneys and for other purposes. (Scarborough Improvement.)

clxv. An Act for altering the gauge of the Chesham Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted Steam Tramways and for changing the name of the Company; and for other purposes. (Chesham, Boxmoor, and Hemel Hempsted Tramroads.)

clxvi. An Act for making a tunnel under the River Clyde at Glasgow; and for other purposes. (Glasgow Harbour Tunnel.)

clxvii. An Act for vesting Great Torrington Common Castle Hill Common and other lands in the borough of Great Torrington in the county of Devon in a body of Conservators and to settle questions between the commoners of Great Torrington and the owners of the Rolle Estate; and for other purposes. (Great Torrington Commons.)

P. clxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Tipperary Waterworks. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Tipperary Waterworks).)

P. clxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Killiney and Ballybrack. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Killiney and Ballybrack).)

P. clxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Castleisland Waterworks. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Castleisland Waterworks).)

P. clxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government Districts of Barnard Castle and Malton, and to the Counties of York and Durham. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

P. clxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Faversham, Dunneheved, otherwise Launceston, and Saint Ives (Hunts). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)

P. clxxiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)

P. clxxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Swansea. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation.)

Royal Assent, 26th August, 1889.

P. clxxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, and Acts amending the same, relating to Linlithgow Water. (Linlithgow Water Supply Confirmation.)

P. clxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Listowel Waterworks. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Listowel Waterworks).)

P. clxxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Isle of Wight. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. clxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Chelsea, &c., and St. George's, Hanover Square, &c. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

P. clxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to various portions of the Parish of Kensington St. Mary Abbot and a portion of the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

P. clxxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to St. Martin-in-the-Fields. (Electric Lighting Order Confirmation (No. 4).)

P. clxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to St. Giles, &c., and Marylebone. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)

clxxxii. An Act to authorise the Corporation of Bury to make additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Bury Corporation Waterworks.)

clxxxiii. An Act to extend the time for completing the Manchester Middleton and District Tramways. (Manchester, Middleton, and District Tramways.)

clxxxiv. An Act to make further and better provision for the improvement health and good government of the borough of Cheltenham to provide for the issue of Corporation Stock and for other purposes. (Cheltenham Improvement.)

clxxxv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Freshwater Yarmouth and Newport Railway Company and for other purposes. (Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway.)

clxxxvi. An Act to incorporate the Garw Water Company to enable them to acquire the Water Undertaking of the Garw Water and Light Company Limited in the County of Glamorgan and to construct Waterworks and for other purposes. (Garw Water.)

clxxxvii. An Act to authorise the Construction of new Sewers; to make better provision in relation to the Health Local Government and Improvement of the City of Norwich; and to provide for the creation and issue of Corporation Stock and for other purposes. (Norwich Corporation.)

clxxxviii. An Act to incorporate a company for the construction of railways in the Vale of Glamorgan; and for other purposes. (Vale of Glamorgan Railway.)

clxxxix. An Act for conferring further powers on the Barry and Cadoxton Gas and Water Company. (Barry and Cadoxton Gas and Water.)

cxc. An Act to provide for an Improved Water Communication between Sheffield Rotherham Doncaster the South Yorkshire Coalfields and the Sea; and for other purposes. (Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation.)

cxci. An Act to incorporate the South Staffordshire Tramways Company; and for other purposes. (South Staffordshire Tramways.)

cxcii. An Act to authorise the Sutton Harbour Improvement Company to construct a Quay and Roadway and to establish and regulate a Fish-Market in connexion with their existing undertaking at the Harbour of Sutton Pool in the port of Plymouth and county of Devon; to facilitate the acquisition of lands from the Duchy of Cornwall; to revise and modernise the rates tolls and charges authorised to be taken by the Company; to confer upon them additional money powers; and for other purposes. (Sutton Harbour.)

cxciii. An Act for amalgamating with the Undertaking of the Taff Vale Railway Company the Undertakings of other companies leased to or worked by them; and for consolidating and rearranging the Capital of the said Company; and for other purposes. (Taff Vale Railway (Amalgamations and Capital).)

cxciv. An Act for making a Railway from the Oystermouth Railway or Tramroad to the Mumbles Head with a Pier in connection therewith and for other purposes. (Mumbles Railway and Pier.)

cxcv. An Act to enable the Golden Valley Railway Company to make New Railways and for other purposes. (Golden Valley Extension Railway.)

cxcvi. An Act for authorising the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company Limited to erect and maintain Electric Lines and Works and to supply Electrical Energy within the Parish of Saint Martin-in-the-Fields in the County of Middlesex and certain other parts of the Metropolis; and for other purposes. (Metropolitan Electric Lighting.)

cxcvii. An Act for making a Railway from Stroud to Painswick to be called "the Painswick Railway" and for other purposes. (Painswick Railway.)

cxcviii. An Act to confer further powers on the South Hampshire Railway and Pier Company and for other purposes. (South Hampshire Railway and Pier.)

cxcix. An Act to extend the boundaries of the borough of Swansea to extend the time for the construction of certain waterworks to make and maintain a street improvement and to make better provision for the health local government and improvement of the borough and for other purposes. (Swansea Corporation.)

cc. An Act to make better provision for the health local government and improvement of the Borough of Wigan and to provide for the creation and issue of Corporation Stock and for other purposes. (Wigan Corporation.

cci. An Act for incorporating the Towcester and Buckingham Railway Company and authorising the construction of various railways and works in the counties of Buckingham and Northampton and for other purposes. (Towcester and Buckingham Railway.)

ccii. An Act to empower the West Metropolitan Tramways Company to construct additional Tramways and for other purposes. (West Metropolitan Tramways.)

cciii. An Act to authorise the purchase out of funds in Court, and the annexation to the See of Lichfield, of the Advowson of the Rectory of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the County of Stafford, and the better disposal of the Endowments of the Rectory, and other arrangements connected therewith. (Stoke-upon-Trent Rectory.)

cciv. An Act for making a Pier and Harbour at Brean Down on the Bristol Channel and a Railway to connect the same with the Great Western Railway; and for other purposes. (Brean Down Harbour and Railway).

ccv. An Act for extending the time for the completion of the works by a Provisional Order made in pursuance of the Drainage and Improvement of Lands Acts (Ireland) 1863 and the Acts amending the same and confirmed by the Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental Act (Ireland) 1878 authorised to be executed within the River Suck Drainage District constituted by such Order and for other purposes. (River Suck Drainage.)

ccvi. An Act to incorporate the Croydon Tramways Company and for other purposes. (Croydon Tramways.)

ccvii. An Act to incorporate the Plymouth Tramways Company and to authorise the construction of certain Tramways in the Borough of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, and for other purposes. (Plymouth Tramways.)

ccviii. An Act to extend and vary the Powers of the Belgrano (Buenos Ayres) Gas Company Limited. (Belgrano (Buenos Ayres) Gas Company Limited.)

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P. ccix. An Act to authorise the transfer of the Site of the Coldbath Fields Prison, in the County of Middlesex, to Her Majesty's Postmaster-General, and for other purposes. (Post Office (Sites).)

ccx. An Act for making a Pier at Filey in the County of York with a Tramroad in connectiod therewith; and for other purposes. (Filey Pier and Tramroad.)

ccxi. An Act for incorporating the Terrington and Walpole Tramroad Company and empowering them to construct Tramroads in the County of Norfolk and for other purposes. (Terrington and Walpole Tramroads.)

ccxii. An act for incorporating the Wellingborough and District Tramroads Company and empowering them to construct Tramroads; and for other purposes. (Wellingborough and District Tramroads.)

ccxiii. An Act for authorising the Construction of Railways in the East Riding of the County of York to be called the Beverley and East Riding Railway and for other purposes. (Beverley and East Riding Railway.)

ccxiv. An Act for empowering the Rossendale Valley Tramways Company to construct new Tramways and for other purposes. (Rossendale Valley Tramways (Burnley Extension).)

PRIVATE ACTS,

PRINTED BY THE QUEEN'S PRINTER,

AND WHEREOF THE PRINTED COPIES MAY BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE.

1. An Act to enable Reductions to be made in the Dues payable under certain Mineral Leases of parts of the Estates in the county of Cornwall settled by the late Frances Baroness Basset and John Francis Basset and to authorise the Purchase by the Trustees of the Settlement of Furniture Farming Stock Harbour Plant and Effects of the late Gustavus Lambart Basset; and for other purposes connected with the Settled Estate. (Basset Estate.)
2. An Act for sanctioning Arrangements for the Sale to a proposed Limited Company of the Businesses and Property of "Henry Crawshay and Sons" and "Henry Crawshay and Company" and other property and for enabling Executors and Trustees interested therein to concur and to accept and hold Debenture Stocks and Shares in the proposed Limited Company; and for other purposes. (Henry Crawshay's Estate.)
3. An Act to confer powers on the Trustees of the late John Ross junior Andrew Galbraith and John Thomson respectively in relation to their respective interests in the lands of Stobcross and other lands and property in the Barony Parish of Glasgow and County of Lanark. (Stobcross Estate.)
4. An Act to authorise the sale of the Pictures bequeathed by the Will of the late Edward Adolphus twelfth Duke of Somerset deceased as heirlooms and to declare the trusts of the proceeds of such sale and for other purposes. (St. Maur Heirlooms (Pictures).)
5. An Act for sanctioning and confirming a Deed of Arrangement ascertaining and determining the Estates Rights and Interests of the several persons interested in the residuary Real and Personal Estate of George Ashburner Esquire deceased and for other purposes. (Ashburner Estate.)

PRIVATE ACT,

NOT PRINTED.

An Act to naturalize Caesar Schlesinger and to grant to and confer upon him all the rights privileges and capacities of a natural born subject of Her Majesty the Queen. (Schlesinger's Naturalization.)

Table Showing the Effect of the Year's Legislation.

ACTS OF FORMER SESSIONS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER) REPEALED OR AMENDED BY ACTS OF 52 & 53 VICT.*

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 52 & 53 Vict.
16 & 17 Chas. 2. c. 9.	Duchy of Lancaster	Repealed	10, s. 12.
9 Will. 3 c. 15..	Arbitration	Repealed	42, s. 26.
1 Ann, St. 2, c. 22	Woollen, &c. manufactures ..	Repealed	24
2 Geo. 1 c. 17 (Irish)	Master and servant	Ss. 2, 9, 16 repealed ..	
9 Geo. 1. c. 27..	Frauds by journeymen shoemakers	Repealed	
12 Geo. 1. c. 34	Woollen manufactures		
13 Geo. 1. c. 26	Linen and hemp manufactures, Scotland	Repealed, except s. 18..	
13 Geo. 2. c. 8..	Frauds of workmen ..	Repealed	
15 Geo. 2. c. 27	Thefts of cloth, &c. ..		
17 Geo. 2. c. 7..	Affidavits in county of Lancaster	Repealed	10, s. 12
25 Geo. 2. c. 8 (Irish)	Master and servant	Ss. 2, 7 repealed ..	24
27 Geo. 2. c. 7..	Frauds in manufacture of clocks, &c.	Repealed	
29 Geo. 2. c. 12 (Irish)	Unlawful combinations ..	Ss. 9-12 repealed ..	
30 Geo. 2. c. 12	Woollen manufacturers	Repealed	
4 Geo. 3. c. 21..	Affidavits in county of Durham	Repealed	10, s. 12
5 Geo. 3. c. 51..	Cloth manufacture, Yorkshire	Repealed	24
6 Geo. 3. c. 23..	,, ,, ,,		
10 Geo. 3. c. 44	False weights and scales ..	Repealed	42, s. 36
14 Geo. 3.: c. 25	Frauds, &c. in woollen manufacture	Repealed	24
c. 44	Reeling false or short yarn		
17 Geo. 3. c. 55	Manufacture of hats ..		
23 Geo. 3. c. 15	Frauds, &c. in the dyeing trade	Ss. 5-12, 13 in part rep.	
24 Geo. 3. Sess. 2. c. 3	Woollen, &c. manufactures, Suffolk	Repealed	
25 Geo. 3. c. 40	Woollen, &c. manufactures, Bedfordshire, &c. ..		
26 Geo. 3. c. 77	Excise	Repealed, except s. 12	42, s. 36.
28 Geo. 3.: c. 37	Excise	Repealed ..	
28 Geo. 3. c. 55	Protection of stocking frames, &c.	Repealed	24.
31 Geo. 3. c. 56	Woollen, &c. manufactures, Norfolk		
51 Geo. 3. c. 41	Stealing of linen, &c. ..		

* Acts continued annually by the Expiring Laws Continuance Act are not noticed in this Table.

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 52 & 53 Vict.
4 Geo. 4, c. 83 ..	Protection of merchants contracting with factors ..	Repealed as to E. & I...	45, s. 14.
6 Geo. 4. :			
c. 81	Excise licences	S. 2 amended	7, s. 4.
c. 87	Salaries, &c. of British consuls	S. 20 repealed	10, s. 12.
c. 94	Protection of merchants contracting with factors ..	Repealed as to E. & I...	45, s. 14.
7 & 8 Geo. 4. c. 28.	Administration of justice ..	S. 14 repealed ..	63, s. 41.
9 Geo. 4. c. 54..	,, ,, (Ireland)	S. 35 repealed ..	
11 Geo. 4. and 1 Will 4. c. 69	Trial by jury, Court of Session	S. 40 repealed in part ..	54, s. 9.
3 & 4 Will. 4. c. 42	Amendment of the law, &c. ..	S. 42 repealed	10, s. 12.
		Ss. 39-41 repealed ..	49, s. 26.
4 & 5 Will. 4. :			
c. 29	Loans by trustees on landed securities, Ireland	Repealed	32, s. 8.
c. 42	Affidavits in Stannaries Court	Repealed	10, s. 12.
c. 77	Licences for retail of sweets, &c.	Repealed	42, s. 36.
5 & 6 Will. 4. c. 69	Conveyance of land for workhouses, &c.	S. 3 amended	56, s. 8.
6 & 7 Will. 4. :			
c. 37	Sale of bread	S. 7 explained	21, s. 32.
c. 71	Commutation of tithes ..	S. 2 repealed	30, s. 13.
7 Will. 4. and 1 Vict. c. 39	Interpretation of certain terms	Repealed	63, s. 41.
1 & 2 Vict. c. 118	Clerks in Courts of Sessions ..	S. 21 repealed in part ..	54, s. 6.
2 & 3 Vict. c. 58	Stannaries Court	S. 6 from "and that any" repealed	10, s. 12.
4 & 5 Vict. c. 35	Enfranchisement of copyholds	Ss. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-9 rep. ..	30, s. 13.
5 & 6 Vict. :			
c. 35	Income tax	S. 141 amended ..	42, s. 10.
c. 39	Advances to agents	Repealed as to E. & I. ..	45, s. 14.
c. 103	Court of Chancery	Ss. 7, 8 repealed ..	10, s. 12.
6 & 7 Vict. c. 82	Commissioners to take affidavits	Ss. 1-4 repealed ..	10, s. 12.
8 & 9 Vict. :			
c. 100	Lunatics	Ss. 76, 77, 88 repealed; ss. 86, 90 amended ..	41, ss. 32, 85 (3), 94.
c. 118	Inclosure of commons ..	Ss. 2, 6, 8 repealed ..	30, s. 13.
10 & 11 Vict. c. 89	Town police clauses	Ss. 37, 40-52, 54, 58, 60-67 amended	14, s. 4.
11 & 12 Vict c. 10	Court of Chancery	Repealed	10, s. 12.
12 & 13 Vict. c. 51	Protection of property of pupils, absent persons, &c. (Scotland)	S. 9 repealed; s. 39 virtually repealed ..	39, ss. 1, 16.
13 & 14 Vict. :			
c. 15	Courts of Appeal for West Indian Colonies	Repealed	33.
c. 21	Abbreviation of language in Acts of Parliament	Repealed	63, s. 41.
14 & 15 Vict. c. 53	Inclosure Commissioners ..	Repealed, except s. 9 ..	30, s. 13.
15 & 16 Vict. :			
c. 76	Common Law Procedure ..	S. 23 repealed ..	10, s. 12.
c. 86	Court of Chancery	Ss. 22-24 repealed	
16 & 17 Vict. :			
c. 51	Succession duty	Ss. 18, 38, 45 amended	7, s. 10.
c. 70	Lunacy regulation	S. 57 repealed	10, s. 12.
		S. 153 repealed	41, s. 94.
c. 78	Administering oaths in Chancery	Repealed	10, s. 12.
c. 89	Universities (Scotland) ..	Ss. 2, 4, 5 repealed ..	55, s. 17.
c. 96	Lunacy	Ss. 20, 20 am.; ss. 5, 6, 11, 12, 32, Schedules (A.) (B.) rep... ..	41, ss. 32, 94.
c. 97	Lunatic asylums	Ss. 35, 69, 76, 87, and in part ss. 43, 67, 68, Sch. (F.) rep.; s. 98 amend.	41, ss. 33, 94.

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 52 & 53 Vict.
17 & 18 Vict. :			
c. 78	Admiralty Court	Ss. 6 from "and any examiner," 7-11 rep.	10, s. 12.
c. 104	Merchant Shipping	Ss. 21, 22 rep. in part (but see terms).	43, s. 1.
		Amended	46.
		Part V. applied to foreign ships; ss. 333, 337, 348, extended; ss. 343, 363, repealed in part.	68, ss. 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14.
		S. 105 amended.. ..	73, s. 3.
c. 125	Common Law Procedure ..	Ss. 3-17 repealed ..	49, s. 26.
18 & 19 Vict. :			
c. 38	Use of spirit of wine duty free	Repealed..	42, s. 36.
c. 42	Administration of oaths ..	Repealed..	10, s. 12.
c. 70	Public libraries..	S. 13 repealed	9, s. 1.
c. 119	Passengers	S. 52 amended	29.
c. 134	Court of Chancery	S. 15 repealed	10, s. 12.
19 & 20 Vict. c. 79	Bankruptcy (Scotland) ..	Ss. 156, 166 repealed ...	39, ss. 1, 18.
20 & 21 Vict. :			
c. 60	Bankruptcy and insolvency (Ireland).	S. 293 amended.. ..	60, s. 5.
c. 72	Police (Scotland)	S. 74 extended	50, s. 13.
c. 77	Court of Probate	S. 27 to "Provided that" and from "and any person" repealed.	10, s. 12.
21 & 22 Vict. :			
c. 83	Universities (Scotland) ..	Ss. 8-11 repealed ..	55, s. 5 (4).
c. 95	Court of Probate	Ss. 30-34 repealed ..	10, s. 12.
c. 108	Divorce and matrimonial causes	Ss. 20-23 repealed ..	10, s. 12.
22 Vict. : c. 16	Commissioners for Oaths ..	Repealed except s. 5 ..	10, s. 12.
22 & 23 Vict. :			
c. 24	Universities (Scotland) ..	S. 1 from "but every" repealed.	55, s. 17.
c. 35	Amendment of law of property	S. 32 repealed	32, s. 8.
23 & 24 Vict. :			
c. 38	Amendment of law of property	S. 11 repealed	32, s. 8.
c. 113	Duties of Excise	S. 21 "sweets or made wines" to "wines" repealed.	42, s. 36.
c. 152	Tramways (Ireland)	Amended	66.
24 & 25 Vict. :			
c. 90	Edinburgh University.. ..	S. 3 repealed in part ..	55, s. 5 (3).
c. 91	Inland Revenue	Ss. 1, 2, 5 repealed ..	42, s. 36.
25 & 26 Vict. :			
c. 73	Copyhold, &c. Commission ..	Repealed..	30, s. 13.
c. 101	General Police and Improvement (Scotland).	Amended	51.
c. 111	Lunacy	S. 38 am.; ss. 18, 20, 24, 27, 40 rep.	41, ss. 32, 94.
26 & 27 Vict. :			
c. 33	Inland Revenue	S. 25 repealed	42, s. 36.
c. 51	Passengers Act Amendment ..	S. 15 amended	29.
27 & 28 Vict. c. 56	Inland Revenue	Ss 12, 13 repealed ..	42, s. 36.
28 & 29 Vict. :			
c. 89	Greenwich Hospital	S. 19 explained	42, s. 33.
c. 104	Crown suits, &c.	Ss. 18, 19, 43, 44 repealed	10, s. 12.
29 & 30 Vict. :			
c 25	Exchequer Bills and Bonds ..	S. 3 "and every such" to "own name," and "but no such" to "Gazette" repealed.	6, s. 6.
c. 39	Exchequer and Audit Departments.	S. 17 repealed	53, s. 2.
c. 62	Crown lands	S. 15 amended	42, s. 34.
c. 90	Public Health	S. 52 extended	64.
c. 113	Poor Law Amendment ..	S. 18 to "appointed and" repealed.	63, s. 41.

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 52 & 53 Vict.
30 & 31 Vict. :			
c. 6	Metropolitan Poor	S. 6 (2) amended ..	56, s. 3.
c. 90	Inland Revenue	S. 18 repealed	42, s. 36.
c. 132	Investment of trust funds ..	Repealed..	32, s. 8.
31 & 32 Vict. :			
c. 40	Partition..	S. 2 amended	47, s. 10.
c. 82	County General Assessment (Scotland).	Ss. 4 from "subject to the provisions," 5-9 rep.	50, s. 12 (1).
c. 122	Poor Law Amendment ..	S. 37 repealed	44, s. 18.
32 & 33 Vict. :			
c. 38	Bails	Repealed..	10, s. 12.
c. 102	Metropolitan Board of Works (Loans).	S. 28 repealed	61, s. 15.
33 & 34 Vict. :			
c. 10	Coinage	Amended	58.
c. 71	National Debt	Ss. 20, 21 repealed ..	6, s. 6.
c. 97	Stamp Duties	S. 117 explained; Sch. "Bill of Exchange" am.	42, ss. 16, 20.
34 & 35 Vict. c. 47	Metropolitan Board of Works (Loans).	S. 13 repealed	32, s. 8.
35 & 36 Vict. :			
c. 58	Bankruptcy (Ireland)	S. 112 amended.. ..	60, s. 5.
c. 62	Education (Scotland)	S. 53 amended; s. 69 from "and if unable" rep.	50, ss. 87, 88.
36 & 37 Vict. c. 66	Supreme Court of Judicature	Ss. 56 in part, 57-59 rep.	49, s. 26.
38 & 39 Vict. :			
c. 43	Sinking Fund	S. 1 amended	6, s. 1.
c. 55	Public Health	S. 171 amended.. ..	14, s. 2.
		S. 130 extended ..	64.
c. 60	Friendly Societies	Amended	22.
39 & 40 Vict. c. 36	Customs Consolidation ..	S. 3 from "Provided" rep.	41, s. 94.
		S. 101 rep. in part; s. 215 amended.	42, ss. 5, 7.
40 & 41 Vict. :			
c. 2	Treasury and Exchequer Bills	S. 8 subs. (3), repealed	6, s. 6.
c. 16	Removal of Wrecks	Ss. 4, 5 amended ..	5.
c. 25	Solicitors	S. 18 repealed	10, s. 12.
c. 39	Factors Acts Amendment ..	Repealed as to E. & I...	45, s. 14.
c. 68	Destructive insects	S. 6 repealed	30, s. 13.
41 & 42 Vict. :			
c. 49	Weights and Measures ..	Ss. 26, 32, 53 ext.; ss. 25, 26, 81 amended; ss. 16, 43 in part, 46, 47, 86 in part, Schs. V. and in part VI., repealed.	21, ss. 1, 3, 5, 19, 36.
c. 51	Roads and Bridges (Scotland)	Ss. 12, 13, 15 (virt.), 16, 17, 91, 92, and in part ss. 18, 24, 58, repealed.	50, ss. 16, 37.
c. 52	Public Health (Ireland) ..	S. 148 extended ..	64.
c. 74	Contagious Diseases (Animals)	Ss. 8 subs. (2), 58 subs. (6) repealed	30, s. 13.
		S. 69 repealed	50, s. 59.
c. 76	Telegraphs	Extended to Isle of Man	34, s. 2.
c. 78	Education (Scotland)	S. 22 repealed	50, s. 88.
42 & 43 Vict. c. 49	Summary Jurisdiction	Ss. 20 subss. (3) (6), 50 rep.	63, s. 41.
43 & 44 Vict. :			
c. 4	Judicial Factors (Scotland) ..	Amended	39.
c. 16	Merchant Seamen (Payment of Wages and Rating).	S. 2 repealed	46, s. 2.
c. 19	Taxes Management	S. 114 (10), rep. in part	42, s. 11.
c. 20	Inland Revenue	S. 11 amended	7, s. 3.
c. 24	Spirits	Ss. 32 (2), 95 (8), am. ..	42, s. 25.

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title	How affected.	Chapter of 52 & 53 Vict.
44 & 45 Vict. :			
c. 12	Customs and Inland Revenue	Ss. 3, 38 am. and extended.	7, ss. 3, 11
		S. 11 explained	42, s. 3.
c. 58	Army	Ss. 91, 135, 146 amended; s. 174 A. added.	3, ss. 4-7.
45 & 46 Vict. c. 38	Settled Land	S. 48 subss. (1)-(5) rep. as to E.	30, s. 13.
		Amended	36.
46 & 47 Vict. :			
c. 26	Sea Fisheries (Ireland) ..	S. 8 repealed	71, s. 4.
c. 28	Companies	Repealed as to Ireland	60, s. 8.
c. 30	Companies (Colonial Registers)	S. 7 amended	42, s. 18.
c. 62	Agricultural Holdings (Scotland)	Ss. 9, 10 rep. ; s. 15 am.	20, ss. 2, 3, 6.
47 & 48 Vict. :			
c. 43	Summary Jurisdiction.. ..	S. 7 repealed	63, s. 41.
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c. 62	Revenue	Ss. 2 in part, 11 proviso, repealed	42, ss. 5, 19.
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c. 52	Lunacy Acts Amendment ..	S. 3 (2) amended ..	41, s. 21 (11).
c. 73	Purchase of Land (Ireland) ..	Amended	13.
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c. 16	National Debt and Local Loans	S. 2 amended	6, s. 1.
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c. 43	County Courts	S. 187 to "is meant and" repealed ..	63, s. 41.
c. 48	Companies Clauses Consolidation	S. 2 "a member of" rep.	3
c. 60	Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland)	Repealed as to Scotland	50, s. 1
c. 66	Friendly Societies	Repealed	22.
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c. 7	Customs and Inland Revenue	S. 18 repealed	42, s. 15.
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RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,

dated 8 August 1889;—*for*,

RETURN "of the Number of Days on which THE HOUSE SAT in the Session of 1889, stating, for each Day, the Date of the Month, and Day of the Week, the Hour of the Meeting, and the Hour of Adjournment; and the Total Number of Hours occupied in the Sittings of The House, and the Average Time; and showing the Number of Hours on which The House Sat each Day, and the Number of Hours after Midnight; and the Number of Entries in each Day's Votes and Proceedings (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.142, of Session 1888)."

(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
1889.		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
Feb. 21	Th	1	30	11	50	10	20	-	-	73
„ 22	F	3	0	11	50	8	50	-	-	223
„ 25	M	3	0	12	0	9	0	-	-	188
„ 26	Tu	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	145
„ 27	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	33
„ 28	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	29
Total ..	6	-	-	-	-	52	15	0	20	691
Mar. 1	F	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	27
„ 4	M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	55
„ 5	Tu	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	51
„ 6	W	2	0	6	0	4	0	-	-	35
„ 7	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	36
„ 8	F	3	0	10	0	7	0	-	-	33
„ 11	M	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	56
„ 12	Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	33
„ 13	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	37
„ 14	Th	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	28
„ 15	F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	45
„ 18	M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	40
„ 19	Tu	2	0	3	50	13	50	3	50	51
„ 20	W	12	0	6	55	6	55	-	-	38
„ 21	Th	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	57
„ 22	F	3	0	1	40	10	40	1	40	40
„ 25	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	60
„ 26	Tu	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	45
„ 27	W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	59
„ 28	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	58
„ 29	F	3	0	8	35	5	35	-	-	46
Total...	21	-	-	-	-	179	45	9	15	930
April 1	M	3	0	1	20	10	20	1	20	73
„ 2	Tu	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	44
„ 3	W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	38
„ 4	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	61
„ 5	F	3	0	8	0	5	0	-	-	37
„ 8	M	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	109
1889. *cont.*										
April 9	Tu	2	0	1	10	11	10	1	10	48
„ 10	W	12	0	5	57	5	57	-	-	63
„ 11	Th	3	0	2	0	11	0	2	0	70
„ 12	F	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	57
„ 15	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	88
„ 16	Tu	2	0	7	0	5	0	-	-	64
„ 29	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	119
„ 30	Tu	3	0	1	10	10	10	1	10	75
Total...	14	-	-	-	-	122	32	8	35	946
May 1	W	12	0	5	50	5	50	-	-	64
„ 2	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	58
„ 3	F	2	0	12	55	10	55	0	55	67
„ 6	M	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	83
„ 7	T	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	58
„ 8	W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	97
„ 9	Th	3	0	1	20	10	20	1	20	83
„ 10	F	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	56
„ 13	M	3	0	12	50	9	50	0	50	117
„ 14	Tu	2	0	1	15	11	15	1	15	61
„ 15	W	12	0	5	59	5	59	-	-	66
„ 16	Th	3	0	1	5	10	5	1	5	67
„ 17	F	2	0	1	10	11	10	1	10	59
„ 20	M	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	87
„ 21	Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	72
„ 22	W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	75
„ 23	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	108
„ 24	F	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	61
„ 27	M	3	0	12	55	9	55	0	55	119
„ 28	Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	32
„ 29	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	90
„ 30	Th	3	0	12	40	9	40	0	40	85
„ 31	F	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	86
Total ...	23	-	-	-	-	205	19	13	20	1,751

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1889.

Month.	Day.	House Met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
1889.		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M	H.	M.	
June 3	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	130
,, 4	Tu	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	92
,, 17	M	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	136
,, 18	Tu	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	93
,, 19	W	12	0	7	0	7	0	-	-	63
,, 20	Th	3	0	12	35	9	35	0	35	79
,, 21	F	2	0	1	10	11	10	1	10	68
,, 24	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	116
,, 25	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	89
,, 26	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	48
,, 27	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	83
,, 28	F	2	0	11	50	9	50	-	-	66
Total...	12	-	-	-	-	110	5	4	30	1,063
July 1	M	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	126
,, 2	Tu	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	87
,, 3	W	12	0	7	10	7	10	-	-	37
,, 4	Th	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	101
,, 5	F	2	0	12	0	10	0	-	-	65
,, 8	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	132
,, 9	Tu	3	0	1	35	10	35	1	35	72
,, 10	W	12	0	5	50	5	50	-	-	71
,, 11	Th	3	0	12	55	9	55	0	55	80
,, 12	F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	67
,, 15	M	3	0	1	1	10	1	1	1	74
,, 16	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	74
,, 17	W	12	0	5	40	5	40	-	-	55
,, 18	Th	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	77
,, 19	F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	67
,, 22	M	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	108
,, 23	Tu	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	79
,, 24	W	12		5	50	5	50	-	-	55

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
1889. *cont.*		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
July 25	Th	3	0	12	59	9	59	0	59	65
,, 26	F	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	72
,, 29	M	3	0	12	50	9	50	0	50	102
,, 30	Tu	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	82
,, 31	W	12	0	5	35	5	35	-	-	44
Total...	23	-	-	-	-	202	35	9	30	1,802
Aug. 1	Th	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	71
,, 2	F	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	62
,, 5	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	73
,, 6	Tu	3	0	1	15	10	15	1	15	59
,, 7	W	12	0	6	10	6	10	-	-	18
,, 8	Th	3	0	2	25	11	25	2	25	87
,, 9	F	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	42
,, 12	M	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	65
,, 13	Tu	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	66
,, 14	W	12	0	5	59	5	59	-	-	36
,, 15	Th	3	0	2	20	11	20	2	20	64
,, 16	F	3	0	1	20	10	20	1	20	52
,, 17	S	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	21
,, 19	M	3	0	2	0	11	0	2	0	54
,, 20	Tu	3	0	2	25	11	25	2	25	44
,, 21	W	12	0	8	5	8	5	-	-	13
,, 22	Th	3	0	2	35	11	35	2	35	49
,, 23	F	3	0	2	40	11	40	2	40	48
,, 24	S	12	0	9	30	9	30	-	-	28
,, 26	M	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	48
,, 27	Tu	3	0	4	5	13	5	4	5	40
,, 28	W	12	0	8	0	8	0	-	-	29
,, 30	F	-	Prorogation			-		-	-	12
Total...	23	-	-	-	-	212	54	25	25	1,081

SUMMARY.

Month.	Days of Sitting.	Hours of Sitting.	Hours after Midnight.	Entries in Votes.
1889.		H. M.	H. M.	
February	6	52 15	0 20	691
March	21	179 45	9 15	930
April	14	122 32	8 35	946
May	23	205 19	13 20	1,751
June.....	12	110 5	4 30	1,063
July	23	202 35	9 30	1,802
August	23	212 54	25 25	1,081
Total.....	122	1,085 25	70 55	8,264

Average Length of Sitting, Daily, 8 Hours $53\frac{99}{122}$ Minutes.

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GENERAL INDEX

TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

52° VICTORIÆ.

1889.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—R. P., Report Progress.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

The proceedings relating to Private Bills have only been reported where discussion has occurred. In the *Table of the Statutes*, bound with this Vol., a complete record will be found of these Bills.

The subjects of debate have been, as far as possible, classified under "General Headings:"—*e.g.*, ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—LAW AND JUSTICE AND POLICE, &c.

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l. Brought from Commons; Read 1ª* *Aug* 27, 574
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[52 & 53 *Vic.* c. 70]

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Infectious Diseases Notification Bill

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c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Feb* 22 [333] 126
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Considered in Committee and Reported *July* 23, 1175
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Consideration Continued; Read 3°* and Passed *July* 30, 1791

l. Read 1ª* *Aug* 1 [339] 5
Read 2ª and Committed to Committee of the Whole House *Aug* 6, 427
Considered in Committee and Reported *Aug* 8, 721
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[52 & 53 *Vic.* c. 40]

Intermediate Education (Wales and Monmouthshire) (Grants), &c.

c. Considered in Committee *July* 25 [338] 1371
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l. Read 1ª* *July* 5, 1545
Read 2ª and Committed *July* 18 [338] 665
Reported *July* 19, 835
Read 3ª; An Amendment made; Bill Passed *July* 23, 1069
c. Lords' Amendment Considered and Agreed to *July* 23, 1180
Royal Assent *July* 26, 1385
[52 & 53 *Vic.* c. 25]
(For Questions as to National Portrait Gallery, *see* heading, *Literature, Science, and Art*

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c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Feb* 22 [333] 132
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c. Resolution Proposed in Committee by the First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 7 [333] 1164
Considered in Committee *Mar* 25 [334] 774; *April* 1, 1253
Report *April* 4, 1602; *April* 8, 1811
(Memorandum explanatory of Financial Proposals, *see Appendix to Vol.* 333)

Naval Defence Bill

c. Ordered; Read 1ª* *April* 8 [334] 1811
2R. *May* 6, 1297; *May* 7, 1368
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Royal Assent *May* 31, 1609
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Admiralty and War Office Buildings, Question, Mr. De Lisle; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works *May* 27 [336] 1105

Alderney Breakwater, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty *June* 24 [337] 538

Annual Review and Manœuvres, Question, Mr. Joicey; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 11 [335] 235; Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 20 [336] 530; Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 30, 1392; Questions, Captain Selwyn, Sir Samuel Wilson, Mr. D. Hartland; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 24, 535; Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 18 [337] 124; Question, Sir G. Baden-Powell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 9, 1824; Questions, Sir J. Puleston, Admiral Field; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 25, 708; Questions, Admiral Field; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 11 [338] 128; Question, Mr. M. Stewart; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 18, 707; Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 19, 856; *July* 22, 983; Questions, Mr. J. Maclean, Mr. Hamilton; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 25, 1260; Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 1 [339] 64; Questions, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Cossham; Answers, The Secretary of War *Aug* 2, 179; Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 8, 792; Question, Sir J. Colomb; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 8, 767; Question, Sir G. Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 27 [340] 602

Artillery Volunteers, Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, Lord Elphinstone; Observations, The Earl of Ravensworth *Mar* 22 [334] 495, 498, 500, 501; Question, Sir G. Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 28, 1044; Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answers, Lord Elphinstone *April* 2, 1372; Ques-

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tion, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 12 [335] 357

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Australia—Contribution to Naval Defence, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 12 [333] 1507

Bantry Bay, Question, Mr. Murphy; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 20 [340] 110

Burma—Campaign Medals, Question, Mr. Grotrian; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 12 [335] 370; Question, Lord Henry Bruce; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 16 [336] 245

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Cardigan Bay, Question, Mr. Ellis; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 21, 393, 394; *Mar* 25 [334] 721, 722

Ireland—Recommendations of Public Works Commission, Question, Mr. Mulholland; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 25 [334] 707, 708

Maltese Islands, Questions, Sir Edward Reed, Sir W. Lawson; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 4 [334] 1582

Zambesi, Question, Sir J. Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 6 [335] 1247; Questions, Sir John Swinburne, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 13, 1849; Questions, Sir J. Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 20 [336] 508

Coastguard

Bannon (Ireland), Station at, Question, Mr. W. Redmond; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 2 [335] 993

Increase of Pay, Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 15 [333] 1797

Revenue Cruisers, Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 20 [336] 531

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Bombay, Dock at, Questions, Admiral Field; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 30 [338] 1701

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Gibraltar, Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth, Lord Elphinstone, The Earl of Carnarvon *Mar* 4 [333] 820

Sheerness—Dredging of the Medway, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 14 [333] 1636

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Egypt—Campaign Decorations, Question, The Earl of Strafford; Answer, The Under Secretary for War *Mar* 26 [334] 826, 827

English and Italian Navies, Questions, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs *July* 19 [338] 850

Home Defences, Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 26 [334] 846, 847; Question, Sir G. Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 4, 1574

Jubilee Review, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 11 [335] 238

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Letters for Seamen, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Postmaster General *Mar* 28 [334] 1020

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Greenwich Hospital—Investment of Funds, Question, General Sir W. Crossman; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 15 [333] 1794; Resolution Approving Statement of Income and Expenditure, 1889-90 *July* 9 [337] 1910

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New Shipbuilding Programme—Miscellaneous Questions, Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 8 [333] 1290; Question, The Earl of Dunraven; Answer, The Prime Minister *Mar* 7, 1109; Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 11, 1385; Question, Mr. Duff; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 11, 1378; Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 12, 1501; Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury *Mar* 14, 1641; Questions, Colonel Lawrie, Sir W. Harcourt; Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office *Mar* 18 [334] 49; Questions, Lord R. Churchill, Mr. R. W. Duff, Lord C. Beresford; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty *Mar* 22, 522, 523; Question, Lord C. Beresford; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 25, 725; Question, Sir E. J. Reed; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 28, 1033; Question, Sir J. Pease; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 28, 1044; Question, Viscount Curzon; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury *April* 8, 1811; *April* 15 [335] 494; Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 6, 1243; Question, Mr. S. Buxton; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty *May* 20 [336] 519; Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 3, 1686; Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 28 [337] 1014; Question, Sir E. Reed; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 22 [338] 979; Questions, Mr. Lea, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty *July* 26, 1427; Question, Mr. Cross; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 22 [340] 127

North Sea Fisheries — French Trawling Vessels, Question, Sir E. Birkbeck; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 2 [335] 980

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Hood, Admiral, Speech of, Questions, Mr. Cremer, Admiral Mayne; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 6 [335] 1247

Instructors, Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 2 [335] 972

Lieutenants, Question, Sir J. Colomb; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 12 [339] 1030

Medical Officers—Committee of Inquiry, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Secretary for War *Mar* 21 [334] 385, 386, 400

Temporary Commands, Question, Captain Price; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 23 [336] 815

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Disabling Guns in Barbette, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 8 [339] 779

Expenditure Under Naval Ordnance Vote, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 8 [334] 1796

Gibraltar—New Guns, Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 24 [337] 533

Guns, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 7 [333] 1121; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 21 [334] 396; Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary for War *June* 18 [337] 1016

Guns — New Breechloading, Returns Ordered (Lord Charles Beresford) *April* 8 [334] 1782

Guns and Ordnance Stores, Responsibility for — Employment of Private Firms, Amendment on Committee of Supply *Mar* 14 [333] 1672

Pensions, Commutation, Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, The Under Secretary for War *Mar* 28 [334] 1000

Royal Commission on Naval and Military Departments, Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury *Mar* 21 [334] 406, 407; Question, Lord C. Beresford; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury *Mar* 23, 728; Questions, The Earl of Carnarvon, The Earl of Morley; Answers, The Under Secretary for War, The Duke of Cambridge *Mar* 28, 1139; Question, Sir W. Barttelot; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury *Aug* 1 [339] 70

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Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, Question, Sir L. Wilson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 25 [338] 1253

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Belfast Drill Battery, Question, Sir. J. Corry; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 15 [339] 1343

Condition of the Force, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 2 [335] 983

Wick, Battery at, Question, Mr. Caldwell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 12 [333] 1501

Samoa—British Ships and Subjects, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 18 [334] 38; Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs *June* 17 [337] 10

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Belted Cruisers, Defects in, Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 16 [339] 1466

"*Briton*," Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Howell; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 4 [334] 1565

"*Calliope*"—*The Hurricane at Samoa*, Questions, Sir C. Palmer, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 1 [334] 1250; Question, Sir George Baden-Powell; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty *April* 2, 1384; Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 23 [336] 821; Question, Mr. W. Redmond; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 3, 1710

"*Cossack*," Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty *April* 15 [335] 488

"*Dart*," Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 1 [337] 1168

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Designs for Proposed New Ships, Questions, Sir H. Roscoe, Sir E. J. Reed; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 1 [334] 1230; Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 12 [335] 363

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"*Medea*," Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 1 [339] 69

"*Nile*," Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 1 [333] 705; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 21 [334] 396

"*Prince Albert*," Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 23 [336] 1258

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"*Serapis*," Question, Mr. Samuelson; Answer, The Secretary for War *May* 6 [335] 1222

Ships without Guns, Question, Mr. J. O'Connor; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 16 [335] 615

"*Sultan*," Question, Lord C. Beresford; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 8 [333] 1299; Question, Sir J. Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 11, 1402; Question, Lord Colville of Culross; Answer, The Lord Elphinstone *Mar* 14, 1618; Questions, Lord C. Beresford, Colonel Nolan; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 14, 1668; Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 18 [334] 2; Questions, Sir E. J. Reed; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 18, 14, 15; Question, Sir J. Colomb; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 25, 715, 716; *April* 4, 1582; Question, Sir W. Lawson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 4, 1582; Question, Sir F. Mappin; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 11 [335] 243, 244; Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 12, 365; *April* 16, 603; Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *April* 30, 778; Questions, Mr. W. Isaacson, Sir W. Lawson; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 17 [336] 367; Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Isaacson; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 27, 1103, 1114; Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 28, 1272; Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 25 [337] 713; Question, Sir G. Baden-Powell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *July* 29 [338] 1578; Question, Mr. Isaacson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 8 [339] 779; Questions, Mr. E. Robertson; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Speaker *Aug* 8, 793; Questions, Mr. E. Robertson, Mr. H. Cossham; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 9, 908; Questions, Mr. Ballantine, Mr. Cobb, Mr. H. Cossham, Mr. E. Robertson, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty, The First Lord of the Treasury *Aug* 20, 1752; Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 21 [340] 1; Question, Sir G. Baden-Powell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 22, 122; Question, Sir J. Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 26, 492; Question, Sir H. Tyler; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Aug* 27, 602

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"*Surprise*," Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 30 [336] 1405

"*Trafalgar*," Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *Mar* 21 [334] 396; Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 23 [336] 809; Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *June* 27 [337] 886

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Suwarew Islands, Annexation of, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty *May* 13 [335] 1850

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£45,000—Miscellaneous Services (Supplementary) *Mar* 14 [333] 1703; Report *Mar* 15, 1912

£65,400—Men and Boys, including 14,000 Marines, for Sea and Coastguard Services, *Mar* 14 [333] 1703; Report *Mar* 15, 1912

£3,201,700—Wages *Mar* 14 [333] 1703; Report *Mar* 15, 1912

£1,061,100—Victualling and Clothing *Mar* 14 [333] 1741; Report *Mar* 15, 1912

£451,000—Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad *June* 18 [337] 127; Report *June* 20, 397

£121,900—Medical Establishments and Services *June* 18 [337] 127; Report *June* 20, 397

£11,400—Martial Law, &c. *June* 18 [337] 127; Report *July* 9, 1898

£71,900—Educational Services *June* 18 [337] 129; Report *June* 20, 397

£31,900—Divine Services *June* 18 [337] 129; Report *June* 20, 397

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Mar Peerage

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Mr. Walpole's Letter, Motion (Earl Cadogan) Agreed to *July* 19, 821

"*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*," Motion to Provide Accommodation for the Representative of "Hansard" Within the Precincts of the House Agreed to *July* 23, 1072*

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Feb 21—The Right Honourable Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, G.C.B., K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., created Earl of Ava, in the Province of Burma, and Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, in the County of Down and in Burma

April 1—E. Cromartie—Francis Sutherland-Leveson-Gower Baron Macleod, Baron Castlehaven, Viscount Tarbat, and Earl of Cromartie, having succeeded to these titles on the death of his mother, Anne, Duchess of Sutherland, [*cont.*

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by virtue of a special limitation contained in a Patent bearing date the 21st day of October, in the 25th year of the reign of Her present Majesty, introduced in the usual manner, 1221

Representative Peers for Ireland (Certificates)

Feb 21—The Lord Clarina *v.* The Earl of Lucan, deceased

April 11—The Lord Rathdonnel *v.* The Lord Dunsany, deceased

Earl of Lucan's Claim to Vote for Representative Peers for Ireland, Certificate Ordered *Mar* 14; Writs of Election Delivered and Read *April* 30, 769

Earl of Portarlington's Claim, Certificate Ordered *April* 5

Lord Ashtown and Lord Dunalley, Right to Vote Established *May* 28 [336] 1221; Certificates Ordered *June* 3, 1669

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Representative Peer for Scotland (Certificate)

Feb 21—The Earl of Lauderdale *v.* The Earl of Mar and Kellie

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Feb 21—Gilbert Henry Lord Willoughby de Eresby, after the death of his mother, in whose favour Her Majesty was pleased to terminate the abeyance of the Peerage, consequent on the death of Alberic Lord Willoughby de Eresby without male heirs in 1870

Mar 1—The Marquess of Winchester, after the death of his father

May 6—The Earl of Carlisle, after the death of his uncle

May 9—Lord Kenyon, after the death of his grandfather

Took the Oath for the First Time

Feb 23—The Lord Bishop of Ripon

The Lord Bishop of Lincoln

Mar 14—The Lord Bishop of Oxford

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* The reporting upon the plan discussed in this Debate commenced on the 1st August (Vol. 339)

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Feb 25—*For* South-West Riding of the County of York (Barnsley Division), *v.* Courtney Stanhope Kenny, Esquire, Manor of Northstead

Mar 2—*For* Middlesex (Enfield Division), *v.* The Right Honourable Wm Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, now Earl of Radnor, called up to the House of Peers

Mar 5—*For* Lambeth (Kennington Division), *v.* Mr. Robert Gent-Davis, Chiltern Hundreds

Mar 12—*For* South-East Lancashire (Gorton Division), *v.* Richard Peacock, Esquire, deceased

April 5—*For* Birmingham (Central Division), *v.* The Right Hon. John Bright, deceased

April 8—*For* the Borough of Rochester, *v.* Colonel Francis Chas. Hughes-Hallett, Chiltern Hundreds

May 23—*For* County of Cork, *v.* John Hooper, Esquire, Manor of Northstead

June 21—*For* County of Fife (Western Division), *v.* Robt. Preston Bruce, Manor of Northstead

July 8—*For* Borough of Dover, *v.* Major Alexander George Dickson, deceased

July 9—*For* County of Carmarthen (Western Division), *v.* W. P. H. Powell, deceased

July 12—*For* Marylebone (Eastern Division), *v.* Lord Charles Beresford, Chiltern Hundreds

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Feb 22—John Wilson, Esquire, Lanark (Govan Division)

Feb 25—Sir John George Smith Kinloch, Baronet, Perthshire (Eastern Division)

Feb 28—Jabez Spencer Balfour, Esquire, Burnley

Mar 21—Mark Hanbury Beaufoy, Esquire, for Lambeth (Kennington Division)

Mar 28—Wm. Mather, Esquire, for South-East Lancashire (Gorton Division)

April 1—Captain Henry Ferryman Bowles, Co. of Middlesex (Enfield Division)

April 30—The Hon. Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen, Borough of Rochester

May 2—John Albert Bright, City of Birmingham (Central Division)

June 24—John Morrogh, Esquire, Cork Co. (South-East Division)

July 8—Augustine Birrell, Esquire, County Fife (Western Division)

July 15—George Wyndham, Esquire, Borough of Dover

July 22—Edmund Boulnois, Esquire, Borough of Marylebone (Eastern Division)

July 22—John Lloyd Morgan, Esquire, County Carmarthen (Western Division)

Aug 16—Sir Edward James Harland, Baronet, City of Belfast (Northern Division)

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[Dropped]

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c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Feb* 22, 129
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Solicitors' Annual Certificate Duty Repeal Bill

c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Feb* 26 [333] 388
[Dropped]

Solicitors (Ireland) Bill

c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Feb* 22 [333] 138
[Dropped]

Solicitors (Magistracy) Bill

c. Ordered; Read 1°* *Mar* 26 [334] 855
[Dropped]

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Bilboa, Imprisonment of British Soldiers at, Question, Mr. Grotrian; Answer, The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs *July* 5 [337] 1578

SPEAKER, THE (Right Hon. ARTHUR WELLESLEY PEEL), *Warwick and Leamington*

CLOSURE

It is unnecessary to move "That the Question be now Put" when no Member has risen to continue the Debate *May* 29 [336] 1387

Mr. Conybeare's Amendment on Committee of Supply reflecting on the Speaker for applying the Closure, questioned the exercise of the Speaker's discretion and the votes of the House ratifying it. "The hon. Member has power to question the exercise of discretion by the Speaker, but he cannot do so by an Amendment to the Motion, 'That the Speaker do now leave the Chair,' because that would give no opportunity to any Member, if he desired, to move an Amendment traversing the Motion of the Member for Camborne. If the hon. Member objects to a vote of the House, it is not competent for him to call it into question by an Amendment to the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair, but he must move a substantive Motion asking that the vote of the House be cancelled. It is a matter entirely for the House to sanction or refuse the application of the Closure. If the hon. Member wishes to question the Speaker's conduct, or the conduct of the House in a particular vote, he must submit a substantive Resolution to the judgment of the House" *June* 28, 1021 [337] 1023

Report Stage; Scope of Discussion; Operation of the Closure Rule *July* 17 [338] 640, 644

When the first Question on the Amendment is decided, the main Question is proposed, and if objection is taken thereto it is quite in order to move the Closure pursuant to the New Standing Order *Aug* 8 [339] 802

COMMITTEES

Procedure to secure reference of a Bill to a Standing Committee, notwithstanding that at date of Second Reading such Committee was not appointed; the hon. Member in charge may, on the Motion to com-

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

mit the Bill, move that that Order be discharged, and the Bill be referred to a Select Committee *Mar* 8 [333] 1332

Nomination of Committee—The Rules do not permit of more than two Speeches on each Name *May* 27 [336] 1171

Question raised upon a particular Name on Appointment of Committee not permissible. It may come in a Motion for an Instruction to the Committee *May* 27 [336] 1173

Instruction to Committee treating with matters requiring separate Legislation is out of order *July* 4 [337] 1503

Motion for Instruction to Committee (Local Government [Scotland] Bills) could be moved as a substantive Motion, as the terms indicated in the Motion would not be within the power of the Committee without special instruction from the House *July* 4 [337] 1495

On Motion as to number of Members on a Committee, a Member is not in order in discussing the antecedents of a proposed Member of the Committee *July* 9 [337] 1842, 1843

Instructions to Committee are out of order when it is not necessary to instruct Committee in a matter they have already power to deal with *July* 30 [338] 1725

It is a consequential Motion, to move to refer a Bill to a Select Committee, the Bill having been before the Examiner who has decided that it comes within the Standing Orders. There is no other Committee to which it can be referred *July* 30 [338] 1789

Mr. Speaker declines to constitute himself a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Chairman of Committees *Aug* 8 [339] 802

The Instruction to Committee does not open up a Second Reading Debate; only the specific Question concerned in the Instruction is introduced *Aug* 12 [339] 1041, 1043, 1047

If the Chairman of Committees is of opinion that the Clause cannot be inserted in Committee, the Bill can be Re-committed for the purpose of inserting it *Aug* 12 [339] 1070

Appeals cannot be made to the Speaker on Points of Order arising in Grand Committees, there being no such appeal from the decision of a duly constituted Chairman of a Grand Committee. It cannot be admitted as a general rule that Amendments hostile to a Bill may not be admitted. Proceedings in Grand Committee are so far in lieu of Proceedings in Committee of the Whole House that there is no stage of Committee of the Whole House in the case of a Bill which has been referred to a Grand Committee. The matter is not one of Privilege, but at most one of Order. Differences between Rules applicable to proceedings in Com. [*cont.*

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

mittee of the Whole House, and those applicable to proceedings in a Grand Committee *Aug* 14 [339] 1226

In order that a Bill which has been before a Standing Committee may be considered by a Committee of the Whole House, it is necessary, when the Committee present their Report, to make a Motion to suspend the Standing Order *Aug* 14 [339] 1227

It is for the Chairman of Committees to decide when the House is in Committee whether, an Instruction having been refused by the House, Amendments which might contravene that Instruction as such can be moved, notwithstanding the refusal of the House to grant the Instruction at an earlier stage *Aug* 15 [339] 1360

MISCELLANEOUS

[333] *Feb* 25, 307; *Feb* 28, 580, 593, 597, 598, 599, 664, 668, 674; *Mar* 1, 750; *Mar* 4, 850; *Mar* 5, 990; *Mar* 8, 1282, 1344; *Mar* 11, 1393, 1396; *Mar* 14, 1666

[334] *Mar* 18, 11; *Mar* 18, 48; *Mar* 18, 56; *Mar* 18, 121; *Mar* 19, 198; *Mar* 19, 157; *Mar* 20, 323; *Mar* 25, 695; *Mar* 25, 724; *Mar* 25, 726; *Mar* 25, 771; *Mar* 25, 811; *Mar* 26, 840; *Mar* 27, 929; *Mar* 28, 1047; *Mar* 29, 1165; *April* 1, 1347; *April* 4, 1639

[335] *April* 11, 231; *April* 12, 375; *April* 16, 618, 668; *May* 2, 992, 993; *May* 6, 1252, 1257, 1266, 1267, 1276, 1286; *May* 9, 1542; *May* 10, 710

[336] *May* 14, 19; *May* 16, 297, 298; *May* 17, 388; *May* 23, 788, 833; *May* 24, 947; *May* 27, 1090, 1136, 1137; *May* 30, 1405, 1503; *May* 31, 1668; *June* 4, 1902

[337] *June* 19, 218; *June* 20, 398; *June* 24, 606, 607; *June* 25, 692, 713, 727; *June* 28, 1104; *July* 1, 1159, 1189, 1196; *July* 3, 1358, 1408, 1424; *July* 8, 1779; *July* 9, 1838

[338] *July* 17, 635, 638, 639, 640, 648; *July* 18, 717; *July* 19, 845, 878, 917, 934; *July* 22, 998, 1045, 1026; *July* 23, 1120, 1140, 1145, 1151, 1155, 1156, 1170; *July* 24, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1162, 1205, 1226, 1232; *July* 25, 1338, 1341, 1345, 1491; *July* 26, 1431, 1536; *July* 30, 1697, 1723, 1731, 1736, 1737, 1738; *July* 31, 1800, 1801, 1802

[339] *Aug* 1, 97, 115, 124, 125, 127, 132, 133, 160; *Aug* 5, 331, 343, 344; *Aug* 6, 649; *Aug* 8, 750, 751, 753, 756, 760, 761, 794, 798, 859, 860, 865, 868; *Aug* 9, 892, 910, 911, 932, 985, 988; *Aug* 12, 1073, 1076, 1081, 1082, 1102, 1104, 1107, 1108; *Aug* 13, 1146; *Aug* 14, 1356, 1359, 1446; *Aug* 16, 1584; *Aug* 17, 1589, 1592; *Aug* 19, 1669, 1670, 1687, 1691, 1705, 1718

[340] *Aug* 22, 134, 135; *Aug* 23, 264, 264; *Aug* 24, 375, 384, 407; *Aug* 26, 474; *Aug* 28, 775, 787, 796

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

PETITIONS

It is unusual to read the terms of a Petition; the substance only should be given *May* 24 [336] 935

A Point of Order on presenting a Petition must be dealt with by the Select Committee on Petitions *June* 25 [337] 693

PRIVILEGE

Strangers in the Lobby *Feb* 25 [333] 269; *Feb* 26, 386

Any case of perjury before a Committee of the House is an offence which constitutes breach of Privilege upon which the House could immediately take action. The matter should be put on the Paper so as to draw special attention to it; *i.e.*, with a line separating it from the other Orders of the Day. As it is a question of Privilege, names of Committee can be proposed immediately, though possibly that course may be objected to if the House thinks proper *July* 15 [338] 414, 415

There are several instances in which Orders of the Day and Notices lower down on the List than others have been taken first on ground of Privilege *July* 23 [338] 1089

QUESTIONS

Supervision of Questions appearing on the Order Paper *Mar* 7 [333] 1124

Supplementary Questions *Mar* 8 [333] 1282; *Mar* 11, 1396, 1403; *Mar* 14, 1651; *April* 1 [334] 1236; *May* 9 [335] 1541; *May* 30 [336] 1436

Questions not on Paper *Mar* 12 [333] 1507

Admissibility of Question *Mar* 14 [333] 1654

Counter statements not admissible *Mar* 18 [334] 26

Inaudible answer *Mar* 29 [334] 1165

Privilege of allowing questions to be put to Members of the County Councils in the House; as was done to members of the Metropolitan Board of Works, was not continued *Mar* 25 [333] 712

Insufficient Notice of Questions *April* 15 [335] 497

Private Notices of Questions *April* 15 [335] 437

Questions standing in the name of one Member put by another *April* 16 [335] 615

Questions affecting the character of individuals should be put on Paper *May* 30 [336] 1433

RULES AND ORDER OF DEBATE

Amendment to a Motion inadmissible which is not an independent Proposition *Mar* 8 [333] 1298

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

Wednesday Sittings—Supplementary Motion may be put after half-past Five *Mar* 6, 1101

Debate on Address in Answer to the Queen's Speech — Amendments not admissible which anticipate the discussion on Bills appointed for a future time *Mar* 4 [333] 851, 854, 858, 860, 869, 886

Production of Documents quoted in Debate *Feb* 26 [333] 474, 479, 480

Reference in course of Debate to matters *sub judice Feb* 28 [333] 664; *May* 6 [335] 1255

Motion on Paper containing several Propositions—Motion to be put as one—Ability to move to omit any portion of Motion *Mar* 19 [334] 142

Bill upon points since conceded by the Government—Ability to withdraw Bill if Amendment first withdrawn *April* 4 [334] 1598

Naval Defence—On Report of Res.—Not admissible to raise discussion as to Naval Estimates Committee, but Questions allowed *April* 8 [334] 1812

Motion to delay Army (Annual) Bill for purpose of alluding to events of past year not in order—Discussion of conduct of any particular Officer irregular *Mar* 25 [334] 807

It is unusual to Adjourn the House before the Orders of the Day are disposed of *April* 16 [335] 656

A correction of a statement of fact is not a Point of Order *April* 10 [335] 162

Impossibility of discussing all four Scotch Local Government Bills together; Bills 1 and 2 might be discussed together following the precedent of English Local Government Bills *May* 13 [335] 1862

A confidential Police Document cannot be laid upon the Table of the House *May* 21 [336] 651

A Member cannot move an Amendment standing in the name of another Member to a Bill *June* 3 [336] 1803

Amendment cannot be moved to an Amendment on going into Committee *May* 31, 1651

Bills (Irish Drainage Bills) having relation to the same subject may be treated as one Bill; but Members will not be precluded from discussing any supposed difference between them *May* 31 [336] 1595

Motion on Paper corresponding with Motion for Adjournment of the House—Ruled in favour of Motion for Adjournment of the House because of its urgent character *May* 27 [336] 1138

Questions affecting a large area and of great public importance [the Bill under discussion was the Coal Duties (London)

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

Abolition Bill] ought to be dealt with in public and not private Bills. If private rights are affected, or statements in the Preamble not well founded, any Member may move on the Second Reading that it be referred to a Committee of any kind *May* 22 [336] 702

Mover of Second Reading, when he has once spoken, has no right of reply *June* 3 [336] 1790

To go through a Bill clause by clause on the 2R. is unusual *May* 31 [336] 1578

No Second Reading speech can be made upon the withdrawal of a Bill. The question to what day it should be postponed, or the circumstance under which it is withdrawn, may be gone into *July* 1 [337] 1167

Amendments will come on after Motion is agreed to "That Bill be now considered" *July* 8 [337] 1705

A point proposed to be raised which has been previously specifically gone into, although it may be alleged that the information then before the House was insufficient, and that it may be desirable at a subsequent period to discuss it, is not necessarily a matter of urgent public importance which should be discussed on Motion for Adjournment of the House. If new information has come to knowledge the whole question may be raised in Supply *July* 8 [337] 1697

A personal statement may fairly be made on Motion for Adjournment, but charges must not be made, as they cannot be then answered *July* 8 [337] 1701, 1702, 1703

Motion for Adjournment of the House to discuss a matter on resumed Debate on a Vote of Supply, and upon which matter a Motion is already on the Paper; hon. Member doubly precluded from bringing forward the Motion *June* 27 [337] 899

Business of the House—Scope of discussion on Motion to give priority to Government Business, &c. *July* 11 [338] 141, 142, 145

Motion for Adjournment of Debate (Light Railways (Ireland) Bill). Refused because of its abuse of the Rules of the House *July* 19 [338] 887

On Question that Bill be read 3° an hon. Member can move rejection of Bill, but not to amend it *July* 23 [338] 1087

Discussion of Clauses inadmissible on Motion to Re-Commit *July* 24 [338] 1185

It is irregular, after the House has ordered a limited Return for a special purpose, for a Member of the Government to add to the Return, of his own Motion, matter extraneous to the Motion passed by the House and giving an entirely different character to the Return *July* 30 [338] 1717

[*cont.*

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The One o'clock Rule *Aug* 6 [339] 652

The Question before the House being the Suspension of Standing Orders, a private Bill may be considered *Aug* 8 [339] 747

Upon consideration of a Bill, it is not competent for an hon. Member to widen its scope by increasing the amount provided for in the measure *Aug* 8 [339] 749

It is irregular to raise a Point of Order after the Business has commenced, and after the occasion on which the Point of Order arose *Aug* 8 [339] 802

If when half-past Five is reached an Amendment to a Question is then being decided by a Division, the time of the interruption of Business is thrown forward *Aug* 8 [339] 802

If the words "I object" reach the Speaker's ear, it is not necessary for him to know whence they proceed *Aug* 9 [339] 992

The practice of the House has unquestionably been, when a Bill has been transformed by the introduction of Amendments in Committee, that a new Bill should be introduced, leave given to introduce it, and the Second Reading stage should be gone through, when the general principles of the measure as distinguished from its component Clauses can be affirmed *Aug* 16 [339] 1488

It is not possible for an hon. Member to discuss the merits or demerits of a Bill on a Motion for the discharge of the Order *Aug* 16 [339] 1493

The House having exempted a Bill from the Twelve o'clock Rule, it is unreasonable to put a Motion for Adjournment at a few minutes after Twelve *Aug* 19 [339] 1733

It is not in Order, when a scheme is before the House, and an Address to the Crown is moved against such scheme, to move an Amendment that that particular scheme be referred to a Select Committee *Aug* 20 [339] 1741

Appropriation Bill — Discussion of such Questions as the Land and State of Agriculture not in Order on the Appropriation Bill when unconnected with Government Bills. Discussion on the abstract Question of the Liquor Traffic or the Sunday Closing Bill out of Order. Advocacy of a general change in the law not relevant *Aug* 28 [340] 788, 800

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Motion to reduce salary in order to raise point upon conduct, different matter to Question of direct pecuniary interest *Mar* 25 [334] 733

It is not permissible to move reduction of a Vote after the House has decided that the amount proposed shall stand part of the Resolution *May* 13 [335] 1942

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, THE—*cont.*

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When Public Notice has been given of a Vote which, by a printer's error, is omitted from the Blue Paper, it is for the House to decide whether it shall be proceeded with *June* 21 [337] 425

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Kennington—In absence of Writ, incompetent for Member to take his Seat—When Orders of Day commenced, not allowable to interrupt the Public Business for Member to take Oath or Seat—Duty of Returning Officer *Mar* 18 [334] 53

Birmingham — Communication with the Whips before Motion for New Writ *April* 5 [334] 1698

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c. Ordered; Read 1°* *May* 21 [336] 655
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£20,000—Police, Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain), Committee *Mar* 7 [333] 1237; Report *Mar* 8, 1330

£600—Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain), Committee *Mar* 7 [333] 1238; Report *Mar* 8, 1330

£200—Law Agent in Scotland, Committee *Mar* 7 [333] 1240; *Mar* 12, 1548; *Mar* 18 [334] 58; Report *Mar* 19, 182

£24,690—Public Education, Committee *Mar* 18 [334] 93; Report *Mar* 19, 192

£28,310—South Africa, St. Helena, &c., Committee *Mar* 18 [334] 94; Report *Mar* 19, 199

£9,500—Superannuations and Retired Allowances, Committee *Mar* 19 [334] 203; Report *Mar* 20, 324

£7,000—Pauper Lunatics (England), Committee *Mar* 19 [334] 211; Report *Mar* 20, 324

£10,500—Crofter Emigration and Colonization (Scotland), Committee *Mar* 19 [334] 214; Report *Mar* 20, 324

£39,766—British and Egyptian Governments Adjustment Accounts, Committee *Mar* 19 [334] 230; Report *Mar* 20, 325

£10,970 14s. 2d.—Excesses, Committee *Mar* 19 [334] 233; Report *Mar* 20, 329

CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS VOTES ON ACCOUNT

£3,729,203—Committee *Mar* 20 [334] 256; *Mar* 21, 415; *Mar* 22, 543; Report *Mar* 25, 773

£3,455,500—Committee *May* 28 [336] 1274; Report *May* 29, 1387

CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS

£29,238—Maintenance and Repair of Royal Palaces. Committee *Mar* 26 [334] 858; Report *Mar* 28, 1094

£1,340—Maintenance and Repair of Marlborough House, Committee *Mar* 26 [334] 871; Report *Mar* 28, 1094

£78,395—Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, Committee *Mar* 26 [334] 879; *Mar* 28, 1073; Report *April* 4, 1666

£36,379—Buildings of the Houses of Parliament, Committee *April* 2 [334] 1401; *April* 8, 1878; Report *April* 9 [335] 66; *April* 11, 326

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SUPPLY—*cont.*

£110,824—Public Buildings, (Great Britain) Committee *April* 8 [334] 1895; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£4,500—Admiralty—Extension of Buildings, Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£12,800—Furniture, Public Offices (Great Britain) Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£210,614—Revenue Department Buildings (Great Britain), Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£24,740—County Court Buildings, Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£22,000—Metropolitan Police Court Buildings, Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£6,717—Sheriff Court Houses (Scotland), Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£175,000—Surveys (United Kingdom), Committee *April* 8 [334] 1897; Report *April* 11 [335] 326

£7,210—Buildings, Science and Art Department, Committee *April* 8 [334] 1902; *April* 9 [335] 24; Report *April* 10, 181

£8,847—British and Natural History Museums Buildings, Committee *April* 9 [335] 32; Report *April* 10, 181

£23,702—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings and Cemeteries Abroad, Committee *April* 9 [335] 49; Report *April* 10, 181

£8,286—Harbours, &c.—Board of Trade, Committee *April* 9 [335] 63; Report *April* 10, 181

£9,726—Lighthouses Abroad, Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£25,047—Peterhead Harbour, Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£4,000—Caledonian Canal, Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£148,353—Rates on Government Property, Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£7,500—Metropolitan Fire Brigade, Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£182,559—Public Works and Buildings (Ireland), Committee *April* 11 [335] 288; Report *April* 12, 445

£17,000 — Science and Art Buildings (Dublin), Committee *April* 11 [335] 303; Report *April* 12, 445

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS

ENGLAND

£38,244—House of Lords Offices, Committee *April* 16 [335] 622; Report *April* 29, 766

£44,420—House of Commons Offices, Committee *April* 16 [335] 655; Report *April* 29, 766

[*cont.*

SUPPLY—*cont.*

£48,751—Treasury (including Parliamentary Counsel and Expenses of the Statute Law and State Trials Reports), Committee *April* 29 [335] 674; Report *April* 30, 877

£79,668—Home Office and Subordinate Departments, Committee *April* 29 [335] 698; Report *April* 30, 877; *May* 20 [336] 605

£60,366—Foreign Office, Committee *May* 2 [335] 1033; Report *May* 28 [336] 1277

£35,286—Colonial Office, Committee *May* 3 [335] 1095; Report *May* 6, 1341

£82,388—Board of Trade, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1580; Report *May* 10, 1760

£4—Bankruptcy Department of Board of Trade, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1580; Report *May* 10, 1760

£35,374—Charity Commission, &c., Committee *May* 9 [335] 1581; Report *May* 10, 1760

£33,168—Civil Service Commission, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1616; Report *May* 10, 1760

£45,882—Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1626; Report *May* 10, 1760

£6,887—Registry of Friendly Societies, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1629; Report *May* 10, 1760

£10,934—Land Commissioners, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1635; Report *May* 10, 1760

£133,823—Salaries and Expenses of Local Government Board, Committee *May* 9 [335] 1635; *May* 10, 1712; Report *May* 13, 1938

£13,215—Lunacy Commission, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1737; Report *May* 13, 1945

£49,421—Expenses of the Mint, including Coinage, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1742; Report *May* 13, 1946

£10,708—National Debt Office, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1743; Report *May* 13, 1946

£48 496—Patent Office, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1743; Report *May* 13, 1946

£20,190—Paymaster General's Office, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1744; Report *May* 13, 1946

£8.205—Public Works Loan Commission, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1748; Report *May* 13, 1946

£17,506—Record Office, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1748; Report *May* 13, 1946

£39,952—Registrar General's Office, Committee *May* 10 [335] 1750; Report *May* 13, 1946

£492,562—Stationery and Printing, Committee *May* 14, 19; Report *May* 15 [336] 185

£22,347—Office of Woods, Forests, &c., Committee *May* 14 [336] 44; *May* 20, 581; Report *May* 21, 668

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SUPPLY—*cont.*

£42,250—Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings, Committee *May* 20 [336] 559; *May* 28, 1277; *May* 31, 1582; Report *June* 3, 1799

£5,000—Mercantile Marine Fund—Grant in Aid, Committee *June* 3 [336] 1751; Report *June* 4, 1823

£23,000—Foreign and other Secret Services, Committee *June* 3 [336] 1767; *June* 4, 1823; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

£38,639—Privy Council Office, Committee *June* 4 [336] 1852; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

SCOTLAND

£6,595—Offices of the Secretary for Scotland &c., Committee *June* 4 [336] 1834; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

£4,726—Exchequer and other Offices, Committee *June* 4 [336] 1846; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

£4,036—Lunacy Commission, Committee *June* 4 [336] 1847; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

£4,497—Registrar General's Office, Committee *June* 4 [336] 1847; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

£25,464—Board of Supervision, Committee *June* 4 [336] 1847; Report *June* 17 [337] 107

IRELAND

£4,478—Lord Lieutenant's Household, Committee *Aug* 20 [339] 1802; Report *Aug* 22 [340] 223

£26,271—Chief Secretary's Office, &c., Committee *Aug* 20 [339] 1811; *Aug* 21 [340] 5; Report *Aug* 22, 221

£1 470—Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 137; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£111,530—Local Government Board, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 137; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£23,962—Public Works, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 168; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£4,037—Record Office, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 171; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£10,777—Registrar General's Office, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 171; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£12,088—Valuation and Boundary Survey, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 171; Report *Aug* 23, 362

SUPPLEMENTARY

£50,000—The Mint (including Coinage) Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 362

£15,765—Fishery Board (Scotland), Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 366

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CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE

ENGLAND

£50,709—Law Charges, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 66; *Aug* 22, 208; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£29,850 (Including Supplementary £18,000) —Criminal Prosecutions and Miscellaneous Expenses, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 66; Report *Aug* 22, 221

£268,812—Supreme Court of Judicature, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 67; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£3,990—Railway and Canal Commission, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 76; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£6,880—Wreck Commission, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 76; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£388,401—County Courts, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 76; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£2,000—Land Registry, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 80; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£25,662—Revising Barristers, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 81; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£12,242—Police Courts (London and Sheerness), Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 81; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£46,586—Police (England and Wales), Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 82; Report *Aug* 22, 222

£188,305—Prisons (England and Wales and the Colonies), Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 86; *Aug* 23, 358; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£122,088 — Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 87; Report *Aug* 22, 221

£19,609 — Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Committee *Aug* 21 [340] 88; Report *Aug* 22, 221

SCOTLAND

£44,020—Lord Advocate and Law Charges, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£43,800—Courts of Law and Justice, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£25,480—Register House, Edinburgh, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£6,120—Crofters' Commission *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£150,125—Police (Counties and Burghs) *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£65,424—Prisons, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

IRELAND

£889,371—Royal Irish Constabulary, Committee *Aug* 6 [339] 556, *Aug* 7, 653; Report *Aug* 8, 852

£84,062—County Court Officers, &c., Committee *Aug* 8 [339] 803; *Aug* 9, 917; Report *Aug* 15, 1422

[*cont.*

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£73,214—Land Commission, Committee *Aug* 20 [339] 1770; Report *Aug* 22 [340] 221

£53,910—Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 174; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£7,273—Court of Bankruptcy, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£885—Admiralty Court, Registry, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£10,243—Registry of Deeds, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£1,297—Registry of Judgments, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 207; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£57,271—Supreme Court of Judicature, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 266; Report *Aug* 24, 376

£98,624—Dublin Metropolitan Police, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 266; Report *Aug* 24, 376

£91,065—General Prisons Board, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 274; Report *Aug* 24, 377

£55,521 — Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 356; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£4,412—Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART

ENGLAND

£2,104,339—Public Education, Committee *Aug* 5 [339] 349; Report *Aug* 6, 342

£337,957—Science and Art Department, Committee *Aug* 15 [339] 1385; Report *Aug* 16, 1575

£103,975—British Museum and Natural History Museum, Committee *Aug* 15 [339] 1400; Report *Aug* 16, 1575

£9,487—National Gallery, Committee *Aug* 15 [339] 1421; *Aug* 16, 1512; Report *Aug* 17, 1643

£1,291—National Portrait Gallery, Committee *Aug* 16 [339] 1518; Report *Aug* 17, 1643

£13,000 (Including Supplementary £1,600)—Learned Societies, &c., Committee *Aug* 16 [339] 1518; Report *Aug* 17, 1643

£8,810—London University, Committee *Aug* 16 [339] 1519; Report *Aug* 17, 1643

£21,000—Universities and Colleges, Committee *Aug* 16 [339] 1520; Report *Aug* 17, 1643

SCOTLAND

£285,376—Public Education, Committee *Aug* 14 [339] 1258; *Aug* 15, 1362; Report *Aug* 16, 1575

£12,888—Universities, Committee *Aug* 15 [339] 1382; Report *Aug* 16, 1575

£1,900—National Gallery, &c., Committee *Aug* 15 [339] 1385; Report *Aug* 16, 1575

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SUPPLY—*cont.*

IRELAND

£517,847—Public Education, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£892—Teachers' Pension Office, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£400—Endowed Schools Commissioners, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£1,701—National Gallery, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£7,528—Queen's Colleges, Committee, *Aug* 23 [340] 357; Report *Aug* 24, 416

£1,000—Royal Irish Academy, Committee *Aug* 23 [340] 358; Report *Aug* 24, 416

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES

£116,698 (Including Supplementary £7,650) Diplomatic Services, Committee *Aug* 16—[339] 1525; *Aug* 22 [340] 211; *Aug* 23, 358; Report *Aug* 24, 421

£86,094—Consular Services, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 211; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£12,630 (Including Supplementary £6,000)—Slave Trade Services, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 216; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£955—Suez Canal—British Directors, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 216; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£17,728—Colonies—Grants in Aid, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 216; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£48,257—South Africa and St. Helena, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 217; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£21,300—Subsidies to Telegraph Companies, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 218; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£1,000—Cyprus—Grant in Aid, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 218; Report *Aug* 23, 366

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES

£260,472—Superannuation and Retired Allowances, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1593; Report *Aug* 20, 1844

£7,000—Merchant Seamen's Fund, Pensions, &c., Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1600; Report *Aug* 20, 1846

£65,500—Pauper Lunatics (Scotland), Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1600; Report *Aug* 20, 1846

£4,005—Pauper Lunatics (Ireland,) Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1600; Report *Aug* 20, 1846

£7,658—Hospitals and Infirmaries (Ireland,) Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1601; Report *Aug* 20, 1846

£6,533—Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiencies *Aug* 17 [339] 1603; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£939—Miscellaneous, Charitable, and Other Allowances (Great Britain), Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1604; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

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SUPPLY—*cont.*

£1,474—Miscellaneous, Charitable, and Other Allowances (Ireland), Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1604; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

£12,639—Temporary Commissions, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1604; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£4,463—Miscellaneous Expenses, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1607; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£2,348—Repayment to Civil Contingencies Fund, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1607; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£1,859—Repayment to Local Loans Funds, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1613; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£4,507—O'Reilly Dease Estate, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1613; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

£1,885—Crofters' Colonization—Advances in Aid, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1613; Report *Aug* 20, 1847

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

£1,785,516—Post Office—Telegraphs, Committee *Mar* 28 [334] 1047; Report *April* 4, 1665

£67,163—Expenses connected with the Acquisition of the Submarine Telegraph Company's Property required for the Post Office Telegraph Service, Committee *May* 21 [336] 669; Report *May* 22, 768

£4,752,553—Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1614; Report *Aug* 20, 1848

£484,405—Post Office Packet Service, Committee *Aug* 17 [339] 1643; Report *Aug* 20, 1862

£723,000—Customs, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

£1,556,961—Inland Revenue Department, Committee *Aug* 22 [340] 209; Report *Aug* 23, 366

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Board of Trade Steamer "Gadfly" [335] 982

Crofters' Holdings Act [340] 739

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Inverness Educational Trust [336] 365
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